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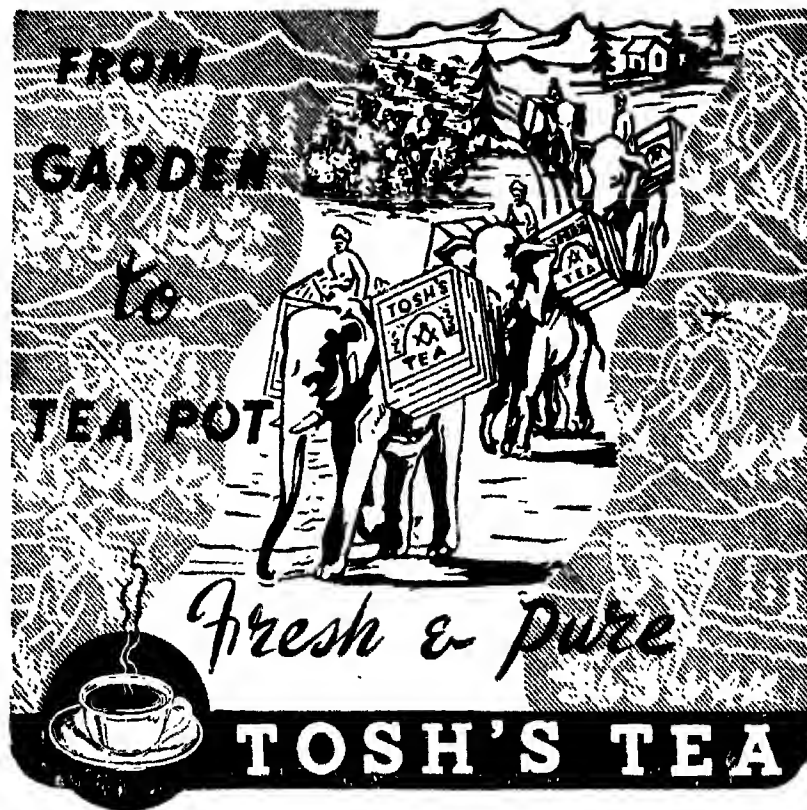
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## RIG VEDIC STUDIES

PROMODE KUMAR BHATTACHARYA, VEDANTARATNA, M.A.

*Vedic World in Time and Space*

### I

It is perhaps an established fact that the Kassites and the Hurrians were at the Caspian gates about the year 2400 B.C. Probably the Hyksos can also be included in this list. Subsequent to this they proceeded westward and established their principalities in about 1900 B.C. If we are permitted to say that the Hebrews were intimately connected with the Hyksos then this date stands equally well for them. This contiguity in time of these different cultures rather forces us to pause and think if all these were of kindred culture and if there is something more to consider in the theory of the origin of languages and the divergence thereof—whether it is correct to deem the Indo-European and Semitic languages to be quite different in origin. Probably this consideration led Meyer and others to locate the origin of Indo-European language in Central Asia.

Be that as it may, it is too much for a rational mind to accept the claim that the Indo-Aryans, a branch of the Indo Europeans, entered India round about this time and settled there. If we do not accept this fact of the entry of the Indo-Aryans at this time—round about the middle of the second millenium B.C.—it becomes also difficult for us to refute the argument of Stuart Piggott in his Pre-historic India wherein he has pointed out wide-spread devastation through incendiarism everywhere. This sign of devastation, as also the theory of Max Muller and others that the Indo-Aryans entered

India from outside, led Piggott to assume that the Vedic Aryans entered India approximately about 1500 B.C. But in our "Implications of the Nadi stuti by Sindhuksht Praiyamedha Rishi" we have shown that what Piggott has exhibited as a specimen of Kulli Culture is nothing but a specimen of Vedic Culture—Agnishomiya Sacrifice or Gavāmayana Sattra. Likewise we can further state that the representation of clay figurines of women, Zhob cultures, in Piggott's Pre-historic India (1950 Pelican) p 127 immediately reminds us of the mantras of Shirimbithi. Bhāradwāja (R.V.X.—155. 1.2). The clay figurines appear to be blind or rather without eyes, cadaverous and chinless and Piggott states, "these can hardly be toys, but seem rather to be a grim embodiment of the mother-goddess who is also the guardian of the dead—an underworld deity concerned alike with the corpse and the seed-corn buried beneath the earth". This is of course his surmise. The mantra of Shirimbithi, whom Sāyana says to have been the son of Bharadwāja a rishi distinctly belonging to the third group of the Vedic Sages, addresses the spirit of famine or Alakshmi as non-giver, blind, ugly and noisy. This spirit of famine is also called Durhana or chinless and she is being chased away. So there is a very strong affinity between the clay figurines and the mantras of Shirimbithi. The clay figurines belong to Rana Gundhai Culture phase III dated approximately about 2700 B.C. So, if we are sympathetic, we can again find a trace of the Vedic influence here and so Shirimbithi is decidedly later in time than Bharadwāja we can say that the Vedic culture cannot be ascribed to a time later than 3000 B.C.

Then again on page 111 of the same book we find the picture of "Incised stone vessels, Kulli culture" (fig. 10). The stone vessels are segmented in four compartments and "form one of the most interesting links between west and east, from the borders of Syria to the Indus". The dates of these vessels cannot be later than 3000 B.C. These vessels are quite peculiar and we cannot definitely say if they constitute a proof of the spread of culture from east to west. But in the Rig Veda (R.V I—20.6 : 110.3, 161.2 etc.) we find that the Ribhus segmented the Chamasa into four compartments. The chamasa was originally made by Tvastr or Ashura. So the Ribhus made a departure from the past. This was because they wanted to provide a share for Agni. As they were three brothers and Agni was the fourth, so four compartments of the single chamasa were made when the three brothers accepted the Yagna Cult. A Chamasa is a drinking vessel for the Soma juice, much like a laddle. The Ribhus belong to an age earlier than the third class of sages whom we shall have to

speak of. So this appears to us to be a specimen of vedic influence not to be placed later than 3000 B.C. Piggott and others, in substance claim these to be the specimens of an earlier and Autochthonous culture. The Vedic culture came later on. But our contention is this that, if these are proved to carry clear influences of the Vedic culture, as has been attempted by us, the Vedas were not only autochthonous but at the same time earlier than the dates of these specimens.

How is it then that Piggott, by the sheer testimony of the devastations, came to the conclusions, that the Vedic culture came later on ? Probably this was due to a confusion. Many people think that Hinduism is a direct offshoot of the Vedic religion. But we must bear in mind that whereas the Vedas worship a single all-pervasive principle and is based on Monism, Hinduism is dual in principle accepting a personal God, the name varying according to the community worshipping the God—Kali, Shiva, Vishnu etc. But this aspect of religion of a Hindu is individual whereas the Social or general aspect is Vedic. So a Hindu pursues a duofold religion which must have been integrated at a later date when non-vedic worshippers over-flooded the land and were gradually influenced by the Vedic people and the life of the Community came to be guided by Vedic principles. This is best traced in the life of a Brahmin of the present day. A Brahmin personally worships God or follows a dual principle but at the same time in his daily ablutions and Social customs as depicted in marriage and other rituals pursues the monistic principle of the Vedas. From this speculation we are carried to the assumption of the infiltration of India, by invasion or otherwise, by non-vedic people at a later date. A thorough enquiry into the Geography and Culture of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, which have up till now been not done by thoroughly responsible persons, may produce miraculous and desirable results cutting out the path of true history. We think the devastations of Mahenjo-daro and Harappa took place some time about the Mahabharata War. The devastations as traced by Piggott occurred at this time. Hinduism was spreading in India from a time somewhat prior to this age. When we remember in this connection that no temple has ever been discovered in Mahenjo-daro, Harappa or other culture sites in Baluchistan, but at the same time images of Pashupati in yogic posture have been found we are encouraged in our thought that the culture discovered is pre-eminently Hindu culture with Vedic influences preponderant. Absence of temples show this Vedic influence



which is based on yagna cult. We shall have to discuss this yagna cult on another occasion. But we are digressing.

It is interesting to find that while considering the composition of the bulk of Rig Veda Muller, Weber, Muir, Hopkins, Keith and others have thought that it was in the Punjab where this was done, on the other hand Brunnhofer, Mertel, Hising, Hillebrandt and others think that most of the Rig Veda was composed in Afganistan and Iran. It will possibly be readily agreed upon that the opinion of these two Schools veer round the location of the river Saraswati and necessarily the Sapta Sindhavah of the Vedas or the Hapta Hindavah of the Avesta. Though these people believe in the entry of the Indo-Europeans, or for the matter of that the Indo-Aryans singing the Vedic hymns through the Khyber pass into India, they also discuss the problem where the bulk of the Rig Veda was composed. This shows that these people were not sure of their ground. However, that may be we must discuss this incidence of Saraswati and the Sapta-Sindhavah.

In our Implications of the Nadi stuti by Sindhukshit Praiyamedha Rishi we have seen that by Sindhu in the Vedas is meant :—

- (i) any river.
- (ii) A particular river the upper-part of which was taken to be the present day Kabul river and the lower part, the present day Indus.
- (iii) Three sets of seven rivers, all of which were called Sindhavah. The third set has not been mentioned in the hymn (R.V.X. 75).

The Third set of the Sindhavah we take for the seven Collateral streams called Saraswatyah of which one is the Helmand of the present day or Haraquaiti of the Avesta. All these are in Afganistan. The Saraswati of the Nadi stuti by Sindhukshit is a duplication in name of the original Saraswati in Afganistan. As this stand is much disputed we have to establish it.

Brihat Aranyak Upanishad (Ch. II Br. II) is concerned with Sisu Upasana—ritual and meditation of Sisu. The word Sisu in classical sanskrit means a child. But in the Vedas Sisu means a particular type of Agni, translated as the sacrificial fire. This word has been used in the Rig Veda on many occasions of which a few references are given here—R.V.I. 140.3, 10 : V—44.3 ; VII 95.3 ; VIII 100.5 ; X 5.3 etc. Though the instructions in the Upanishad are given from a subjective stand-point still a clear scrutiny will reveal that these are based on objective principles. A close scrutiny of the

first instruction will show that by Sisu a horse is meant. This is very interesting inasmuch as the Babylonian word Sisu means a horse—'wild ass of the mountain'. So this Sisu worship is connected with Asva-Agni or Asvatha-Āgni or Asvamedha sacrifice. This is not all. It is also connected with a particular locality—Arvāvat. This word Arvāvat may mean a place where horse-sacrifice is celebrated—Arvā, a horse ; or it may mean a place in the South—Arvāc, South. In the Vedas, three chief places of Yagna are often mentioned—Sharyanāvat, Arvāvat and Parāvat. We refer our readers to R. V. VIII. 53.3 ; VIII. 97 4, 5 ; IX 65.22, 23 etc. So Arvāvat was a place in the South where Agni was worshipped as a horse. This must have been the Marjāliya Dhishna or fire alter in the Soma Yagna wherein it is symbolically placed to the south of the Mahā Vedi and the Havirdhana Carts. One can have an idea of the Marjāliya Agni from a perusal of R. V. V. 1.4, 7, 8. The custom of people in Arvāvat was to consider Yagna as a Horse—Arvā or Sisu or Asva. As from R. V. VIII 7.29 : VII 64.11 we find Saryanāvat to be connected with Sushomā and Ariṅkiyā which are connected with the river Vitastā or Jhelum we take Sharyanāvat to be in the East. We shall very soon prove that Parāvat was in the West. Therefore Arvāvat was in the south. Objectively speaking this sisu worship was conducted in Arvāvat or South and this was transformed into a subjective mode of worship in the Brihadaranyak Upanisad. In the third instruction of II. 2 of the same Upanisad a sloka is quoted. The substance of the sloka is as follows : The hollow is in the south, the root or handle is in the north. Thus a chamasa or soma drinking laddle is formed. Here in this chamasa Yasha or fame of all kinds is located. The seven sages or Sapta rishayah reside on the shore or brim of this Chamasa etc. This sloka is to be found in Atharva Veda X. 26.9. But here the first word is 'Tiryak', diagonal, and not 'arvāc', South, as in the Upanishad under reference. In the fourth instruction the seven rishis, Gotama, Bharadvāja, Vishvāmitra, Jamadagni, Vashistha, Kashyapa and Atri, are mentioned. As these Rishis are mentioned in connection with Sishu worship and are placed in Arvāvat they may be taken to belong to a later date. For 'arvac' in Sanskrit means a later time as well. So we take these Rishis to belong to the new set or the third set of rishis.

In the Rig Veda we often come across mentions of rishis belonging to Purva or Prāchin or ancient, madhyam or middle and nutana or new or latest. We may refer to R. V. III. 32.13 ; VI 21.5 and I.1.2. There are many more, but we hope this will suffice. According

to us the seven rishis mentioned here belong to the third set of rishis. But there is a difficulty. Āshvalāyana is his Grihyasutra (III-4) has given Gritsamada, Vishvāmītra, Vāmdeva, Atri, Bharadvāja and Vashistha (six in all) as the names of madhyama or middle term rishis. In the Veda Pārāyana vidhi in the name of Baudhāyana the names of Jāmadagnya and Gautama have been added to the list of Āshvalayana—eight names in all. It is to be noticed in this connection that the additional names are Jamadagnya and Gautama and not Jamadagni or Gotama. The sons are mentioned instead of the fathers. In the Anasnatpārāyana Vidhi the eight names as given by Baudhāyana are to be found in the same order. In fact considering the order of the names in both Āshvalāyana and Baudhāyana one is tempted to think that both have drawn their information from a common source. If that be so the variation cannot be explained in Bhāgavat VIII-13 the names of the seven rishis, as to be found in the Brihadāranyak Upanishad, are stated to belong to the Vaivasvata Manvantara period. In R.V.X. 130.7 it is stated that the seven rishis restored the sacrificial cult (Yagna Vidya) after closely following the path of the forefathers. Now while interpreting this mantra Sāyana has mentioned Marichi and others as the seven rishis who followed the path of Angiras and others. But Mahidhara while explaining the same mantra in Shukla Yajurveda XXXIV.49 has mentioned the names of Bharadvāja, Kashyapa, Gotama, Atri, Vishvamitra and Jamadagni as the seven rishis. In this connection we must remember that this mantra R.V. X.130.7 is a testimony of the restoration of the Yagna Cult, so it indirectly refers to the discontinuation or disturbance of the Yagna cult. The Yagna could have been lost through devastation from flood or invasion or both. We shall have to discuss this later on. If this was destroyed through flood then the name of Vaivasvata Manu as given by the Bhāgavata is a plausible one and Mahidhara probably drew his inspiration from Bhāgavata. In R.V. X 63. 1,7 we have a clear reference of Manu first holding the sacrifice with the help of the seven rishis. That this Manu was Vaivasvata Manu is known from the first verse and that he came from Parāvat. The first verse also refers to the establishment of friendship. This means that previous to this there was a discord in the Vedic World and Vaivasvata Manu with the help of seven rishis established amity. We shall have occasion to discuss this discord during, the middle period. This accord through

Manu was established in the middle territory. So the Sisu worship refers to the middle territory as also to the third set of seven rishis.

If we consider this question from another angle we can say that the mention of the new rishis or new mantras can only be made either by the new or third set of rishis or by rishis who came after them. If then we find some of the rishis mentioning the fact of new rishis or new mantras but are placed in the second set by Āshvalāyana and Baudhāyana in the second or middle set we can safely reject the opinion of these authors. In fact this is what we find in the Rig Veda. The author of R.V.III 32.13 is Viśhvāmītra, a rishi whom Āshvalāyana and Baudhāyana place in the middle set. The author of R.V.VI 21.5 is Bharadvāja. The rishi of VII.15.4 and VII.93.1 is Vasistha. The same is the case with these two rishis. But we cannot accept the opinions of Baudhāyana and Āshvalāyana. We take them to be rishis of the third or new set. The rishis of the middle set of Madhyama rishis were Yama and his followers as has been stated by Yāska in Nirukta XI.18. We shall have to discuss this again in connection with the Chronology of the Yagna Cult.

So we are easy in our conscience regarding the seven rishis and their locality as they occur in the Sisu worship in the Brihadāranyaka Upanishad. They occupy a place between Sharayanāvat and Parāvat—the middle country in the South named Arvavat. These belong to the last phase of the Vedic rishis. Though there are many rishis after them—their sons and grandsons etc.—still they are called the last set of rishis inasmuch as the Yagna Cult was fixed by them and there was no subsequent change.

R.V.X 137 is a hymn of seven mantras each of which was seen by each of the seven rishis under discussion. The second mantra of this hymn mentions two winds—one from the Sindhu and the other from Parāvat. As the words Sindhu and Parāvat are in the fifth case ending with the particle *Ā*, hence the two words are in the sense of abhivṛddhi or inclusive limit. We can take that one came from the East including the Sindhu and the other from the West including Parāvat. Even if some reject the connotation of the Sindhu as put forth by us, that is the Kabul river plus the Indus of the present day, the interpretation of the direction will not be hampered by us. But Sāyana interprets Sindhu as Samudra or sea and Parāvat as a distant country. This changes the direction of the winds. We cannot accept this interpretation because of the fifth case ending with the particle *Ā* and also for the fact that the locality that we have assigned

to the seven rishis in that case makes the winds blow from the south and north. In the north then there shall be the high Hindu Kush Mountains which will prevent any wind blowing from the north and the sea cannot be an inclusive limit. The Sindhu may mean either the Indus or also the seven rivers from Gangā to Vitastā as have been enumerated by Sindbukshit rishi in R.V.X.75.

While interpreting R.V.I.92.3 Sāyana has given an alternative interpretation of Parāvatah as Pashchimā digbhāgāt or from the western direction. But he has consistently shunned this sense of Parāvat in every other place. Probably this was unsuitable to the stand he had taken in interpreting the Vedas. We shall have to search for the connotation of the term in the Vedas. In R.V.V-53.8,9 we find the rishi invoking Marut to come from Dyaus from Antariksha, from Ama and request him not to stay in the Parāvat. Let not Rasā, Anitabhā, Kubhā. Krumu or Sindhu charm you away from us. Nor let Sarayu with plenty of water give you pleasure. In this we find the direction of the Maruts is from east to west and Parāvat as also Sarayu is the last place mentioned of course in the west. In R.V.VIII-20,25 the Maruts are stated to be in Sindhu, Asikni, Samudra, etc. So from these we can take Parāvat in the West and Samudra in the middle as we find from the Vela, hallow, in the Sisu worship. The Sarayu river is also in the west near to Parāvat. In R.V.IV.30.11,12.18 we find Indra driving out Ushas and Surya from Vitpāsi, Vitastā, Sindhu to beyond Paravata. Sarayu is also mentioned. So there is no doubt that Parāvat was a Western country in the Vedic times. In our 'Implications of the Nadi-stuti' we have placed Parāvat in the Fara region of Afghanistan.

This being the case is the seven rishis were located midway between Saryanāvat and Parāvat—in the Samudra or Arvāvat country where the seven streams of Saraswati could be found. In R.V.VI 61.2 we find Saraswati to be coming from the Giri and she is called Pārāvata-ghni, slayer of the people of Parāvat. In R.V.VII 95.2 Saraswati is described coursing from the Giri to the Samudra. Here again we find the fifth case ending with Ā which means that Samudra is inclusive and therefore must be the name of a territory. So these Sarasvatyah are the third set of Sapta Sindhavah and are in Afghanistan. These Sarasvatyah or Sapta Sindhavah are contiguous to the territory of God Varuna as has been located by us in the 'Implications of Nadistuti by Sindhuksit'. R.V.VIII-69.12 also upholds our opinion. Here Varuna is called a Sudeva, a good God, by whose domains the seven Sindhus flow. This being the case the upper

reaches of the Sindhu could not but be the Kabul river of the present day and Sindhukshit Praiyamedha was a resident of this territory. In this context we must remind our readers not to take Giri as a synonym of Parvata, mountain. Giri and Parvata are proper names. Giri is connected with Saraswati. So giri must be the Koh-i-Baba range.

Our enquiries so far have defined the sapta-Sindhavah or Hapta Hindovah of the Avesta where, particularly in the Saraswati region, the seven rishis of the third stage dwelt. These seven rishis with their sons and grandsons are responsible for most of the hymns of the Rig Veda. True it is that a few more rishis, e.g. Kutsa, Bamadeva, Kanva, Agastya, Gritsamada etc., can be added to the list. But, we think these did not live in this particular region, the Southern part of present day Afganistan, south of the Hindu Kush mountain. We have also seen that this region was not separated from the Punjab, the land of Vipashā, Asikni, Vitastā and Rāsā, which we take to be Soan or Sohan river. We have also located Parāvat and, as such, are in a position to discuss various other place names. The name of Archosia according to Avesta is Harauvanti. Can it not be Arvāvati as discussed by us?

## II

"Vedic exignsis has to run the gauntlet of previous interpretation as also religious sentiments setting up the Vedic Gods as nature Gods. But from various considerations, considerations of Vedic philosophy of life as also considerations of personal details, we are led to think that the Vedic Gods were human beings like us sometimes individuals, sometimes representatives of clans forging out unity at times through anicability and at other times through suppression by wars. These activities form the subject matter of Yagnas in later times. We have tried to explain the meaning of Yagna elsewhere in a very elementary way. We shall have to discuss it in detail at a later date. What we want to state here is that Yagnas were or are based on the act of unification. In that excellent book before Philosophy (Pelican—1959) Jacobsen bemuses, "Even more curious than this, however, is the fact that one such self might infuse itself into other different selves and, in a relation of partial *identity*, lend them of his character" (p 145). This is in relation to the religious ideas of Assyria and Babylon. This is precisely the core of Yagna. Scholars in ancient history, who have not properly studied the essence of Vedic cult and who think the Vedas to belong to a far later date, have not tried to

trace the relations of Vedic and Assyrian cultures. So this may sound something new to them. Be that as it may, what Jacobsen points out appears very much like Sympathetic Magic as pointed out by Fraser. Now this word Magic is rather unfortunate. To any discerning man it will be found that man always transforms himself through aptitude and adaptability. A deeper effect of this sense of identity may bring about a change also in others. The Christian doctrine of love is assuredly based on this principle. This is precisely the Samyama of Jógic philosophy—a mixture of Dhāranā, Dhyan and Samadhi as discussed in the Bibhuti Pāda of the Yoga Sutra of Patanjali.

Unfortunately enough Afganistan at present is an archaeological blank. So what we say about the cultural relations between the Vedas and Assyria remains unproved. Our intention in these lines is to point out certain landmarks in the Vedas incontrovertible according to our idea and thus lay out not only a path for rethinking the Vedas but also to emphasise the need for a thorough archaeological expedition into Afganistan and other contiguous territories. Probably in this way can the origin of present day civilisation be brought to light.

Before proceeding with our subject matter we like to point out certain interesting facts from Before Philosophy as mentioned earlier. In page 145 Jacobsen quotes two lines from the Maqlu tablets :

I am Heaven, you can not touch me,  
I am earth, you can not be with me !

These lines as also other lines quoted in the same page sound very much like the Devi-Sukta (R.V.X. 125). The Kavacha in Sri Sri Chandi as also the appearance of Devi called Durgā or Mahishāsura-mardini or Mahā Lakshmi in the same book—Chandi—has a similar ring. R.V.I, 89, 10 speaks almost the same thing about Aditi. Aditi is everything. R.V.I, 164, 46 and VIII, 58, 2 speak of the manifestation of one in many aspects. R.V.II, 1, 3 and 4 particularly, speak of Agni pervading through everything. Then in page 147 of Before Philosophy we get another quotation depicting fire as the decider of lawsuits. This idea also is very much in line with incantations of Agni Rakshohā in the Rig Veda. In page 149 we have mention of the "the seven gods who determine destinies". This is probably an echo of the "Sapta Dānūn" in R.V.X. 120, 6 and Dānunaspati in R.V.I. 136, 3; II, 41, 6 and VIII, 8, 16 or this may refer to the Ādityas about whom we shall have occasion to talk. Again in pp. 184 and 188

the quotations respectively from Enuma Elish "then were gods formed within them" and "dancing within (her depth) where heaven is founded" appear to be distinct echoes from R.V.X, 72, 6. Whatever we may think of these, one conclusion appears forceful enough to point out the probable contiguity in the cultures of the Vedic people and the Assyrians. We may point out in passing over these that the Maqlu tablets and the Enuma Elish in essence cannot be later than the third millenium B.C. Elish has a very similar ring with Ailusha and Ilibisha of the Rig Veda.

Then we have two words Uti and Uma, we have grave doubts if we can accept the meanings attached to these words by Sayans. In R.V.VI, 33, 4 we find the statement Uti-Sakhā-Indra-Indra, the friend of Uti. This Uti sounds very much like a people. When we find Herodotus (Bk III-89-95) mentioning the Utians along with the Sarangians in the list of Satrapies of Darius (list—14) our doubt appears to stand to reason. This Uti is mentioned many times in the Rig Veda. Can it be related with the Sumerian word Utu-tho Sun? In like manner we also have a doubt about the interpretation of Umā by Sayana. In R.V.X, 120, 1 and 3 the word Umā is to be found in a context which leads us to think them as a people. The word is to be found in many other places in the Rig Veda. Now we are not sure if we can take these to be a people residing in the town Uma in ancient Mesopotamia of round about 3000 B.C.

In the Rig Veda the word 'Nakih' is to be found in more than fifty places. Sāyana has always interpreted this word in a negative sense of none or nothing. But in certain places he has not found it to be convenient and in order to maintain his stand has simply overlooked certain aspects in the interpretation. In R.V.II 24, 7 he has not been very successful in imparting the negative sense. The meaning here is clearly enough conveyed that Angiras and others saw the Agni of the Panis generated by rubbing with hands, found it unpleasing and so discarded it. This evidently refers to the Agni worshipped by the Panis. We shall discuss this fire worship later on. But Sāyana says that Angiras and others generated fire by rubbing with arms and with it burnt the residence of the Panis. It is needless to mention in order to maintain his stand he has jumbled up the construction and has not given word for word interpretation. This at least leaves a doubt about the meaning of 'Nakih'. Then again in R.V. IV, 30, 1 in order to maintain his stand he has split a single attribute into two parts and has fitted in 'Naki' with one and 'na' with the other. The mantra runs thus:



Oh Indra! (Indra) oh slayer of Vritra! (Vritrahan) beyond you greater naki (tvaduttaro jyāyān nakih) does not exist (na asti). We leave nakih untranslated. But Sāyana construes: Oh Indra! (Indra) oh slayer of Vritra (Britrahan) there is nothing better than you (tvaduttara Utkrishtatara, better, nakih, na asti, does not exist) nor is there anything greater than you (na jyāyān asti).

To a discerning scholar this division by Sāyana of Uttarāh and jyāyān will at once appear as a strained effort with the sole effort of maintaining the meaning of 'nakih' as none or nothing, as adopted by him. It will at once appear that 'Uttarah' and 'Jyāyān' form a single attribute. If it is taken in that light 'nakih' becomes untenable in the sense adopted by Sāyana. We rather like to interpret the word in the sense of personality, activity, godhood, and like words.

Again in R.V.I. 165, 9 the word 'nakih' in connection with the word 'anuttam' is interpreted in a peculiar way. While interpreting this very mantra in Shuklayajurveda xxviii, 79 Mahidhara explains 'nakih' as 'na kena api' by none. In each case the interpretation, is strained one. The simple meaning should be:—

Oh Maghaban (Indra) ! Surely (uu) your nakih (te nakih) is indestructible (anuttema). There does not exist (na asti) a knowing god (devatā Vidāna) like you (tvāvān).

But Sāyana interpretes anuttam as apreritam, that is 'not inspired' and introduces a word of his own accord tvayā 'by you' and thus establishes 'naki' in the negative sense. Mahidhara gives the meaning of 'anuttam' as 'anasakattam', indestructible. The sense indestructible is the usual meaning of 'anuttam' which has been used in many treatises—Gita for one. We can not accept either Sāyana or Mahidhara. We take 'nakih' in the sense as stated earlier. Connected with this 'nakih' is the word 'anuttam' which evidently comes from 'anut' meaning indestructible. This immediately brings us face to face with the Annunnaki of the Enuma Elish. In Enuma Elish the Anu-un-nakiare the indestructible gods in council-Anut-naki: Anunnaki. This appears very much like an association of the Vedic people with the Assyrians. Probably this is not mere moonshine.

In the Epic of Gilgamesh we find the Seven Sages building up Uruk after the flood. It is for scholars to consider the implication of this. Enough of digression. We hope to be excused for this.

Taking up the trail left behind for the time being in the previous section we come back to Parāvat. It is as it were a fixed post in a settlement survey. The importance of this Parāvat in Vedic survey

can never be underestimated. Sāyana invariably takes this to mean a distant place except while interpreting R.V.I, 92,3, where he gives the alternative interpretation of a western country. In R.V.X. 180, 2 there is an expression Parāvatah Parasyāh—an extremely distant country as given by Sāyana. In R.V.V, 61, 1 there is an expression Paramasyāh Parāvatah. The same meaning is given here. In some places the word Parākāt is used to mean a distant land. We are rather inclined to think that the word Parāvat has the significance of a proper noun, and as such we take it to mean Farah of Afganistan as stated earlier. In R.V.VIII, 32, 22 Indra is invoked to proceed to the three Parāvatas. In the Vedas all the territories are stated to be three in number—Dyaus, Bhumi or Mahi, Antariksha, Saptar Sindhavah, Parāvata and many others. But, it is to be reasonably assumed, the plurality of any territory must have contiguity in location. But the expressions Parasyāh Paravatah and Paramasyāh Parāvatah leave us in doubt as to the contiguity in location of the Parāvatas. As such whether these three Parāvatas are Fara in Afganistan, Fara in Iran between Shurruk in Mesopotamia and Susa, and Farab in Turkmenistan on river Amu Daria on the railway line from Merv to Bokhara, is rather difficult for us to determine. Fara in Iran is connected with the Gilgamesh epic and Farab is contiguous to a place connected with remains of ancient cultures—the railway line from Merv to Bairamali passes, as it were, over a graveyard.

Taking our stand on Fara as we look round we find many places and peoples as mentioned by Ptolemy in his Geography to have familiar rings—Khrendoi in Hyrkania, which appears to be Srinjay (kh or k for S and d for j), Derbikkai (Tuavasha—d for t and kk or k for s or sh), Massagetai (Matsyakshit), Parnoi (Parni or Parnaya), Dasi (Dahae or Dāsa) in Marginas, which to us appears to be the Marya country in the Vedas, Zariaspai (Haryasva), Marykaioi (Maryaka), Ouarnoi (Varuna) in Baktriane, Parautoi (Paravata), oi Borgoi (Bhrigus) in Areia, Bolitai (Vala) and Parsioi (Parsu) in Paropanisadae. Darandai (Sarnjaya) taking s and J for d as Sarangiana 7 Zarangiana 7 Drangiana in Drangiana and many such names. In ancient times and in the middle ages there had been great movement of peoples and as such that Ptolemy states from hearsay may not be exactly placed. There may be variations as also duplications as is possible in all cases of migrations. To us Khrendoi in Hyrkania and Darandai in Drangiana are evident duplications through conquest or migration. Equations of names made by the Greeks or for the matter of that

by any foreigner always present difficulties on account of the phonetic values of letters used by these writers. As an example we may say that Ptolemy equates the name of the river Yamuna as Diamuna. Why is it so? It is simply because, so we think, that before writing down, most probably, Ptolemy got the details confirmed through different sources of information and being in doubt as to the actual pronunciation of the name put down to the two the different pronunciations of the name. For some people pronounce the name as Yamuna and some as Jamuna. As the delta in Greek had a variant of j in pronunciation, so Ptolemy has written Diamuna instead of Yamuna. So to us Khrendoi and Darandi stand evaluated as Srinjaya. McCrindle has read Draugae for Darandai. It comes to be the same thing.

There is one more difficulty. While locating a people or a territory we look to the map or a gazetteer. Now towns or places on maps are very small places while a people occupies a far greater territory. In such cases our identifications in most cases are approximate and can not be accurate.

So this Parāvata is connected with the Turvashas and Yadus pronounced as Jadus. The mention of these people is to be found in many places in the Rig Veda. These Turvashas are in R.V.I, 36, 18 denominated as Dasyus and in R.V.IX, 61,2 as Dāsas. In the Rig Veda the Dāsas and Dasyus mean the same thing. These appellations are connected also with the Vritras. They are associated with Arna and river Saraju (R.V.IV, 30, 18 and V. 53,9), with Parsu (R.V.VIII, 6, 46) and Vrichivatah (R.V.VI, 27, 7). They were annoyed by the Matayas and befriended by the Yakshus (R.V.VII, 18, 6 and 7). They did not belong to the Yagna cult and were of questionable conduct. Indra brought them over the seas (R. V. I, 174, 9 VI, 20, 12). Arnah is evidently Aornos in Bactra (Arrian's life of Alexander-BK III-28-30) Matsyas and Yakshu are the Massagetae in the Margiane country of Ptolemy and Yakshu people may be located in the Yakshu valley of Tajikistan. So all these evidences locate the Turvashas in the Margiane or Mari or Syriana country of Ptolemy. So they are very likely the Derbikai of Ptolemy living by the river Margos, present day Murghab and very likely the Maryas of the Vedas. So their place can be approximately located as Mari or Merv in Turkmenistan. They are associated with the Vrichivatas who were residents of Sarangiana. We shall discuss this. They were associated with Parsu, to us the Parsioi in Paropanisadae of Ptolemy which possibly is indicated by the place name Farai near the river, Harirud.

From all this the conclusion is inevitable that river Sarayu must be identified with Harirud or Tezend of present day. The same conclusion is arrived at from R. V. v, 53, 9 and iv, 30, 18, where killing of the Aryas is mentioned. Ptolemy also makes Areia and Margiane as contiguous territories. So Harirud is the Haroyu of Avesta Sarayu of Rig Veda. Now Ptolemy mentions that the Areias flows into the lake of Areia. So, even in the time of Ptolemy the Areias or Harirud or Tezend did not flow into the Turkmen desert as it does now. Probably the narrow pass of Adwan through which the Tezend flows now-a-days was closed and the result was a big lake south of it into which the Areias went. The Western boundary of this lake can be determined by Turbat-i-Shekh Am in Afganisthan. Traces of this lake can yet be found near the course of the Harud river to the south of this place. With this possibility we can reconcile the facts in R. V. I, 174, 9 and vi. 29, 12 that Indra brought the Turvashas and yadus from over the sea. This location of the Turvashas and the Sarayu reconciles all aspects of the case. If this is accepted then it will bring in a revolutionary change in ancient geography and identification of places in the Ramāyana and the Mahābhārata. In this connection we cannot avoid the fact that the Maruts, who have always been indicated by the word 'Marya' in the Rig Veda, are associated with Turvashas and yadus. Probably the names Merv (Mari or Maru and Maruchak near the source of the Murghab can be associated with them. Regarding the Yadus we are in complete darkness unless the Adwan pass has anything in connection with them. In R V.VIII, 6, 46 we find the Yadus and Parsu mentioned. Elsewhere from a consideration of R.V.V 52. 12 we identified Kubhanyu with the Cophen river near the source of the Sindhu where also in Varuna country round about Koh-i-Baba range. Herodotus in his Histories (BK. VII. 48-64) writes "In ancient times the Greek name for the Persians was Caphenes, though they were known to themselves and their neighbours as Artasi". This at once connects the Cophen with the Persians and our identification of Kubhanyu with Cophen and location of the Parsua stand to some reason. Again the word Artaei of Herodotus brings to our mind Atri, one of the seven sages mentioned by us earlier. So to us the parsioy of Ptolemy stretches from Koh-i-Baba to Koh-i-Safed along with Harirud.

From this we turn to Varuna. Varuna's territory stretches from Koh-i-Baba upto the Hemund Country and Registhan-Samudra and Rajas signify Antariksha which has been translated as the atmosphere. But we must remember that Bhuh and Prithivih also

mean Antariksha. To us it appears that during the time we are speaking of the sea had occupied most of Pust-i-Rnd and Registan. To the north east of Koh-i-Baba along with the Panjshir Valley were the Kābyas or Bhrigus denominated, so we think, the Borgoi by Ptolemy. The Vedas speak of Bhrigu as the offspring of Varuna. This is found in the Rigveda, the Aitareya Brahman, the Taittiriya Upanishad and many other sources. This territory was also contiguous to the territory of Mitra. In R.V.VII, 64,2. we find Mitra and Varuna mentioned as sovereigns over the Sindhu. Probably the northern portion was the territory of Mitra. Now from R.V.VII, 88, 1 we learn that Arvāvati was in the territory of Varuna. We have spoken of this in the previous section. In R.V.VII, 85, 5 the Rishi speaks of the house of Varuna made of earth—probably a pise structure. In R.V.VII, 88,3 the sage speaks of boarding a boat along with Varuna and enjoying the rolling of the boat much as a swing (prekhā) in the mid sea.

In R.V. VI, 61,3 and 1,93, 4 we have mentions of Vrisayas in connection with parāvat and Panis. Sāyana while explaining Vrisaya says that it is a name of Tvastri and “Vrisayasa mājuinah” means the sons of Tvastri. But we think Māyinah means people having food and as such cultivators of food. Hillebrandt evidently takes Vrisayas as Barsaentis of Arrian. It will be noticed that the ‘n’ and ‘t’ in Barsentis can not be found in Vrisaya. So we cannot accept this equation. To us Vrisaya appears to be Brabui. The ‘s’ in Vrisaya is an equivalent of ‘h’ in Brabui. This immediately locates the people in the Brabui range and then we remember that many traces of ancient irrigation works are found in Baluchistan the expression Mayinah, meaning possessing food, is forcefully borne in upon us. Moreover the mantra (R.V.I. 93. 4) is in connection with Agnisomya sacrifice. This brings us in line with the Rana Gundhai, in the Zhob Valley, and Kulli cultures discussed earlier—Implications of Fadi Stuti by Sindhuksht Paiyamedha Rishi. Thus the confirmations of details induce us to think that we are not pursuing an arbitrary line of discussion in connection with the approximate fixation of the time and place of the third stage of Vedic culture as also of Varuna. From all these discussions we come to the tentative conclusion that Tvastri of Tvastā meant a conglomeration of peoples living over a vast stretch of land indicated at present by the place names prefixed by the word Dast. Dast-i-Kavir, Dast-i-Lut, Dast-i-Margo, Dast-i-Talab, Dast-i-Chal. This territory includes Iran, Baluchistan and Afganistan, where in the ancient time there was a vast inland sea.

In R.V.V.VII, 87,1 we find that Varuna carved out the path for Surya (translated as the sun). Sāyana interprets this as a path in the atmosphere. But we take it in the sense we have taken for R.V.III, 33, 6 and X, 75, 2, (Vide Implications of Nadi Stuti). As in a mountainous region a path is generally found along the basin of a river, so we take this to mean the Sarayu or the Hari rud. We are further confirmed in our stand by the expression "arnanshi Samudriyā nadinām", streams pertaining to the Samudra country. On Account of the plural number we may include Khasrud, Farah rud and Harud in the Farah region. But we stick particularly to Hari rud, the region between the Harirud and the Murghab rivers. This territory of Surya is probably adjacent to the territory of the Maruts as we gather from R.V.VII, 12, 29 and 300. Here it is Mārutirvishah. In R.V.VIII, 13,28 it is Marutvatirvishah. In R.V.I, 35,6 we find that the territory of Savitā is divided into three parts of which one belongs to Yama. What it is to regard of the other two parts is not stated. In the Uttarkāṇḍa of Rāmāyana, the Rākshasa king, in his conquests fought with Yama, whose territory was by the Varuna country, then fought with Surya and crossing the Meru mountain fought with Māndhātā, king of Ayodhyā, a descendant of Manu Vaivasvata-Manu, the son of Vivasvān. The Meru mountain is evidently the Parapamisos or Paropanisadae. This is very much in line with the locations struck out by us. Now to us it appears that the territory of Manu Vaivasvata was somewhere by the side of the river Oxus and that of Surya was in the middle position. This distribution very much reconciles the flood story as given in the Mādhyandina recension of the Satapatha Brahmana 1,8,1, under the caption Manumatsya-kathā. There is an anomaly in the story. In the 5th Anuvāka of the story mention is made of "Uttaram girim" and in the 6th "Uttarasya gireh"—northern mountain and of the northern mountain respectively. Sāyana here very unobtrusively speaks of the Himavān—the Himalayas. Thus the story became current that Manu, during the flood, went into the Himalayas. It cannot be gathered from the text. But if we take the locality of Vaivasvata Manu as somewhere near the Oxus, then, following the text, during the flood Manu went to the northern hills, which to us appears to be the Baisuntau mountain in Uzbekistan which consequently is connected with Manoravataranam or descent of Manu. The Matsya in the Brāhman text may stand for the Matsya people or Massagetae. There is a Matcha territory in Tajikistan near the Yagnob Valley and the Garm

region. The name, Yagnob, is a striking one. So we have an approximate location of the Surya country.

R. V. I, 123,8 has it that the Ushā-sa lived about thirty Yojanas (a Yojana is roughly about eight miles) away from the residence of Varuna. Ushas has been translated as dawn. But we do not accept this translation. The Ushāsa were simply a class of women or women in general. Some of them were denizens of Ama, a territory mentioned many times in the Rig Veda, we only mention one example from R.V.V, 53, 8. These Ushāsa were also called Ahanā. So these Ushāsa might have been called, at a later date, when they were driven out of their land, Amāhanā or Amāhani pronounced as Amazone or Amazon, by the Greeks. Arrian mentions chorasmia and Media as bordering on the territory of the Amazons. Girshman mentions the Gutians as led by the women. In Vrihat Samhita of Varaha Mihir we have mentions of female kingdoms in the north-western countries. Lake Urmia in Kurdistan is a specific reminiscence of the Ushas as Urmyah in the Vedas is a name for them. These people were driven out to the west by Indra. Be that as it may, Sāyana takes Varuna to mean the sun and from this enters into an astronomical calculation to justify the thirty Yojanas or about 240 miles. Sāyana's assumption is incomprehensible to us. Why he should understand the sun as Varuna is more than what we can make of it. True it is that at one place, and only at one place (R.V.I, 50,6), Savitā is addressed as Varuna. It is probable that at one time Surya occupied the territory of Varuna and ousted him as also Indra. That is why in R.V.VII, 82, 3 we hear of Indra and Varuna driving out Surya from Dyaus. In hymn thirty of the fourth mandala of the Rig Veda we hear of Indra defeating Surya and Ushas and driving them out beyond Parāvata. In R.V.I, 48, 7 we hear of Ushas living in Parāvat upto the region of Surya. The Surya country being to the west of the Ushas country, these considerations lead us to take the Okhos river in Baktriane of Ptolemy to be the locality of the Ushāsa. The Okhos river is probably the river passing by the town of Maimana to the east of the Karabel plain and Dasht-i-chul through Shivarghan in Afganisthan. Okhos readily equates with Ushas. By now we have practically covered almost all the territories to the south-west and north-west of the Hindukush mountains. All these countries in fact and what we are going to discuss are called Parāvata. We have discussed Parāvata earlier. The three Parāvalas now appear to be connected. Before proceeding to the south-west and west of Afganisthan we like to consider one very interesting case. In R.V.V, 61, 1-3

we come across the Maruts. The Maruts come riding on horses from Paramasyāh Parāvata—from the extreme limit of Parāvata. This has been discussed earlier. So this might have connection with Merv or Mari and as such with Farab. The Rishi Shyāvāsva is astonished to see the horses and notices with astonishment the Maruts (seven in number) while sitting on horseback are controlling them with nose strings (nasor yamah). Evidently going without stirrups they are holding to the sides of the horses with their knees and ankles and thighs bifurcated. These details are significant, astonishment at the sight of horses, enquiring about their place of origin and noticing their control by the nose. This must be an evidence of very old age—about 4000 B. C. Gordon Childe in his *What Happened in History* (Pelican—1946) writes in p 74 “A native habitat for horses lay probably in that direction, and the Merv oasis would be a quite likely centre for their domestication.” Regarding the control of horses he again writes in the same page :

“The harness (familiar from Sumerian pictures in the third millenium) employed was that already devised to control the ox”. This was done by piercing the nose and fitting a ring. In p. 125 of his *Man Makes Himself* (Thinkers' Library—87, 1951) Gordon Childe furnishes a picture of Early Sumerian War Chariot. In plate 17 of *Early Anatolia* (Pelican—1956) Seton Lloyd furnishes a photographic reproduction of a warchariot (Syro-Hittite relief from Carchemish). In both cases the horses are controlled by reins ending in circular straps over the muzzle. We don't think this was the case with the horses of the Maruts. While considering this we must remember that Rishi Shyāvāshva was an Ātreya—the son of Atri or belonging to the clan of Atri, a sage of the third stage of Vedic chronology.

Along with the Yadus and Turvashas we come across the names of of Druhyus, Anus and Purus (*vide* R.V.I, 180, 8 and VII, 18, 12-14). Considering the location of the Turvashas we may take the Anus to be located at Anau near Askabad in Turkmenistan. The Druhyus readily equate with the Iranian personal name Darius. We are at present not in a position to identify them with any locality. The Purus require very little comment. But in the Vedic period they were also somewhere in the Kopet Dag mountain. It is stated that the Anus (Anavah) built a chariot for the Asvins.

These people—Turvasha, Yadu, Druhyu, Anu etc., —were most probably the Deva Gandharvas mentioned in the Taittiriya Upanishad. They were also called Gandhāras. The word Gandhāra occurs, at least once, in the Rig Veda. They were also called Hā Hā from which has



come the Haihayas. Now the word Hā hā is equated with the word Kaaka or Kaska. This also justified our stand in locating them. For there is Kaska Dariya, a region in Uzbekistan. All these people were intimately connected with the horse. Though it is out of place still we can not check the temptation of mentioning a fact. Many place names or peoples have a duplication in Asia Minor. So we have Anaua, Kaska or Gasga, Ida, Ilium, Troy to mention a few only. Ida and Ilium readily equate with Vedic Idā and Ilā (U-i-lu-si-ia with Ilvisha) and Ta-ru-(u) i-sa or Ta-ru-i-ya with Turvasha or Turviti or Turvva in the Rig Veda. In this connection we may point out that centaur equates with Gandhār or Gandharva. We shall have occasion to discuss these details at a later date. Ta-ru-i-ya etc. are taken from the Hittites by Gurney (Belican-1962, pp. 56 ff).

We have already discussed the Vrisayas and have pointed out that they must be the Brahuis. We further point out that in R.V.VI, 61, 1-3, there are mentions of Pani and Parāvat. Ptolemy while describing the Indus region mentions Bonis which must be very near the Bolan Pass in Baluchistan. There is actually a place very contiguous to the Patalle of Ptolemy. In the Bhāgavat (V, 24, 30) it is stated that the Panis lived in Rashātala one of the seven Pātālas. This is in Arachosis. In R.V.X, 94 we have Arbudah kādraveyah as Rishi. Now Arbuda can very well be equated with Arbitai—The Arbitai mountains. In R.V.II, 14,4 we find Indra killing Arbuda belonging to the Sarpas (translated as serpents). Hymn 189 of the 10th mandala belongs to Sārpaiāgni (Serpentqueen) Kadru. Kadru can very well be equated with Gwadar or Gwatar in Gedrosia—a part of Baluchistan. The name Baluchistan from Sind to Ras Jask on the Persian Gulf is a reminiscent of Vala worshipped by the Panis. Then again Srauta Agni (Vedic sacrificial fire) is also called Baitānik Agni. This name Baitānik reminds us of the Baitan hills of Baluchistan. The Bagoos mountain in Ptolemy located south of Sarangiana or Seistan may very well be connected with the name Bhaga, one of the Adityas.

In R.V.VI, 27,5 we come across the names Vrichivatah and Hariyupiyā. Along with these two names we have the expression 'Purve Ardhe.' Now 'ardha' in Vedic lexicon means place and 'purva' may mean either in the east or in the front. If we take Parāvat as centre then "Purva Ardhe" may mean a place contiguous. This immediately leads us to the Sariphe mountain which easily equates with Hariyupiyā. Sāyana interprets this as either a town or a river.

If a river we may take it for the 'Shur' river of the present day flowing into the Hamud. Now the word Hariyupīā is evidently a compound of Hari and Yupiya. Hari means a horse, a sacrificial horse and Yupia from Yupa, a post to which a sacrificial animal is tied. This evidently refers to a place famous for horse sacrifice. This horse has a special name of Hari. This reminds us of Nissea, near Anau and Askabad, where the divine horses of the Achamaenids were bred. But the Nissean horses were said to be white in colour. The 96th hymn in the 10th Mandala is about Hari. The location of Hariyupīā appears to be correct from this. We shall discuss it again. In the 5th mantra we come across "Purve Ardhe", so in the 6th mantra we learn about the remaining portion of the territory of the Vrichivantah which is named as "Yavyāvati"—the expression is "Yavyāvatyam", in Yavyāvati. Sāyana takes this as a meaningless word. Yab in Uzbek language means a canal. So Yavyāvati may be a place where there was good cultivation due to many canals. Or Yavyāvati may mean a place where Yava or barley was excellently cultivated. We cannot for certain say if it meant the river Zab in Mesopotamia. As this Yavyāvati refers to a hinterland, beyond Purve Ardhe it may not be a farfetched idea. Then the Vrichivatah and Vrichivantah in mantras 5 and 6 may very well be the Barsaentis of Arrian in his life of Alexander. This Barsaentis of Arrian is connected with Sarāngiana. As the Vrichivantah were defeated in favour of Srinjaya (mantra 7) said to be the son of Deva vāta or Devavāta we can locate Srinjaya in Sarangiana (modern Seisthan). The name Srinjaya is also to be found in R.V.IV. 15,4—Daivavāte Srinjaye. From this we come to Sārñjaya, son of Srinjaya, in R.V.VI, 47,25. Sārñjaya is the name of Divodāsa. He has other names—Prastoka and Asvatha (R.V.VI, 47, 22, 24). From all these we come to the conclusion that Divodāsa was a Dāsa, of the Dahae tribe, connected with Dyaus (from Div base, genitive Divah). That he was a descendant of Daivavāta further confirms our view. The word Daivavāta is probably derived from Devavata. In Actuality we find the word Devavatah in connection with Sudāsa, a descendant of Divodāsa (*vide* R.V.VII, 18,22). This is further confirmed by the statement that Divodāsa fought with Turvasha and Yadu (R.V.IX, 61,2) and Srinjaya annexed a portion of the territory or riches (R.V.VI, 27,7). Divodāsa is also connected with Parāvat. Under these circumstances the identification of Sārñjay with Sarangiana cannot be missed.

In R.V.VI, 47, 24 we find the mention of Atharvans in friendly terms. But in Shukla Yajurveda XXX, 15 we find a mention of the

Atharvans in an unfriendly manner. The Atharvans are to be given cows which have no offsprings. Or it may mean "The Atharvans are to be given barren wives." As the place mentioned is contiguous to Areia of Ptolemy we may find here the Atharvans as the forerunners of the Athrovans of Avesta. Can these Atharvans have anything in common with A-to-ro-po (Anthropos) of the Linear B writings? In R.V.VI, 27,8 we have mention of Pārthavas, as the Parthians called themselves in later times. These encourage us in our findings.

This Divodāsa, with the help of Indra, further conquered Varchih and Sambara at a place called Ud-Vraja in R.V.VI, 47,21. It is very difficult to identify Udvraja. The prefix Ud means upper and Vraja means a pasture or conglomeration of cows. So this name Vraja refers to two places, one the plain and another on the hill. This brings to our mind the El. Burz mountains. Burz might very well have been Vraja. Varchi can be equated Warka or Uruk. Sambara can very well be connected with the Sumbar Valley near Asterabad in the south-eastern corner of the Caspian sea. There is a Sumbar river which joins the Atrek river which according to Strabo was the Okhos river. There are anomalies about this Okhos river. Some take it to be the ancient Oxus river. But if we take account the dry bed of the Uzboi in Turkmenistan we cannot identify the Oxus with the Okhos. The Atrek was evidently the Okhos of ancient times. This name Okhos immediately brings to our mind the Ushas whom we have identified with the Amazons. Now in connection with Sambara we come across the words Sharad or Sharat and Shāradi. The word Sharad occurs many times in the Rig Veda and Shāradi twice (R.V.I, 174,2 and VI,20,10). Sharad normally means the season of autumn and in this sense the year. But the word Shāradi cannot be explained in this way. In fact in R.V.VI, 20,10 Sāyana explains Shāradi as a city belonging to an Asura named Sharat, though in R.V.I, 174,2 he explains it as either Pratyagrāh, which cannot be understood, or a city, or tower built through a year. This is also difficult to accept. So also (Sharad in R.V.II, 12,11, Sharadah in X, 95, 16 and probably Sharadah in VI. 47. 17 appear to have been not clearly explained. To us this Shāradih appears to have been not clearly explained. To us this Shāradih appears to be strongholds where a female deity was worshipped—in classical Sanskrit Shārādā is the name of Goddess Durga, whose worship is celebrated in Autumn. This brings up close to Haldis or Khaldis of the Hurrian pantheon, said to be the consort of Teshub. Whether we are to take Teshub

for Dakṣha, one of the Adityas, or Tvastar is not easy for us. Mongait gives the name Teisbas for Teshub.

This Sambara is called a Dāsa, A Danu (R. V. II. 12. 11) and Kaulitara. The word *Kaulitara* is derived from Kulitar, better than all other Kulis IV, 30. 14). This immediately reminds us of the Cilicians and Danuans. Then in R. V., VII. 99. 4 in connection with Sambara and others we have the word *Vrishashipra*. The word *Vrishā* means Ox. The word *Shipra* according to Sāyana means, the chin, the nose or a headgear. We cannot accept it to mean the nose though Sāyana while interpreting Hari Sipra in R. V., X. 96. 4 take it to mean the nose taking on a yellow colour account of excess drinking of Somajuce, but in the 12th verse he straight takes on another meaning for the same word. In R. V., V. 36. 2 the words *Hanu*, meaning chin or cheek, and Sipra occur together. So Sipra cannot mean the chin. To us it appears to mean the beard and, according to the context, the headgear. So *Vrishasipra* means a headgear with the horns of the ox. Probably it is needless to say that the ancients had peculiar headgears. In the stele of Naram Sin we find him wearing Oxhorns as headgear. Alexander had ram's horns as headgear. So also had Seleucus. This *Vrishasipra* about Sambara brings him close to Akkad. We are not quite sure if Akkad can be equated with Asvatha, a name of Divodasa. Regarding *Harishipra*, Sayana explains it to be a headgear, yellow in colour. But as the word is in connection with Hari, the yellow horse of Indra and Indra is identified with Hari we take it to mean much as Herodotus writes about the Asiatic Ethiopians in his Histories (B.K. 7.66-75) as follow : "The equipment of the Ethiopians from Asia was in most respects like the Indian, except that they wore headdresses consisting of horses' scalps, stripped off with the ears and mane attached—the ears were made to stand erect and the mane served as a crest" (*Penguin*). So *Harisipra* brings us close to Susa and Cissia. We have already pointed out that Sisu in Babylonian means a horse. In R. V., I. 116, 18 it is stated that the Asvins supplied food to Divodasa on carts drawn by *Vrishava* and *Simsumāra*. *Simsumāra* is *Sisumāra* in classical Sanskrit and means a dolphin or propoies. This may mean that the Asvins caused corn to be supplied to Divodāsa in bullock carts and boats shaped like the dolphin—a picture pertaining to the Gilgamesh Epic by Sandars (*Penguin*) appears to be so. Or *Simsumāra* may mean a horse drawn cart. In any way some people are meant. Considering the contiguity of locality with the Caspian Sea we think

Hissar and Uxia are meant. Or this may mean Varkhob and Hissar in Tajikistan. The foregoing one appears to be likely in connection with the wars of Divodāsa. Namuchi was also killed in Parāvata with seafoam. Whether Namuchi is connected with Nimak or Namak, salt, is not for us to determine.

In connection with his statements about Sialk phase III, somewhere during the middle of the fourth millenium B.C., Girshman (Iran—*Pelican*, 1954, p. 47) writes: "the houses were more carefully constructed, although the doorway was still curiously low. At the entrance stood an oven divided into two compartments, one used for cooking food and the other, presumably, for baking bread. At one side a small water-jar stood in the ground." This is rather very peculiar. Why cannot bread be baked in the oven for cooking food? What sort of bread was it that required baking oven? We think in those days bread was much in the form of a letti or roti as is still to be found in the east. Moreover, even if we accept the explanation, why should the oven be at the door step? This is inscrutable. What we think is that these people, newcomers with grey or black potteries, were Vedic people and the oven or ovens in question were fire altars or Dhishnya. A man after marriage established his Gārhapatya and Dakshina Agni on one altar and the Āhavanīya on another Vēdi or altar. But even this does not explain why the fireplace was at the doorstep. Now in the Rig-Vēda there are ten Āpri hymns. These hymns are very important and we shall discuss them on a suitable occasion. The fifth deity invoked in these hymns (in some, the sixth) was Devīh Dwāra, Agni named as such and was located on the door step. This is rather intriguing. Probably the case was similar in Susa, if not at any other place.

We request scholars to think of these. We have not discussed Rouma, Rushama, Shyāvaka, Kripa and many others for insufficiency of details.

We are not students of archaeology and as such have no claim to its interpretations. Still, we think, we can point the attention of scholars to the different aspects of pottery culture in Western Asia. The buff wares, the red wares and the grey or black wares can now be interpreted in terms of what we have discussed here. Most probably the buff wares relate to Panis and allied people, the red wares to the Danus and people converted to Vedic culture and the grey wares relate to the Ashuras aligned with the solar race, who came from the borders of Oxus and spread their cultures northwards to Samarkand and

contiguous territories and to the Caspian gates and further in West. The incidence of the grey or black wares falls round about the middle of the fourth millenium B.C., the period we have approximately assigned to the third stage of the Vedic culture.

Here we venture to equate the chumuris with the Sumerians (R.V., VIX. 26, 6 and others), who at an early period were near the Caspian gate.

We are conscious of many defects in us through incompetence and amnesia as also for convenience of the subject discussed. We hope our exertions in the field would be looked with sympathy, while comparing with other writers on the field.

We forgot to mention Parnaya (R.V., I. 53. 8) and Parni (R.V., IX, 82, 3) whom Ptolemy mentions as Parnaya in Margiane. The Parnayas are mentioned with Karanja. Can this be khwarism or chorasmia?

Thus through our exertions we think, we have fairly succeeded in proving the truth of the statement of Al Masudi (953 A.D.) that the Hindu nation extends from Khorasan to Tibet.

We have found fault with Sāyana at many places. This does not take away our veneration for that great man. At a time when communications were difficult and there was scattering of peoples and cultures on account of Muslim invasions, what Sāyana did is stupendous indeed. But for him it would not have been possible for us to enter into the wilderness of the Vedas. We bow to him in veneration.

## EARLY INFLUENCE OF INDIAN LITERATURE IN FRANCE

B. BISSOONDOYAL

Long before Indologists started to translate Sanskrit works into the important languages of the West some Indian ideas and tales had reached France as they had other countries of Europe.

Clemenceau, the great statesman who at the outbreak of World War I found solace in the songs of *Gitanjali*<sup>1</sup>, told bitter truths. In *In the Evening of My Thought*, one of his best books, he wrote that the whole of Europe was indebted to the East. Paraphrased, this observation means that France, one of the foremost nations of Europe, was influenced by India, a leading Asian country.

Indian influence can be traced at a time France was known by the name *Gaul*. Christianity was yet unborn. The druids were held in great respect. The people of that land believed in the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. They were convinced that the soul did transmigrate. To this day the name *René*, French for 'born again', is given to children in all the countries where this language is spoken and written. It is as meaningful a name as Rabindranath, for instance. Although a proper name it is not meaningless. The statue of the Gallic god Cernunnos has been unearthed in several parts of France. The startling fact that it is the statue of a god of pre-Christian France who used to assume the yogic posture, leads to the conclusion that India had entered Gaul.

Like ancient India, Gaul had no temple. The people went to the forest to pray. It is precisely sylvan retreats that were chosen by those who have given us the Upanishads, rightly styled 'Himalayas of the Soul'.

Max Müller quotes Caesar as saying: "Druids were said to know a large number of verses by heart; that some of them spent 20 years in learning them, and that they considered it wrong to commit them to writing." The Orientalist adds: "... exactly the same story which we hear in India." Foreigners remarked that the French were very fond of listening to the tales of distant lands.

We would not be far from the truth if we were to say that when the Abbé Huc paid a visit to Lhasa in 1842, it is one of the distant lands that interested his ancestors that he saw. He was surprised to find that Buddhists reminded him of Christians:

"The crozier, the mitre, the chasuble, the cardinal's robe, . . . . the double choir at the Divine Office, the chants, the exorcism, the censor with five chains, the blessing which the Llamas impart by extending the right hand over the heads of the faithful, the rosary, the celibacy of the

<sup>1</sup> J'ai parlé surtout de l'Asie parce que depuis les plus anciens âges jusqu'à nos jours, sa pensée, ses rites, ses cultes, sa philosophie, sa métaphysique ont envahi notre terre, l'Europe et s'y sont développés avec exubérance. Nous sommes là en pays familier — du soir de la pensée.

clergy, their separation from the world, the worship of saints, the fasts, processions, litanies, holy water,—these are the points of contact which the Buddhists have with us."

Mahaffy writes with reason: "These Buddhists Missionaries were the forerunners of the Christ."

Victor Duruy, the French historian, who saw affinities between Ancient India and Gaul, made an attempt to introduce the rudiments of the History of India into the syllabus of secondary schools. Had such an attempt been successful the statement made by Mahaffy would have been verified and with comparative ease too.

The Crusades brought Asians and Europeans together. Long after the bravery of the warrior is forgotten the wholesome effect that such a contact had will be remembered.

#### THE ROLE OF THE ARABS

Arabs served both the Occident and the Orient by bringing within the reach of Westerners the wisdom embodied in Eastern works. The *Castoiment* or 'Chastisement' was transmitted by the Arabs. A Spanish Jew took this book to France in 1106.<sup>2</sup> It is the story of a young man whom his father counsels to have an irreproachable character. Old story-tellers have used the stories of the *Castoiment* for centuries on end.

The descendants of the people of Gaul read the *Fabliaux* which had reproduced several tales taken from the *Vetal Pancavimsatika*. Here we are not on slippery ground. Even before they had been reduced to writing by Somadeva the tales of this famous collection were popular in many countries of the East and the West.

Some of the stories of the *Arabian Nights* were current in France even before Galland thought of translating them into French. We have in mind two or three stories including that of the Ebony Horse. Burton says that it "originated in a Hindu story of a wooden *Garuda*. It came from India via Persia, Egypt, and Spain to France (*Le cheval de Fust*) and thence to Chaucer's ears."<sup>3</sup>

It is by now an open secret that not only the *Arabian Nights* but also the Parables of Sindebar, Italy's *Decameron* and Andersen's *Tales*, to name only a few authors and works, are indebted to Somadeva for some of their tales. When grandmothers in France tell the story of Melusine they do not know that they are telling an Indian tale. Melusine is supposed to have built the castles of Morvant, Vouvant, Parthenay, Parc-Soubise, Coutray, Salbart Marmade, Issoudan, etc. She was the daughter of the king of Albania. She used to appear near the castle of Poitou, now resembling a beautiful woman, now assuming the shape of a serpent to strike terror into the hearts of those who saw her.

<sup>2</sup> Edouard Mennechet, *Littérature moderne*, the most famous is the *Castoiment d'un père à son fils* which falls under the class of works attributable to oriental influence, being derived from the Indian *Panchatantra*.—*Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

<sup>3</sup> G. T. Garrett, *The Legacy of India*, p. 24.



The story of the purse of Fortunatus that could never be emptied, that of the enchanted boots, the Magic Mirror, the Magic Cap and the Magic Unguent had an Indian origin.

That of 'Tristram and Isolde' had a Persian version. It too started from India and reached France. In a recent issue of *Unesco Features* that Persian version is given:

"The ancient Persian legend of *Vis and Ramin*, whose theme closely resembles that of *Tristram and Isolde*, is providing scholars in Tiflis with a fascinating literary puzzle.

The legend was first written down in verse by the Persian poet Fakhrod-Din As' and Gorgāne about 1050 A.D. Ramin, brother of the king of Persia, falls in love with Vis, daughter of a princess, when the two children are being brought up in the care of a foster-mother. The story tells how Vis is given in marriage by her mother to another prince, despite an earlier promise that she should marry king Maubad, Ramin's brother; how Maubad abducts and marries Vis who, to escape the old king, seeks the protection of her foster-mother; and how the latter gives her a magic talisman and arranges a meeting between Vis and Ramin.

The path of true love, however, is beset with obstacles. After many vicissitudes, Ramin in his turn abducts Vis, declares war on King Maubad who is finally killed by a wild boar and marries Vis. The couple reign happily for many years.

In 1864, an edition of the poem was prepared in Calcutta by philologists using three or four manuscripts dating from the 15th century. Many passages in this edition, however, were obscure or impossible to understand.

Scholars at the Institute of Eastern Culture of the Georgian Academy of Sciences in Tbilisi (Tiflis) have now decided to publish an edition as close as possible to the original eleventh century poem. They have collected twenty-two different versions of the legend, some in Persian and others in Georgian, among them several translations from the original poem. Tbilisi on the ancient trade route between Asia and Europe, with its converging cultural influences, is ideally situated for carrying out such research.

The legend is of special interest to students of folklore. Its remote origin and its similarity to the story of the Celtic prince and princess Tristram and Isolde, of much later date, have given rise to various theories. Some scholars believe that the Celtic tribes, whose ancestors came from Eastern Europe, influenced the early Iranians. Others think that the Iranians may have influenced the early Celtic bards. Perhaps both peoples drew on a common source of Indo-European culture. The publication of an authentic text of *Vis and Ramin* may throw new light on these theories."

Before coming to Rabelais we must enlarge upon a subject that must be better known. Without the *Arabian Nights* which are of Hindu origin, according to Lassen and others, Dickens would perhaps have not discovered romance in the obscure life of London and the world would

George Gissing writes a whole page on the influence not only this book but also other Eastern tales had on Dickens:

"A word is called for by the 2 books which are least connected with English traditions and English thought. The *Arabian Nights* and *Tales of the Genii* were certainly more read in Dickens's days than in ours; probably most children at present would know nothing of Eastern romance but for the Christmas pantomime. Oddly enough, Dickens seems to make more allusions throughout his work to the *Arabian Nights* than to any other book or author. He is not given to quoting, or making literary references; but those fairy tales of the East supply him with a good number of illustrations, and not only in his early novels. Is it merely fanciful to see in this interest, not of course an explanation, but a circumstance illustrative, of that habit of mind which led him to discover infinite romance in the obscure life of London? Where the ordinary man sees nothing but everyday habit, Dickens is filled with the perception of marvellous possibilities. Again and again he has put the spirit of the *Arabian Nights* into his pictures of life by the river Thames."<sup>4</sup>

#### RABELAIS (1494-1553)

A story that left its mark is the one that is about the Brahman of the Panchatantra, who built castles in the air. In France he becomes the milkmaid Perrette. Perrette is the French version of *Shekhchilli* too. She had counted her chickens before they were hatched and hence had to come to grief. The stories of Vishnu Sharma were being transmitted orally. Rabelais was not of those who care to find out the sources of stories that gain currency. He liked one of them and converted a Brahman into the little girl Perrette.

#### MONTAIGNE (1533-1592)

Nor could Montaigne find time to hunt for Indian books. Nevertheless, he alluded to India in his essay entitled '*Les lois humaines varient avec les temps et lieux.*' Although Montaigne's opinion on the Britishers is foreign to our subject it is interesting to note that, in the course of the same essay, he avows that he is ashamed of those contemporaries of his because they change their laws and religions too frequently!

#### RACINE

That without Alexander's invasion of India there would have been no intercourse between India and the Western world, is a commonplace although Max Müller has been able to give at least one instance of a Brahmin who had been to Athens in the age of Socrates. On the occasion of Alexander's arrival in India, too, Easterners and Westerners came face to face in great numbers. In fact, it is then that they met one another for the first time.

<sup>4</sup> *Charles Dickens: A Critical Study*.

Racine dealt with this subject in one of his dramas. The character of Porus as delineated by him startled his readers. From 326 B.C., the year Alexander invaded India, to 1665 when Racine's tragedy *Alexander le Grand* appeared, Alexander had, in France, appeared as the world conqueror who could not have met with his match. Racine was taken to task. His countrymen accused him of partiality.

He had to explain that it was not his intention to make the Indian king Porus throw Alexander into the shade. The Macedonian conqueror had not been belittled. Porus too had not been. Nor had he been partial to him. In his play Porus is a warrior and king that is worthy of Alexander.

This is an instance of an Indian influencing the literary figures of France.

In Mauritius Racine's approach has always been appreciated. In 1849 the now-defunct *Le Mauricien* wrote about the spirited reply Porus made when Alexander asked him how he wished to be treated. In the primary schools children hear the story from their teachers. As they are required to write it in their own words in the composition class they in their turn relate it to their parents. Had Racine refused to throw light on the gestures of Porus, Indo-Mauritian children would probably not have had the opportunity to hear that ancient India had great heroes.

Racine made it known indirectly that India has a long history. French historians would deal with the whole of Asia in a paragraph or two when they wrote on 'Universal History'. Porus was to have another admirer in 1868. Jacolliot, that admirer, wrote: "To pretend today—in the absence of all proof, and while we find not in the annals of Hindoostan even the Hellenicised name of the conquered Porus—that Athens inspired Hindoo genius, as he gave life to European art, is to ignore the history of India."

An appraisal of Alexander's expedition was possible after the publication of Racine's 'Alexander the Great'. One was convinced that all he and his *soldiers* could do was to take to the west, besides the sugar-cane plant, interesting stories of Indian gymnosophists. A book published in the 4th century contains an account of a meeting between Alexander and Dandamis. It has been translated into English early this year. From it one learns that it dawned on Alexander that he had gone wrong when he believed that non-Greeks were barbarians. If not the soldiers, at least their generals, learnt something else.

#### VISHNU SHARMA

Meanwhile the Panchatantra was being translated in the Orient and the West. Galland gave the title *Contes et fables de Sidpai et Lokman* to his famous translation of that book (1724). To the French the Panchatantra stories were the *Fables of Pilpay*.

Indian fables, Indian history and Indian scriptures interested Voltaire who was much to make the country of the Indians known abroad.

## PERRAULT

Reference is made now and then to La Fontaine and his debt to India. Perrault is clean forgotten although he was La Fontaine's contemporary. But he too reproduced Indian stories. When the Vedas were not properly understood the misinterpretation made gave rise to interesting stories.

Husson, a Frenchman, drew our attention to this fact. Max Müller spoke of Husson once and said:

"Husson is very successful in unravelling one of the stories found in the *Contes de ma mère l'Oie*, published by Perrault, and there called *La Belle au Bois*. It is the world-wide story of the maiden who receives a wound, falls into a deep sleep, and can only be delivered by a truly solar hero. Perrault, who wrote in 1697, knew nothing as yet of solar theories, yet in the simplicity of his heart he tells us that the children born of the marriage between *La Belle au Bois* and the young prince who called her back to life were called *L'Aurore and le Jour* . . . . Another strange coincidence is that *La Belle au Bois* has a little dog . . . . It is impossible to read this, as M. Husson points out, without thinking of the well-known Vedic story of Sarama, the dog of Indra. . . ."

## LA FONTAINE AND VOLTAIRE

La Fontaine was lucky enough to come across Vishnu Sharma's work that had, by that time, been considerably transformed.

Voltaire was less fortunate. He did not have any genuine Indian book to read. The *Ezour-Vedam* which he prized, is a book that no history of literary forgeries can afford to leave out of account. "Voltaire believed it to date from before the time of Alexander the Great. But it was later shown to be the work of a European compiled for the purpose of converting the Hindus, its whole tendency being to criticize the worship then prevailing in India. The doctrines and legends described by it are post-Vedic, its account of the real Vedas being quite incorrect. The original found in the possession of missionaries at Pondicherry, was probably composed about the middle of the eighteenth century by one belonging to the school of a missionary named Robertus de Nobilibus, who died at Mylapore near Madras in 1656."<sup>5</sup> Voltaire had been hoaxed. He died without knowing that he had prized a spurious work.

As an admirer of India Voltaire dwelt upon the contribution made by India to the civilisation of the world. He used to write that for the progress of mankind letters were essential. But numbers were not less essential, added he. If Voltaire proclaimed from house tops that numbers originated in India he told a truth that must not offend anyone.

The service he did India is most appreciable if it is remembered that Sir Monier-Williams only reluctantly shed light on the point of view of the Indians of his day in these words:

"Learned Pandits have often addressed such questions to me: If the symbols of numbers passed through Semitic countries into Europe,

<sup>5</sup> A. A. Macdonell, *India's Past*.

why should not alphabets have had the same origin and the same course? Did not the Hindus invent for themselves their own grammar, their own science of language, their own systems of philosophy, logic, algebra and music? Have they not an immense literature on these and other subjects, much of which must have been written down at least 600 years B.C.? And are there not references in this literature to the existence of writing in India in very ancient times? For instance, in the Vashishta Dharma-Sutra of the later Vedic period, in the Law of Manu,<sup>6</sup> in Panini, who lived about 400 B.C.,<sup>7</sup> in the Pali Canon of the Buddhists which refers to writing schools and writing materials. . . .

It must be confessed that such questions are by no means to be brushed aside as unworthy of consideration. Quite the reverse. They contain many statements to which no exception can be taken."<sup>8</sup>

In essays and novels, song and story, prose and verse Voltaire poured out original ideas that helped to build an engaging picture of India. In his *Essay on the Customs and the Spirit of the Nations* he gives India her due. He anticipates Jouveau Dubrueil who once said: "One had always a feeling that India was in the past one of the poles of the world."

La Fontaine and Voltaire were positive that India is a teacher. Those who followed them were reticent. All, however, acknowledged that India's presence had been a blessing.

There was an awareness of spiritual expansion much before Michelet's advent. "Since the time of Voltaire, that is since shortly before the French Revolution, writers and scholars, philosophers and poets have seemed to agree that Europe had become too 'narrow' for them; that a rejuvenation can come only from the East. Most of them stressed the need for a moral and intellectual reawakening. . . ."<sup>9</sup>

The moral tales came at the opportune moment.

#### FLORIAN (1755-1794)

Florian is another fabulist who is indebted to the East. Sir Philip Perring, who translated his fables into English in 1896, admits that the East is in fact the home of fables:

"Whence comes the Fable? The Fable is a product of the East, where men's thoughts were won't to be expressed, sometimes in the most rich and glowing, sometimes in the most quaint and fanciful colours."

Florian's story of the blind man and the paralytic occurs in the Sankhya. The French fabulist puts these words into the blind man's mouth:

"We

Each possess that blessing, brother,  
Necessary to the other:

<sup>6</sup> In Book VIII, 168 written legal documents are mentioned.

<sup>7</sup> In iii, 2, 21 Panini gives the words *lipi* and *libi*.

<sup>8</sup> A Sanskrit-English Dictionary Etymologically and Philologically arranged with Special Reference to Cognate Indo-European Languages. Introduction,

<sup>9</sup> Dr. Alex. Aronson, *Europe Looks at India*.

You have eyes, I have feet;  
 You and I are thus complete;  
 I will bear you on my back,  
 You my guide, I shall not lack!  
 Your eye guide my dutiful feet,  
 My leg go where you think meet;  
 Friend with friend will ne'er dispute  
 Which one's service most doth boot;  
 You my eye be, I your foot."

His fables are about the elephant, the rhinoceros and other Asian animals. Words that remind one of Asia are: Caliph, Persia, Dervish, etc.

Religious-minded Indians believe that the Vedas are the depository of knowledge, that they warn man that if he gives up truth he will be the cause of his own undoing. The followers of the religion of the Vedas are convinced that when these works were first recited truth reigned supreme, man led a pure life and he knew what peace is. All these ideas are found in Florian's fable entitled "The Mirror of Truth":

"In that glorious age of gold,  
 When primæval men of old  
 Passed their days in peace profound—  
 All was pure and calm around—  
 Truth, with mirror in her hand,  
 Lightly tripped from land to land:"

A time came when man degraded himself:

"Man became in little while  
 Criminal and full of guile;  
 Truth to heaven then took her flight. . ."

In his fable on the blind man and his friend Florian states that the two lived in Asia. Asia, then, was not unknown to him. He would have had a pleasant surprise if he had been told that his famous fable "The Mirror of Truth" is a short history of Ancient India as a typical Indian would have written it.

The Sankhya is, like the Vedanta, a system of Indian philosophy that has been much commented by both Eastern and Western scholars. Its sublime thoughts are captivating.

Florian was concerned with such thoughts. In a fable of his he opposes fable to truth that is naked. Florian's own words are:

"Truth, all naked, on a day  
 Left her well to go her way:  
 Time her charms had half effaced;  
 Young and old took flight in haste.  
 Truth was left to shiver and shake."

Fable that decks herself out with plumes and diamonds, wins applause and thus addresses Truth:

" 'In every place (I speak no lie)  
 I am received right heartily.

But wherefore, Mistress Truth, I'd know,  
 D'e thus yourself naked show?  
 It is not politic, sooth to say;  
 Hold, let's devise a better way,  
 And, since our interest is one,  
 Let that cement our union:  
 Come, underneath my mantle hide,  
 And we will travel side by side.' "

Concerned with lofty thoughts as he was, Florian liked one of the traditional beliefs of the Indians concerning their Vedas.

In the present century, G. Clemenceau who wrote for the thoughtful, was driven to admire India and her Vedas. He told J. Martet, his biographer, that Indian authors do not lack ideas, that after reading the Vedas the conclusion that forces itself upon one is that India can teach a country like France many a lesson.<sup>10</sup>

#### THE STUDY OF SANSKRIT IN FRANCE

In the opening years of the last century no Englishman who fell among Frenchmen could escape being jailed. Matthew Flinders had the misfortune of reaching Mauritius that was then a French colony and he became a prisoner. "On his return from India, Alexander Hamilton was travelling about France when, on the renewal of hostilities with England, he was detained as a prisoner of war at Paris in 1802. By a coincidence which turned out to be highly fortunate for the advancement of Sanskrit studies in Europe, the German poet Friedrich Schlegel, one of the leaders of the Romantic school, happened to arrive at Paris in the same year. The Romantic school was particularly attracted by the literature of India, which was, however, at that time known only through translations of the works of Sir William Jones. Schlegel became acquainted with Hamilton, who taught him to read Sanskrit, and whom he speaks of as the only man in Europe, except Wilkins, familiar with Sanskrit. A result of this acquaintance was the publication by Fr. Schlegel, in 1808, of his work entitled 'On the Language and Wisdom of the Indians', and constituting the foundation of Indian philology in Germany."<sup>11</sup>

France accidentally gave the opportunity, to scholars of various nationalities, to study Sanskrit, the oldest Indian language, at a time there existed only two Europeans who were scholars of Sanskrit.

We seem to be overstepping our limits. Our concern is with the influence exerted by stories and ideas transmitted orally.

On the eve of the publication of works written by Orientalists,

<sup>10</sup> M. Clemenceau—Quant aux Indes, vous savez: il faut voir les Indes... C'est un pays qui s'est gorgé d'idées et qui est arrivé à une espèce de grandeur qui vaut la notre.

J. Martet—Et les Védas ?

M. Clemenceau—Les Védas sont quelque chose de très épatant. Les Indes peuvent nous donner plus d'une leçon.

—Le silence de M. Clemenceau.

<sup>11</sup> *Indische Past.*

Europeans depended on the accounts of travellers. One of the earliest French travellers was Father Pons.

"LES LETTRES EDIFIANTES"

Pons wrote *Les Lettres édifiantes* that were quoted profusely by Chateaubriand. *Letters* is the modest title that Father Pons chose for a book that bears comparison with Bernier's *Travels*. A. A. Macdonell has been led to infer in *India's Past* that Pons possessed some knowledge of Sanskrit as early as 1740. Here is an additional information provided in the same book: "Pons seems to have been the first to describe correctly the native system of grammar; he also mentions the Sanskrit dictionaries, among the famous *Amarakosa*, or 'Thesaurus of Amara', as well as the native system of poetics called *alamkara* or 'Ornament'. He further described the six systems of Hindu philosophy, besides mentioning the heterodox systems of the Jains and the Buddhists."

The book entitled *Edifying Letters* was made up of letters that had not all been written by Pons. Some other Catholic priests had written some of them. The latter were definitely inferior. Voltaire considered that they were highly amusing.

It was too early then to prophesy that in the distant future some Europeans would be fair and the Indian contribution would be assessed impartially. When the time came for such an assessment of India and things Indian even Indian music began to have admirers.

Indian music, like Indian literature and Indian philosophy, is timeless. We are only making our own the opinion of great authorities, one of whom Yehudi Menuhin undoubtedly is. He visited India early this year. *The Overseas Hindusthan Times* gives this interesting account of that short visit:

"Yehudi Menuhin, well-known violinist, on February 15 envied the timelessness of Indian music.

He said to elaborate a single theme for an hour requires an inspired artiste, or one would not be able to delight the audience. . . .

The twentieth century, he said, happened to be the best period to date for improvisation of different musics. Never in any past age improvisation had been carried out such a gigantic scale, he added. First, African jazz and now Indian music bringing about a remarkable transmutation in Western music, were events of no uncertain importance."

Nor is Georges Duhamel of the French Academy of a different opinion. "Your (Indian) music," said he once, "strikes a new chord in my heart. It is indeed a novel but delightful experience with me. The music of India is without doubt one of the greatest proofs of the superiority of her civilisation."

Music and tales have been accorded a welcome, thanks to their timelessness. The transmutation brought about in Western music today puts one in mind of the transformation that literature, art, religion and philosophy underwent from time to time in ancient times when India came in the life of the nations of the Occident.



## SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE

It is a little-known fact that it is not only the sacred literature of the Hindus and their moral tales that have influenced France. La Hire had to depend on Indian scientific works when he prepared his list of the stars and other heavenly bodies. His astronomical tables were corrected by Raja Jai Singh II in 1702. Bailly, the author of *Traité sur l'Astronomie*, and Gentil, that of *Voyage dans les Mers des Indes*, had been driven to remark that Hindu observations must have been made more than 300 years before the Christian era, that they "evinced a very high degree of astronomical science". Bailly informs us that "Laubère who was sent by Louis XIV as ambassador to the king of Siam, brought home, in 1687, astronomical tables of the solar eclipses. Similar tables were sent to Europe by the French Missionary Patouillet and by Gentil. Those tables were obtained from the Brahmins in Tirvalore." He continues: "The motion calculated by the Brahmins during the long space of 4393 years, varies not a single *minute* from the tables of Cassini and Meyer."

Laplace had happened to know that "the Hindus had preceded all other nations in the application of higher astronomy". Weber remarked that "Astronomy was practised in India as early as 2780 B.C."

The Arabs knew the Indians better than the French. Alberuni, the great Muhammadan scholar, speaks of Varanasi and Kashmir as the high schools of Hindu sciences.

The scientific achievements of the Indians aroused the attention of genuine scientists in France where an important author prided himself on his knowledge of science and little knew that his scientific theories would be jettisoned and his novels and tales admired. That author was Bernardin de Saint-Pierre.

## BERNARDIN DE SAINT-PIERRE

As a master of French, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre is second only to Voltaire. Had Voltaire been in the land of the living when St.-Pierre's novel *Paul and Virginia* appeared as the fourth chapter of *Etudes de la Nature*, the world would have had the opportunity to read his criticism of that famous work. The average student of the French language is amazed to see that all big dictionaries quote St. Pierre as often as they do Voltaire.

Bernardin did not care to read Indian works. But no one will deny that he had an intimate knowledge of both Ancient India and contemporary India. Sarah Jones who was among the first Britishers to write about him, at once found that St.-Pierre's heart was "at times somewhat Brahminical".

Sainte-Beuve, the great critic who is among the princes of French literature, was driven to draw a parallel between this compatriot of his and Raphael. The only difference is that the French painter gave pen picture, says Sainte-Beuve who was driven to infer that it is the Indian scenery that Bernardin paints in his works. He was typically Indian. He has devoted two books to Mauritius and equally two to India. His

stay in the Indian Ocean island gave him the opportunity to see Indians for the first time. It is in the same island that Darwin too was to see Indians for the first time. In both *Paul and Virginia*, meant for children, and *Voyage à l'Île de France* he refers to Indians who were always kind to him. In his *voyage* he is hard on the Whites who owned slaves. He was so hard indeed that one of the slave-owners wrote a rejoinder that is seldom sought for. It was published in 1805 and Bernardin did not even mind taking notice of it.

Injustice raising its ugly head did not please St.-Pierre in the least. In *The Indian Cottage* he slashes the vices of the favoured castes. Small wonder, he won the praise of Mahatma Gandhi. St.-Pierre was a Gandhian before Gandhi.

*The Indian Cottage*, his second novel, is about an Englishman who was out in search of knowledge. He took ninety bales filled with "manuscripts, original books and copies" and reached India to find suitable answers to countless questions. In this little book Bernardin pours ridicule upon those men of science who overestimate their contribution. It is the Royal Society that is aimed at.

In Jagannath Puri this admirer of India who had implicit faith in the wisdom of High Caste Indians, is rebuffed. A storm comes and it is an untouchable that gives him shelter. The untouchable answered him in a simple language and he was enraptured.

*The Indian Cottage* is a satire. The high priest and his attendants did not give the Englishman who went to Jagannath Puri the welcome he expected to have in spite of the fact that he was not without his paraphernalia. Objections were raised. He could hardly have a patient hearing.

When the man of science who was a doctor had begun his journey he was "equipped with his book of questions, during which his mind was perplexed, whether to propose to the Chief of the Brahmins of Jaggernath one of the three hundred and seventy-eight questions respecting the Ganges, or that relating to the alternate courses of the Indian sea, which might tend to elucidate the sources and movements of the ocean universally. But the latter question, though far surpassing in interest even that which has for so many ages excited the inquiries of the learned, the sources and risings of the Nile, had not yet attracted the attention of Europeans; he therefore thought it more important to obtain the opinion of the Brahmin on the universality of the deluge, or, going still higher, to inquire into the truth of the Egyptian tradition recorded by Herodotus, of the repeated variation of the sun's course, or proceeding still farther back into the remote ages of antiquity, to speak of the commencement of the world to which Indians assign so many millions of years." Bernardin is as satirical as Voltaire.

The passage quoted by us sums up the learning that the average European was proud of towards the close of the eighteenth century. Could or could not the source of the Nile be found, was a question of great importance as had been recently that of diverting its course. It is generally known that on reading a passage in one of the Puranas that the clue was

found. Bernardin de St.-Pierre seemed to share his contemporaries' views on the age of the earth. He would have been pleased if he had lived to learn that the age the Indians chose to give was not as fantastic as it appeared to be then.

It is a matter for regret that Bernardin's third book on India never saw the light of day. In the decades that immediately preceded the French Revolution, England and France were not at daggers drawn. They joined hands to suppress the truth if that truth could make it possible for India to be seen to advantage.

If St.-Pierre sympathised with those who were going to earn the name Harijan in the Gandhian age and did not tolerate those who were inhuman he could not for the life of him extol British rule in India. He had written much on plague that had smitten India. The plague was engendered by famine, and famine, in its turn, was brought about by Lord Clive and other employees of the East India Company who deprived Bengal of its stock of rice.<sup>12</sup> Bernardin was on board the vessel called *La Digue* that had come to the Cape of Good Hope from India. He came to know that the Ganges was strewn with corpses.

To Bernardin, that was a crime against humanity itself. He saw that the world was in much greater danger from such an act of inhumanity than from the perpetration of slavery in Mauritius and untouchability in India.

His countrymen knew through him of the existence of pariahs in India, wrote on them and cursed their persecutors. It is *The Indian Cottage* that supplied the necessary information. Those countrymen could not be left in the dark as to the famines and epidemics that came in the wake of the British rule.

England and France were agreed that Bernardin de St.-Pierre had gone too far! His contemporaries were deprived of the opportunity of reading what he had to say on a period of Indian history when a people that had never wronged any country cried in vain to the ruler for bread.

Had St.-Pierre's observations been known they would have attenuated the effect made by the story of the Black Hole. The outside world would have known in the nineties of the eighteenth century that Bengal was a victim, that if Holwell's story could be trusted Bengal's "crime" could be forgotten and forgiven as that presidency had not been spared only three decades or so after what is generally held to be an inhuman act had been perpetrated.

Bernardin gave the right picture. He would not omit a single detail.

He has been hailed as the father of exotic literature. He could not have described France in "Paul and Virginia". Had he done so there would have been no question of introducing exoticism. Mauritius was tiny France surrounded by India, Africa and Madagascar. Even China had not become a part of Mauritius. Bernardin met only one Chinaman here. When critics called him the father of exotic literature they meant that he had taken India to France. Madagascar and Africa had nothing that would interest him. The Indian living in the midst of Nature would

have known that the country from which his ancestors came had fallen a victim of misrule if the third book written by St.-Pierre had the chance of being published.

#### DUMAS IS OUT TO IMITATE BERNARDIN

Bernardin left his mark and Alexandre Dumas sought to imitate him when he wrote *Georges*. Ever since its publication it has been surmised from time to time that it is the work of a Mauritian.<sup>13</sup>

No non-Indian living in Mauritius could have praised India at the time Dumas's novel appeared. Even now many readers omit the first chapter of this novel. And it is precisely in this chapter that Mauritius and India are spoken of as countries that cannot part company. Dumas shares Bernardin's view. The passages which are set aside are:

"Chaste daughter of the seas, twin sister of Bourbon (La Réunion), favoured rival of Ceylon, let me lift a corner of thy veil to show thee to the stranger friend, the fraternal traveller who accompanies me; let me unloose thy girdle, fair captive! For we are two pilgrims from France, and perhaps one day France will be able to redeem thee, rich daughter of India, for the price of some petty kingdom of Europe. . . .

Hail to the Indian Ocean! Hail to the scene of the *Thousand and one Nights*!

See the great calm 'Black River', rolling down quietly its fertilising waters, imposing its respected name on all within its neighbourhood, showing thus the triumph of wisdom over force, and of calm force over fury. . . . See the Peak of the 'Trois-Mamelles' at the base of which flow rivers of the Tamérin and the Rampart, as though the Indian Isis had wished to justify her name in everything. . . ."

One would be nearer the truth if one shared the view that *Georges* cannot be fathered on the Mauritian Mallefille. The translator of this novel was severe in his judgment but nothing can prevent us from accepting it as sound. He wrote:

"In connection with M. Mallefille a good story is told, which we must apologise for borrowing from M.A. Davidson's admirable *Life and Works of Dumas*. Speaking of Mallefille—one of his collaborators, and not one of the most remarkable the master observed, as if pondering a problem, 'There is just something he lacks,—I can't define what it is,—to make him a man of talent.'

" 'Perhaps he lacks the talent!', suggested some one."

" 'Tiens!' said Dumas, 'well, perhaps you are right. I never thought of that'.

The truth in the case of *Georges* seems to be that Mallefille, or somebody else familiar with Mauritius, supplied raw material and local colour; Dumas did the rest."

Dumas shared Bernardin's love of India. In *Les Mohicans de Paris* he is full of praise for India and the Indians. Louis Jacolliot, another friend India had in the 19th century, seems to have been impressed by

<sup>13</sup> The Mauritian referred to is Félicien Mallefille after whom a street in Port Louis is called.

these passages in *Georges* where the Indian Ocean and India's daughter are hailed. As soon as the reader opens Jaccoliot's *Bible in India* he stumbles across the following:

"Hail, venerable and efficient nurse whom centuries of brutal invasions have not yet buried under the dust of oblivion! hail, fatherland of faith, of love, of poetry and of science!"

Dumas hails the daughter and Jaccoliot the mother.

#### "GEORGES" AND "PAUL AND VIRGINIA"

Dumas summarises *Paul and Virginia* in *Georges*. The tragic note is struck at the very beginning of this summary:

"Here is Cap Malheureux, the bay of Tombeau, the church of Pamplémousses. In this region rose the two neighbouring huts of Madame de la Tour and Marguerite; on the Cap Malheureux the Saint-Géran went to pieces; in the bay of the Tombeau was found the body of a girl holding a portrait clasped in her hand; in the church of the Pamplémousses two months later, side by side with the girl, a young man of about the same age was buried. You have already guessed the names of these two lovers whom the same tombstone covers; they were Paul and Virginia, those two halcyons of the tropics. . . ."

By the time Dumas wrote *Georges* slavery had been abolished with all the reluctance that colonial governments show when they have to take a humanitarian step. Colour prejudice remained one of the prejudices that died hard.

In his novel the elder Dumas dwells at length on the activities of the ring leader of a band of Malagasies who were alleged to have resolved to rise in revolt. The Mauritian historian Evenor Hitié was a lad at the time of the "revolt." The execution of that leader occurred in his presence. Some one armed with a hatchet dealt the poor Malagasy three blows. The agony was indescribable. Dumas has much to say about the martyr.

Georges, the hero of the novel of the same name, is humiliated at every step for the sole reason that he is a mulatto.

Exactly 118 years after the barbarous execution the Mauritian Labour Party was founded with the avowed object of bringing together Indo-Mauritians and their coloured countrymen, i.e., all the workers. On the day the party was born the mind moved on to the year when Hitié had a dreadful shock. It is to be regretted that the population could not long put its trust in the leaders of the new party.

This has been an excursion into history. But *Georges* is a historical novel.

*Georges* then bears a close resemblance to *Paul and Virginia*. In both the tiny novels India is admired, in both tropical nature is so described as to tempt one to leave one's fatherland and spend some time in Mauritius. Let the foreigner set his foot on the Mauritian soil and he will not be long in finding that the prospect that bursts upon his view on entering Port Louis, the capital of the island, is splendid.

Both the authors feel for the down-trodden. There is a chapter on slave-trade too in *Georges*.

Stories had for ages been endearing India in France. Bernardin and the elder Dumas came and in every reader of *The Indian Cottage*, *Paul and Virginia* and *Georges* was aroused a desire to go out to India and Greater India to have the pleasure of living in communion with nature. *Georges* opens thus:

"Has it never been your fate to be seized with a sick disgust of our dismal climate, this wet, muddy Paris of ours, and to dream fondly of some enchanted oasis, all carpeted with greenery and refreshed with cooling waters, where, no matter what the season, you might gently sink asleep beneath the shades of palms and jameroses, soothed by the babbling of a crystal spring and happy in the sensation of a physical well-being and a delicious languor?

Well, this paradise you dreamed of exists, this Eden you coveted awaits you."

Indian tales arrived in several waves in France. If "*Paul and Virginia*" is amongst the latest to enter that country it must be dealt with at some length.

We are concerned with those who had been influenced in France at an early date and Dumas belongs to the nineteenth century. We had to bring out the importance of the contribution made by Bernardin de St.-Pierre and could not leave out a great French writer who did not hesitate to imitate him. To have an idea of the importance of a writer like St.-Pierre one should remember that the first translator of his novel on Mauritius gave it this significant sub-title: "An Indian Story", and some half a dozen other translators followed suit.

Mallefille and his contemporaries had nothing to do with Indian literature or Indian history.

He was, nevertheless, a worthy son of Mauritius who did not idle away his time in Paris. The same Arthur E. Davidson alludes to his valuable contribution in these words:

"We notice some productions . . . *Les Crimes Célèbres* (1839-1841), a work of large collaboration, in which Dumas was helped by four others, among whom were Fiorentino and Mallefille. . ."

Mallefille was superior at least to the two other collaborators whose names have not been given.

It is Mirecourt that attributed *Georges* to Mallefille who had been collaborating before 1839. *Georges* appeared in 1843 when, in Mauritius, the great patriot Rémy Ollier was struggling to have the coloured and Indians classed among human beings.

When George Sand had to choose a coach for his son her choice fell on the Mauritian Mallefille.

Dumas is undoubtedly a greater author than St.-Pierre. His work on Mauritius has no claim to be ranked among works, like that of St.-Pierre, that have become classics.

With the advent of the British rule an evil like the races against which *satyagraha* is launched, had begun to affect society. Dumas puts

on record the fact that races were held in Mauritius. A perusal of *Georges* leads one to the inference that if the Isle of France has been immortalized by a French writer the beginning of the British rule is not without a chronicler. The new rulers believed that injecting poison was their business. The race course of Port Louis becomes the meeting place of Indians, coloureds, Chinese and Whites who see to it that they do not mix unnecessarily with the people. Dumas goes so far as to give the names of horses and their owners.

Draper finds mention. He is the Britisher who is responsible for the introduction of races. He is at the same time one of the Britishers whose behaviour has called forth repugnance. Had he not been suspended we would perhaps never have heard of the suspension of a Governor who ruled towards the close of the last century. We have not always had the better type of Britishers.

It is a race meeting attended by 25,000 Mauritians that Dumas refers to. The animation is well brought out. He says amongst other things:

"From early in the morning the ground open to the public was thronged with spectators, but it was not until about ten o'clock that the fashionable people began to put in an appearance. . . .

By half-past ten the whole of Port Louis was assembled in the Champ-de-Mars."

He devotes a whole chapter to that meeting and is yet not satisfied. In another chapter he writes:

"The whole aristocracy of the Isle of France was in the habit of appearing at the races, as well as at the *yamse*, either in stands expressly erected or in open carriages, in either case it was an opportunity for the handsome Creoles of Port Louis to air their showy elegance."

In the nineteenth century Max Müller failed to visit India and in the present one Romain Rolland. St.-Pierre had not been more fortunate than these friends of India.

Parry, however, had the singular fortune of living in Pondicherry, where he was *aide-de-camp* of the then French Governor General.

#### BERNARDIN'S AND PARNY'S 150TH DEATH ANNIVERSARY

Bertin, Parry and Leconte de Lisle were all born in La Réunion. It is impossible to repeat too often that Mauritius has not been able to throw up a single author who was as far-famed as they. In May last one of the living authors Modern Mauritius is proud of, became the laughing-stock of children. He confused Bernardin de Saint-Pierre with his most famous book at the time the 150th anniversary of the French author's death was being commemorated. Those who are interested in the literary output of authors who have lived in those French-speaking lands that are outside France, have been pleased to read all the three.

Lamartine looked upon Bertin and Parry as models.<sup>14</sup> This is high praise indeed.

Lisle, however, has readers even among those who are not interested in authors who have lived outside France. Interest in exotic literature

<sup>14</sup> Lamartine, *Préface des Méditations*;

had begun to wane when Lisle's "Poèmes hindous" aroused interest in it for a second time. This renewal of interest is responsible for the success scored by *Maria*, the South American Virginia, published in 1867. Canada would not lag behind. There too "Paul and Virginia" was imitated. La Réunion followed in the footsteps of Columbia and Canada. Georges Azéma who was born there, wrote *Noëlla* that deserves a place by the side of *Paul and Virginia*.

1964 is the year of Bernardin de St.-Pierre's 150th death anniversary. It is a timely tribute that we are gladly paying him. He did more than any other European of his day to bring India and France together and never had the least hesitation to point out their weak points. St.-Pierre was India's genuine friend at a time that country had few friends in the West. The French author on whom several articles have been written this year, on the occasion of the anniversary, wrote on Mauritius when no Mauritian could, like Leconte de Lisle and other inhabitants of La Réunion, give the world such books as are famous and live long. Parny died in 1814 like Bernardin. The coincidence brackets Mauritius with La Réunion where Indian influence made itself felt although to a lesser degree. 1964 is the year of the centenary of the publication in Calcutta of the poem on Tristram and Isolde.

#### FRANCE AND GREATER FRANCE

*Greater France* is a name that suits La Réunion, Madagascar and Mauritius. These islands have been better favoured than France in that the religious literature of the Indians has been well received there. It gladdens one to see that Mauritian dailies appearing in French carry articles on "Hindu Literature" and "Hindu Thought".

France, on the contrary, has from time to time been intolerant. Bossuet had rebuked somebody when he said of the latter.

"He no longer remembers even that he is a Frenchman: He talks disdainfully of us of the *Salic Law*, whether true, he says, or so called, just like a man come from the Indies or from Malabar: so lost is he to all memory of what is most deeply graven in the heart of every Frenchman since the very beginning of the nation "

Before the age of Bossuet and for several centuries later some sort of aversion had been felt for the religious literature of the Indians in France and other countries of the West. This censurable attitude has not been without affecting some Indians. Swami Vivekananda had in mind such countrymen of his when in the course of his lecture on "The Sages of India" he gave out this bitter truth:

"There is an attempt in India now which is like putting the cart before the horse. Many of our people think that Krishna as the lover of the Gopis is something rather uncanny, and the Europeans do not like it much. Dr. So-and-So does not like it. Certainly then, the Gopis have to go! Without the sanction of Europeans how can Krishna live? He cannot!"

The lack of sympathy is really shocking. Prof. J. Mascaro whose



translation of the *Bhagavadgita* is so popular that it has become the rage in these days, expressed sorrow when he saw that the Indian religion has not attracted enough attention. He wrote:

"If a Bible of India were compiled, if Sanskrit could find a group of translators with the same feeling for beauty of language and the same love for the sacred texts in the original as the Bible has found in England, eternal treasures of old wisdom and poetry would enrich the times of today."

To accept Indian tales is to accept indirectly or, in other words, not to find fault with the belief that the soul leaves one body for another. "In India", writes Macdonell, "We find belief in transmigration, which effaces the difference between the human and the animal worlds, and which thus renders it quite natural for animals to be the heroes of stories." This belief is Indian. It was Dumas's belief too. Dumas once wrote to Hugo: "Receive it as a testimony of friendship which has survived exile, and will, I hope, survive death itself." The Indian religion is of some utility.

Translators have lost an opportunity. Are they not interested in the enrichment of "the times of to-day"? France would have taken the lead in a new sphere if she had condescended to do for Indian religious works what she had done for the Bible. Properly interpreted, Indian religion would have found a congenial soil there. Has not Victor Hugo apostrophized his fatherland thus: "You will no longer be France, you will be humanity. You will no longer be a nation, you will be everywhere. You are destined to be wholly dissolved into radiance!" Hugo is nearer to the truth than Bossuet.

Louis Renou gave a talk at Santiniketan in 1940 when he told a great truth. The intuitive sense of affinity between India and France, said he, had developed into devotion. Indian thought and culture, he added, had influenced the foremost writers and philosophers of France. It is this self-same scholar that has pointed out in "Influence of Indian Thought on French Literature" that as early as in the 13th century the French missionary Jourdain de Séverac came into contact with India.

# SILLANPAA AND HIS PEASANT NOVEL

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The twentieth century is a difficult age. The hang-over from the last two world wars still rides human mind like a nightmare. The man who till the other day, had remained rooted in the soil of the earth, with his life fed, nourished and sustained by the age-long traditions and legacies of the past is today rudely shaken, shoved, torn and uprooted. He is uprooted from soil and self. The evils that have caused this disruption are jingoism, racialism and casteism. And Marxism, Freudianism and existentialism are but the gamut of staccato rhythm through which the complex human mind expresses itself. But what seems to be singular is that new contents of modern life have not always basically affected the traditional form. The pattern of Peasant Novel, despite the social conflicts of the twentieth century, remains the traditional pattern. Tradition, consecrated by age, may hardly appear flexible; yet it is not without its value.

One may ask why in the twentieth century readers of fiction have been interested in the peasant life. Is it not rather strange that the Nobel prize awards in literature have been given in the twentieth century primarily on Peasant life? In 1909, the prize winner was Selma Lagerlof, whose major achievement was the portrayal of the Swedish peasant, in such a novel as *Jerusalem*. It was perhaps significant of a great weariness with war and destruction that the Norwegian Knut Hamsun's *Growth of the Soil* won the prize in 1920. In 1924 the award went to the Polish novelist, Reymont, whose novel *The Peasants* is an epic of the soil, portraying the peasant's attachment to the land, his primitive instincts, his dignity, his life controlled by the rhythm of the seasons. In 1938, the Chinese peasant had his turn; Pearl Buck was the Nobel prize winner, for her *Good Earth* and its sequels. And the next year it was the Finnish peasant, whose story was told in Sillanpaa's *Meek Heritage*.

*Meek Heritage* is a penetrating and beautifully written study of peasant life. Emil Sillanpaa was born in 1818 of humble parents in a home that consisted of but two rooms. Food was scarce and he knew as a child the grinding poverty of the Finnish peasant which

he has effectively portrayed in this book. In it he traces the obscure history of an obscure pawn in the revolutionary game, typical of countless unnamed victims of the fratricidal strife of post-war Europe. There are thus a timeliness and a timelessness about this tale of a humble peasant.

Jussi or Juha or Juana Toivola is hardly a hero in the academic or rather in the romantic sense. His father Johan Abraham Benjamin was a hulking toper with a tobacco-stained jaw—always an aggravating bully at home, very proud of his bankrupt farm. His mother Maija was a meek, a weak-willed woman with a tearful eye. Juha is a clumsy dolt and rather slow-willed. A big head surmounts his thin neck—his mouth tends to be always open and his small hardish eyes often stare unwinkingly around him. He passes nine years at home but these nine years he felt himself wholly an alien. One night he suddenly awakes to find his mother carrying odds and ends of property to a sleigh outside the door. The farm was sold at the country offices in Turka for arrears of taxes. Pa Ollila, the biggest creditor made the highest bid; he put his youngest son Antto as master. Maija did not elect to stay on in her birthplace, where her little life had been so full of disappointments. She decided to try her luck with her brother, who was master of Tuorila.

Juha in his uncle's house, though he escapes from literal starvation, cannot escape from the searing sense of loneliness. Instinct tells him that not a single attitude or step of his fits in harmoniously with his surroundings as he moves about awkwardly in the big bakery at Toivola. Uncle Kalle—a big, hooknosed man looked upon his nephew with undisguised aversion, for his vacant face was an irritating reminder of his own former loneliness.

Hounded out of Toivola Juha finds himself floating adrift like a broken reed. He realises his own shelterlessness and helplessness; he has literally none to hold on to or to crutch upon, not even his mother who died of the shock of her sudden destitution.

From a wage-earner Juha becomes a crofter. He feels himself too weak and resourceless to stem the tide of cruel life. He loses first a son, next his wife and last his daughter Hiltu. Around him is emptiness, a drear emptiness left after his deliverance from his burden, a vacuum attracting thoughts over which he has no control; and for an untrained mind, that is misery. Even the cabin is no longer home to him—why, even Hiltu is not coming to it.

Juha, to escape from himself, joins the Finnish Labour Movement. But he has no clear idea of the social revolution. In his fundamental character there is no love for his fellow men. He has endured them, having had to put up with them since his childhood. But never have human beings—in the mass, as they fill the world—been wholly disposed towards him, neither poor nor rich. But life is really made up of conflicting forces and some obstinate force arising out of accidental events in his career drives him to be a representative of the downtrodden masses. As a matter of fact, Juha is not a fighting man—the rifle he carries on his errands to commandeer food is more a symbol of the power of the masses than something to use; and he has no idea whatever of the course of the war. Perhaps the most inexplicable irony of his life is that he always chooses the wrong moment. Other men rise and fall in the world in a natural manner. Whereas in Juha, in all his good and bad luck, there is always the same leaven of poor taste. He has never been able to finish anything all his life; he has lived with a wife, farmed a croft, been a socialist; at bottom he has all been the same kind of thing. The climax is extraordinarily effective in the pathos and grim humour. When arrested and sentenced the only clear idea in Juha's mind is that a certain shadowy social order which he has always feared and resented has been too much for him. The rebels are shot in a grave dug ready for them, and Juha chances to be the last. Instead of remaining standing he lies down on the pile of corpses. Only he is not shot lying down, but ordered to get on to his feet. Whoever the cynic might be, he certainly possesses a strong sense of humour when he says: 'In war one has to enjoy killing—if war is not to be a failure'. Juha submits to death as humbly as he has submitted to other forces all his life.

Meek Heritage is the second of Sillanpaa's works to be translated into English, the first being "Fallen asleep while young". A translation however perfect always looks like a paper-flower without fragrance, but Meek Heritage in spite of its adopted and exotic apparel has its irresistible appeal for us.

Peasants, to quote the Encyclopedia Britannica, were as a class, almost obliterated after the industrial revolution, although they still made up the bulk of the population in eastern Europe. The Norman peasant became famous in the stories of Maupassant. Zola raised a furor by his extraordinary naturalistic treatment of peasant life in *La Terre*. The Russian peasant went through a

curious juxtaposition of deification and denigration until his social status was vindicated. He became part of the proletariat. Tolstoy who bolstered up his cause, perhaps in a spirit of bravado, avowed that people would do anything for the peasant except get off his back.

No one even speaks seriously of an American peasantry, though Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939) is a significant novel. Knut Hamsun unlike Sillanpaa portrays the mass-peasant. Rev. Lal Behari Dey like Sillanpaa portrays in his *Bengal Peasant Life* the individual peasant, though in the mysterious corridors of their mind may stay ensconced the unexpressed thoughts of the peasant as a class.

The peasant is a son of the soil—the soil that was shovelled and dug by Adam in the beginning of creation. The peasant's relation to the earth is mystic—it is eternal. It's a pity that even today to some he is a clodhopper, to others he is just a country bumpkin, while not to a few he is a nondescript —anonentity. Yet we cannot but feel in the blood, in the heart, may be not as much in the head, our kinship to him. The kinship is primitive. And the primitive cannot die in the modern man. An astronaut or a cosmonaut or for that matter a sky rover, may exude glamour and the glamour may be irresistible too, yet we cannot but forget that he is a 'test tube in a lab'. Science has made him, but Earth has made peasant. Hamsun says of him: "You preserve life. From generation to generation you exist in nothing but fruitfulness, and when you die another generation carries it on. That is what is meant by life eternal."

# SHAKESPEARE THEME IN MODERN ENGLISH SHORT PLAY

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The Shakespeare theme has inspired a number of modern short plays. It is curious to notice what field they cover and what they leave out. The great tragedies and the comedies are not retold and no attempt made to "modernize" Shakespeare as was often done for the Restoration stage. We find, instead, a tendency to give a different version of isolated characters as in Harris's play *Ophelia*; Hamlet becomes a harlequin at the hands of W. S. Gilbert. Other plays of the group are concerned with the problem of rehearsal and of the actors' parts. There is thus an endeavour to present aspects of the Tudor theatre. The Dark Lady, Mary Fitton, has exercised the imagination of several dramatists in this century. No conclusive evidence has been found for her identification. Mary Fitton's portraits give her brown hair. On her tomb she is, however, painted dark. In writing about her Shaw accepts the evidence of the tomb, knowing that it is likely to be wrong. In his long preface he states the problem and the explanation for his preference. This seems, however, more a personal matter than the outcome of a judicial attitude. But the Dark Lady of Shaw's conception is a minor figure. Her behaviour is farcical, her jealousy for the Queen abashes her beyond the power of words and makes her tremble at the thought that she had offended the Queen. She parts the Queen and the playwright while they stand with their hands clasped, and in doing so throws down her lover. The only other action for which she is notable is the contribution of a phrase or two to the poet's vocabulary. Shakespeare in noting down in his commonplace-book words and expressions of a striking character conforms to an image which seems to be a true picture in the opinion of Shaw. There is no doubt that if he did not actually go about, pencil in hand, he certainly possessed a memory which enabled him to utilize the resources of the colloquial speech even without this kind of procedure.

In Maurice Baring's *The Rehearsal* the Dark Lady is only alluded to at the time Lady Macbeth is being dressed for the rehearsal. She has to have a black wig instead of a brown one. This is a precaution that she may not be taken for Queen Elizabeth or Mary Fitton whom Maurice Baring with greater reason regards as fair rather than dark. A more elaborate treatment of Mary Fitton is found in H.F. Rubinstein's *Night of Errors*. Here the Dark Lady is introduced in male attire and as meeting the Earl of Southampton, her other lover. The place is Gray's Inn and Mary Fitton

wants to conceal herself as a student of the law. Her purpose is to hear Shakespeare's sonnet being read. Finally, she snatches the manuscript from Southampton and reads it. The sonnet is No. 144 in which the poet refers to the Dark Lady as the "worse" spirit and her friend the "better angel...A man right fair." There is apparently a conflict between the claims of the two, until it is decided one way or the other, the poet will live in suspense. The Dark Lady in her boyish garments is shown to be witty, interesting and self-possessed. She has a personality which comes out in the slight contest with Southampton and in a certain assertiveness of disposition. There is a conversation with Mistress Anne whom she confuses with Anne Hathway, and later makes up for the misunderstanding by some half-serious enquiries about affairs at Stratford at the poet's home. Shakespeare is ready to surrender the Dark Lady to the Earl. He has evidently behaved like Proteus and the parallel to his "The Two Gentlemen" is mentioned. Shakespeare himself is Valentine, the true lover of Silvia, and Proteus, the traitor. Southampton sees the point and also the insult implied. Shakespeare smoothes the insinuation down by suggesting that in return he will ask for the discharge of his debts to the Earl. In Shaw's *The Dark Lady of the Sonnets*<sup>1</sup> the motive of jealousy is also introduced. Shakespeare who appears as "the man" in the play bribes the warder with a gold coin to gain admission to his mistress. The warder made communicative by this generous present, tells him that the Earl of Pembroke makes sonnets by moonlight and to the same lady too. He says "last night he stood here on your errand, and in your shoes"<sup>2</sup>. Pembroke is Shakespeare's friend and the discovery makes him utter in anguish, "Thou, too, Brutus and I called him friend"<sup>3</sup>. Thus Shaw differs from Rubinstein in making Pembroke the rival instead of Southampton. Apparently, they both base their views on the Sonnets. "There have been many guesses about *The Dark Lady of the Sonnets*; but nobody really knows who she was. It seems reasonable to identify her with the mistress stolen from Shakespeare by his friend" (F.E. Halliday: "A Shakespeare Companion, 1564-1964"; Penguin p. 463). Halliday also thinks that neither Pembroke nor Southampton is addressed by Shakespeare in the Sonnets as they were both too young at the date for such notice.

The Bacon-Shakespeare controversy is revived in Squire's *The Clown of Stratford*. Shakespeare is a black-mailer in this play and Bacon is the actual author, avoiding scrupulously all direct contact with the stage from consideration of personal prestige. "The Tempest" is seen at the rehearsal stage in Walker's *The Great Globe Itself*. There are criticisms and Shakespeare accepts some of these as valid but the play is not hailed as a masterpiece.

1. Shaw's *The Dark Lady of the Sonnets* (Selected plays, Dodd, Mead & Company, New York, Vol. 3, 1948).

2. *Ibid.*, p. 863.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 863.

except by one of his future editors, and the proposal that a complete edition should be brought out, is made with Shakespeare's approval.

The approach to the Shakespeare theme reveals the two extremes of caution and reckless invention in the form of an unrestrained fancy.

## II

*The Dark Lady of the Sonnets* is published in 1910 with a long preface in the usual Shavian style. The play itself is mainly in normal prose although some quaint expressions like, "amen," "I have also stole from a book," "and a woman goeth in man's attire and maketh an impudent love to her swain," are reminders that the aim is to reproduce not only a very curious scene but also certain atmospheric effects. Written in a light vein it offers some facts about Shakespeare's attitude and artistic habits which are at least plausible, for nothing about Shakespeare can be established as factual history. About his protean habits he tells the warder of the Palace of Whitehall: "I am not the same man two days together: Sometimes Adam, sometimes Benvolio, and anon the Ghost."<sup>4</sup> The reaction on the poor Bee-eater is very naive: "A ghost! Angels and ministers of grace defend us!"<sup>5</sup> "Shakespeare makes a note of this as also of other expressions he uses, such as the following: 'Frailty: thy name is woman,'"<sup>6</sup> "A Snapper-up of unconsidered trifles,"<sup>7</sup> "You cannot feed capon so"<sup>8</sup> "The Queen whom he meets is guilty of Mary's death. Her somnambulism and words are later ascribed to Lady Macbeth: "Out, damned spot." "All the perfumes of Arabia will not whiten this Tudor hand." "Who would have thought that woman to have had so much blood in her!" "Whats done cannot be undone." "Season your admiration for a while"<sup>9</sup> To the Dark Lady he owes the expression, "Of ladies most deject and wretched."<sup>10</sup> Shakespeare is thus seen utilizing the resources of the spoken language for his greatest dramatic effects and is having access to them in the form of living speech unconsciously uttered. There is a farcical scene in which Mary Fitton strikes down the Queen and the Poet, who stood with their hands clasped and retreated with horror on recognizing Her Majesty. The scene is no less farcical in which Shakespeare engages in hot words with the Queen to prove that his pedigree is higher than the Queen's, his mother being an Arden and the only wife of his father John, whereas Henry VIII had six wives and Queen Elizabeth could hardly be sure that her mother was actually faithful to her husband.

The most important thing is to be found not in such scenes but in a quiet talk with the Queen about a proposal Shakespeare had to make. This

4. *Ibid.*, p. 861.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 861.

6. *Hamlet*, I. 2. 146.

7. *Winter's Tale*, IV. 3.26.

8. *Hamlet*, III. 1.2.100.

9. *Hamlet*, I. 2. 192.

10. *Ibid.*, III. 1. 164.



was to establish a National Theatre. But the Queen said, this could not materialize in less than three hundred years by which time, as she observes, his "works will be dust also." But Shakespeare promptly replied : "They will stand, madam : fear not for that."<sup>11</sup> The Queen's prophecy about the theatre was true enough, but she underestimated Shakespeare, though not as completely as the words seem to imply. What she said to the warder indicated better her attitude : "Lead him forth ; and bring me word when he is safely locked out ; for I shall scarce dare disrobe until the palace gates are between us."<sup>12</sup> The wielder of imperial power had only one equal to her in stature and that was the wielder of imperial imagination which Shakespeare was. Hence the caution. The Queen could easily have taken offence at what Shakespeare said about her birth. But he recovered magnificently from the rising anger of the Queen by an adroit compliment. Although great in wit, it was not for this that she was adored. The reason was that the caprice of nature made her the most wondrous piece of beauty the age hath seen. After this she is completely disarmed.

Shakespeare is made to comment upon two of his plays "As You Like It" and "Much Ado About Nothing" describing them as pot-boilers. "I have writ these to save my friends from penury"<sup>13</sup> says Shakespeare. What he regrets is that "these two filthy pieces drive their nobler fellows from the stage" and his proposal for a National Theatre anticipates the idea of modern repertory theatre which will play "those pieces of mine which no merchant will touch, seeing that his gain is so much greater with the worse than with the better."<sup>14</sup>

The magic of Shakespeare is not the same as the magic of Prospero. Shakespeare cast a spell by his use of words and he knew the greatness and beauty of words as no one has ever done. The view is well expressed by Shaw when he puts the following praise into the mouth of Shakespeare for the tool he uses with a power, unequalled before or since. He is the king of words. He says : "The power I speak of is the power of immortal poesy. For know that vile as this world is, and worms as we are, you have but to invest all this vileness with a magical garment of words to transfigure us and uplift our souls til earth flowers into a million heavens."<sup>15</sup> As he quotes the Bible the Queen whose identity is still unknown to the playwright warned him not to speak of holy things, the Queen being the Head of the Church. Shakespeare addresses the unknown lady as the Queen of his Church when she spoke the words : "All the perfumes of Arabia." Comically enough, the poet challenges the Queen to speak like her, and until this power is proved to be the Queen's, he will acknowledge the lady, he is speaking to, as his sovereign. For in her gift for words Shakespeare seems to notice a superiority even to his own and hence his readiness to pay homage.

11. Shaw's *The Dark Lady of the Sonnets*, p. 874.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 874.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 872.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 872-73.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 866.

*The Clown of Stratford* by Sir John Squire is written, as the author himself says, on the very unlikely assumption that Bacon did write Shakespeare. Shakespeare's role in this play is to blackmail the philosopher and he demanded five hundred pounds as a bribe to keep his mouth shut regarding the authorship. Bacon refers to his latest play "The Tempest" with a happy ending and all his attempt to get Shakespeare to talk about it or take the least interest fails and he tells Bacon brusquely "I've got to shoulder every piece of rubbish you write. What about all that stuff about "To be or not to be"? How would you like to have "Atheist" shouted after you in the streets of Stratford? And all those dirty words, too. I wonder you aren't ashamed of yourself! I have got to stand the racket of all this. And I'm entitled to my pay; so put that in your pipe and smoke it."<sup>16</sup> Bacon loses his temper and shouts at him "You impertinent dog I refuse. (*Makes to ring*) I'll have you kicked out of the house."<sup>17</sup> Shakespeare coolly responds with a threat which certainly takes the wind out of his sails: "Very well, my Lord Verulum, my Lord High Chancellor, by this afternoon all London will know that you wrote those plays."<sup>18</sup> As he goes away he raises the demand to seven hundred and fifty pounds and Lady Verulum advises his taking bribe as a way out, but assures him that if he can conceal his authorship he may be "pretty sure still of dying in the odour of sanctity."<sup>19</sup> Bacon is reluctant at first to consider the proposal but he yields at the end. As he paces up and down he utters the well-known soliloquy "To-morrow and to-morrow and to-morrow", etc. The author's purpose is to revive a theme which is as dead as anything can be, and at the same time suggests how the myth arose in an age when earnings from the stage were not regarded as respectable. Shakespeare is presented here as a contemporary without resort to Elizabethan stage properties as a mode of introducing the theme.

W. S. Gilbert writes *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern* as a free version of the Shakespearean play. He presents it in three tableaux. We are told that King Claudius wrote a five-act tragedy which was hissed off the stage on the very first night of its performance. The king was quite naturally annoyed by this reception and declared that "To mention it is death, by Denmark's law"<sup>20</sup> Ophelia was sought for as a bride by Hamlet, the prince. Unwilling to marry him and giving her heart to Rosencrantz, a plot was now contrived to get the prince out of the way. In the meantime, we are told that Queen Gertrude alarmed by her son's tendency to long soliloquy sent for Rosencrantz and Guildenstern "two merry knaves" to devise such revels in the court as shall abstract Hamlet's meditative mind from sad employment. Guildenstern now cunningly suggested revival of the

16. Sir John Squire's *The Clown of Stratford*. (*Short Modern Plays*, Macmillan & Co. Limited, 1935), p. 150.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 151.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 151.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 152.

20. W. S. Gilbert's *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern* (*Short Modern Plays*, Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1935), n. 22.

condemned play of the King. The proposal was accepted by Ophelia and Rosencrantz, and the play was performed with Hamlet in the leading part. The performance made the King furious and he threatened death penalty for the violation of the law. He said, "—my son—my play—both worthless Both shall together perish"<sup>21</sup>. And on Hamlet's saying, "I can't bear death—I am philosopher"<sup>22</sup>; the death sentence was commuted into one of life-long exile. Ophelia while commending England as the place of his exile said, "If but the half I've heard of them be true/They will enshrine him on their great good hearts,"<sup>23</sup> at which the King observed,

"If such race there be. They're welcome to his philosophic brain. So, Hamlet, get thee gone and don't come back again"<sup>24</sup>. Blank verse is used throughout the play but the tone is comical and Hamlet's walking into the trap laid for him shows that he has none of that penetration which Shakespeare gave him. This is Ophelia speaking, "Hamlet is idiotically sane. With lucid intervals of lunacy."<sup>25</sup>

There is a travesty of sense in these lines in keeping with the known Gilbertean style of composition. The original motive of revenge is not found here and Hamlet is represented as in the habit of soliloquising whether alone or in company. Parts of "To be or not to be" are repeated by Hamlet and when he comes to the sentence "But that the dread of something *after* death",<sup>26</sup> Rosencrantz offers his clownish comments "That's true . . . *Post mortem* and the coroner/Felo-de-se-cross roads at twelve P.M."<sup>27</sup>

It is clear that Gilbert wants comedy and farce and the material and treatment are oriented for the purpose. In fact, the prince's mother wants the good offices of Ophelia to cure him of his habit of soliloquy. Apparently, Hamlet's case is eccentricity without cause and the specific remedy is marriage which does not, however, take place because Ophelia's heart is pre-engaged. But this is putting the matter seriously when the author aims only at a light effect and uses the situation for the purpose of evoking laughter.

*Ophelia*<sup>28</sup> by T. B. Morris develops the strain of character in Shakespeare's Ophelia, especially seen in her swan-like end. She lives in our memory as a sweet personality. The Queen's scattering of flowers on her grave and the last words she speaks over it are among the things that underline this aspect of her character. This strain in spite of its sweet

21. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 76.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 76.

28. T.B. Morris's *Ophelia* (*The Best One-Act Plays of 1948-49*, George G. & Co.

appeal is not all an expression of passivity. In *Hamlet* her willing submission to her brother's desires and her father's will as regards her behaviour with the Prince, however, imply this passivity. There is an element of dreaminess in her of which the best expression is provided not by her speeches but by her songs after the murder of Polonius. Shakespeare's Ophelia, apart from the songs, is colourless. The songs import a quality of enchantment:

"He is dead and gone, lady,  
He is dead and gone ;  
At his head a grass-green turf,  
At his heels a stone."<sup>29</sup>

In this simple description is shed the very lustre of imagination. A girl who could think and feel like this needed a more fostering care at the hands of her creator so that the beauty she possesses may be enhanced by a rich quality of the spirit and both uniting together present a personality of greater charm and complexity.

T. B. Morris seems to explore this possibility when he puts the following words into her mouth:

"I have no lover, I,  
It seems, had never a lover, but a dream,  
For I am all alone."<sup>30</sup>

This would imply that she lived in isolation from all concerns. Prince Hamlet loved her, this was to her a very great and valuable experience. Yet she was not certain that it gave her a secure foothold in a man's heart. The Prince was mentally unbalanced and she would not accept a marriage in the hope of being a queen. To her, love was a fulfilment needing no other aid to make its power prevail. When she saw that Prince Hamlet was past recovery she had a dream of Hamlet, dragging a murdered man upon a chilly stair. She saw something which had not yet happened. Like persons of great imagination Ophelia could see the shape of things to come ; the vision, not the fact of the murder, was a decisive moment in her life and it made her retire into the ivory tower of imagination, as it were, hugging a dream of some Eastern Prince and declaring to her mother that she had never loved Hamlet. In saying this she was not telling a lie ; she was only transferring her allegiance from intractable reality to a dream. Its delicate quality seemed all the more appealing for being a part of her own essential self.

Later came the shock of the assassination and it proved that, for her, dream was more real than anything in the world outside. In Shakespeare's play she dies pursuing a dream or vision. Morris's play emphasizes the dream and thus completes a picture Shakespeare left fragmentary. Morris has several characters not found in the Shakespearean

29. *Hamlet*, IV. 5. 29-32.

30. T. B. Morris's *Ophelia* (*The Best One-Act Plays of 1948-49*, George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd.).

play ; Ophelia's mother, her nurse, her page, and two young girls described as friends of Ophelia. They are important as a means of making a more intimate approach to her character. For her relation with the mother seems a formal affair by the side of that of the old nurse. The latter is anxious that she should be happy and not be made an "apothecary's assistant" while the mother wants her social elevation, whatever the cost. Ophelia wishes to remain a maid, to live in a country among flowers and her mind runs very much on the river out of which she makes a series of images. These have a melancholy quality and it is perhaps the author's intention to introduce the river images as an evidence of the intuitive power which enabled her to forestall the future, for it was in a river or some sort of pool where she was drowned. Whether she speaks of flowers or of her dreams she seems to assume that her part in the business of living is at an end, and that she can at best dwell among dead memories.

*The Mousetrap* by J. Darmady is concerned with the inset play in "Hamlet" and Hamlet's instruction about the performance itself and his contribution of sixteen lines of verse to round off the story to be dramatized. We have here an account of the stage life from within, the quarrel about the parts, the difficulty of impersonation of a female role by a boy and other connected affairs. Everything is said in a vigorous language and the commotion on the stage creates a sense of fearful excitement pointing to a tragic end. What worried the actors was the fact that the king left the court before the show had ended. All the courtiers followed the King except the Prince who with "one sole gentleman" remained behind. The players make conjectures about the King's displeasure and feel that the verses of the Prince explain this unexpected situation. How could they ask for payment and how else could they meet their own expenses ? Meanwhile, they were frightened to hear of the murder of Polonius by the Prince. They were, indeed, caught in a mousetrap but so was Polonius. The first player miserably observes :

"Why did Fate deceive us, promising fortune ? First the message  
Sent by the Prince, the order to play at Court—

Everything seemed to point to our advancement—

Then the trap closes—snap. We poor mice hear it." <sup>31</sup>

The word "mousetrap"<sup>32</sup> may well describe an inescapable human situation where the feeling of being completely helpless is inevitable and one may without difficulty argue with the third player that :

"There must be some plan,

Too great for us to see the whole of it." <sup>33</sup>

31. *The Mousetrap* by J. Darmady (*One-Act Plays of To-day*, Fifth Series, London, George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd.), p. 106.

32. The obvious reference for the word "Mousetrap" is of course Hamlet's explanation to Claudius that the play is called "The Mousetrap" and his earlier reflection, "The play's the thing/Wherein I'll catch the conscience of the King." 2.2.638,

33. *Mousetrap*, p. 108,

The play is concluded by the expression of his devout faith in Providence and his desire to cooperate rather than oppose the scheme of things. He says, "If I can be the link/A little link in a worthy chain's enough, I do not ask to be artificer".<sup>34</sup> This resignation to the Divine Will re-echoes Shakespeare's own sentiments and perhaps may also be referred back to the mediaeval conception of the "chain of being".

The play is written in blank verse without noticeable variation and the language used is modern English, but occasional reminiscences of Shakespeare's language carry us back to the author's source of inspiration as in the fourth player's words :

"Most dull, ditchwater audiences wake at the end !"<sup>35</sup>

The fourth actor refusing to play the part assigned to him declares:

"But

For me—I *am* my part ! It is myself !

Hinder my words, and you put fetters on me !"<sup>36</sup>

This does not seem to represent the general situation between actors and playwrights. His recalcitrance seems exceptional rather than typical. This idea seems to be supported by William A. Armstrong's "Actors and Theatres".<sup>37</sup> Mr. Armstrong quotes a contemporary view expressed by Richard Flecknoe in the following terms : "It was the happiness of the Actors of those Times to have such Poets (e.g. Shakespeare, Jonson, and Beaumont and Fletcher) as these to instruct them, and write for them ; and no less of those Poets to have such docile and excellent Actors to Act, as a *Field* and *Burbidge*."<sup>38</sup>

One point worthy of note is that the actors speak poetry while rehearsing their parts. Their invitation to perform comes after a long period of idleness and gives them a new confidence. We know that times are hard for the stray players since companies of actors were formed with a closed-door policy. The third player looks at this as capricious because it tends to give opportunity to the worthless while the skilled actors are left without audience. The boy player among them vents an anxious feeling that he will have to face starvation when he grows a beard or when his voice croaks or screeches in a love passage.

*The Rehearsal*<sup>39</sup> by Maurice Baring is in prose and relates to the performance of "Macbeth". Once again, we have here an inside view of the stage : renowned actors trying to browbeat the author, and quarrels among actors reducing everything to chaos. While the creative collaboration between playwright and actors on the Elizabethan stage was not unknown, what we see here is carping criticism and obtuseness. For Burbage<sup>40</sup>

34. *Ibid.*, p. 198.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 193.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 189.

37. *Shakespeare Survey*, No. 17, 1964, p. 194.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 196.

39. Maurice Baring's *The Rehearsal* (*Nine Modern Plays*, Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd.).

40. Richard Burbage (c. 1568-1619) was one of the twenty-six principal actors in Shakespeare's plays. See Halliday, p. 77.

does not accept even the famous "To-morrow and to-morrow" passage as suitable for the stage. One reason is that it contains reflections on the stage which he considers unworthy, and as he impersonates Macbeth he demands that the sleep-walking scene should be transferred to Macbeth's part. Burbage wanted a soliloquy in twenty or thirty lines after the reported death of Lady Macbeth. Shakespeare's "To-morrow and to-morrow" was the response and we are not surprised when it does not please the famous actor. Many of the actors are unable to attend, some are engaged elsewhere and the disorder is so great that the play is rehearsed from the fifth act. In spite of all this chaos there is a sense of vitality even in the disorder and what is being done may apparently suggest a careless, unpremeditated procedure, yet the result attained is the result Shakespeare alone could produce.

Burbage is anxious for popular "hits" and points out how these could be secured. Shakespeare's attitude is concerned with something which at the same time satisfies and transcends the popular standard. To accept Burbage's suggestion is, therefore, to repudiate some of the permanent values of his art.

The rehearsal concludes abruptly to the great dismay of the Producer and the Manager. But we find the actor appearing in the cast of Lady Macbeth, still dressing herself for the role. She is happy, apparently, because the sleep-walking scene is not taken away from her. Though the Producer and the Manager think that everything is lost, Shakespeare doesn't share their despondency. He advises Lady Macbeth to put on dark wigs so that people may not mistake her for Queen Elizabeth or for Mary Fitton. Thus Maurice Baring accepts the latter as fair. Shaw has no hesitation in making Queen Elizabeth the original for Lady Macbeth. She is responsible for the murder of Mary Stuart and the words she speaks are very apt as an expression of the guilt-consciousness in Lady Macbeth. Shakespeare steals them without hesitation and although plagiarism of the kind may be right for Shakespeare, the question that remains is, are we to believe that Queen Elizabeth murdered Mary with her own hands?

To speak of the actor-dramatist relationship once more, we may note that Burbage in Ralph S. Walker's "The Great Globe Itself"<sup>41</sup> is critical in his comments on "The Tempest" which some others around him seem also to endorse. In "The Rehearsal" Burbage's attitude remains critical and Shakespeare is not seen here as impressive a personality as he appears to be in "The Great Globe" nor does his voice command as much respect. Obviously, Shakespeare on the eve of his retirement stands higher in esteem than at the time he had still some years of production before him. Shakespeare, however, does not surrender his artistic conscience to criticism, and although he accepts proposals, the way he works them out is his own.

<sup>41</sup> Ralph S. Walker's *The Great Globe Itself* (One-Act Plays of To-day, sixth Harrop's Modern English Series).



Shakespeare's composure of mind and spirit is not disturbed by the squabbles and misunderstanding among the actors. He seems to dwell apart in his preoccupation to create a beautiful world.<sup>42</sup> Another point mentioned in the play "The Rehearsal" is that Shakespeare could not bring off Duncan successfully on the Stage as an actor but appeared instead in the minor role of Seyton whose business in this play was primarily to announce Lady Macbeth's death. The amount of success he enjoyed as actor is uncertain but Ben Jonson did not approve of a dramatist being an actor as well. Walker suggests this fact in "The Great Globe Itself" which may be true enough for all that we know.<sup>43</sup>

*The Great Globe Itself* by Ralph S. Walker was first published in 1934. It exploits the theme of collaboration between actors and dramatists in Elizabethan times with reference to the performance of "The Tempest" and shows the casual manner in which Shakespeare builds up the play. For example, the name "Tempest" is supplied by Ben Jonson who attends the rehearsal, commenting adversely on the play. In his opinion there is tempest at the beginning and also at the end in the sense of confusion pervading the whole atmosphere, such, indeed may be the view of the classically-trained Ben Jonson against romantic elements freely used by Shakespeare. The masque in the fourth act is introduced at Ben's sudden suggestion which he made again to express disapproval of the play as a whole<sup>44</sup>: hovering as it did among a multitude of genres without belonging to any one of them. Shakespeare does not regard the view as derogatory and seems to think that this ambiguity is an enrichment rather than a weakness. Walker makes it clear that Shakespeare has no pride of achievement. He wrote for the stage and had no expectation of immortality.<sup>45</sup> Walker puts the view into the mouth of Shakespeare in his conversation with Condell. The latter suggested that he would bring out an edition of his works. Shakespeare corrected him and said he would like them to be named simply "Plays". In this modesty there is no Christian exaltation of the spirit but merely a recognition of the special quality of his achievement and perhaps his desire to be remembered for this.

42. Maurice Baring's view of Shakespeare is shared also by Bernard Shaw in his *The Dark Lady Of the Sonnets* where he represents the playwright as convinced of the imperishable quality of his works.

43. In Ralph S. Walker's *The Great Globe Itself*, Ben Jonson tells Shakespeare, "Well, you mustn't expect me to act. I'm no actor, though I tried acting when I was younger and greener. Acting does a dramatist no good. Actor playwrights have vulgarized the stage—you and your like, Will." p. 224.

44. W. W. Greg in his *The Shakespeare First Folio*, p. 421 writes: "Wilson rejects the masque--- as Unshakespearean, and so do certain other critics, though they cannot make up their minds whether the intruder is Beaumont, Chapman, or Heywood. Perhaps Chambers is right in supposing the admitted difference of style to be a deliberate attempt to distinguish the masque from the rest of the piece, such as is evident in the players' play in *Hamlet*."

45. Greg also observes in his *The Shakespeares First Folio*, that it is foolish to suppose that Shakespeare was indifferent to the fate of his own works. The mere length of *Hamlet*, of *Richard III*, of *Ceriolanus* must have made it difficult to produce them on the stage and suggests that he had an alternative mode of publication in view.



About the publication of the Folio by Hemmings and Condell there is no positive information and Walker's explanation may be as good as any that can be given. W. W. Greg in his *The Shakespeare First Folio*<sup>46</sup> writes: "About the inception of the project (i.e., the publication of the plays) we know little. Did it originate with the players who had been Shakespeare's fellows in the King's company, or was their co-operation sought by a publisher or group of publishers?"<sup>47</sup> Greg observes "It may not appear unduly credulous to believe that in the great folio collection of plays that issued from Jaggards press in 1623 we indeed have a monument raised by the piety of his old stage-mates 'only to keep the memory of so worthy a Friend, & Fellow alive, as was our Shakespeare.'"<sup>48</sup> As regards the collaboration between the actor and the playwright Walker is not very explicit and one would imagine that the actors were as much a help as a hindrance to the playwright. In other plays, concerned with the problem of staging performance, the actors reveal an insensitiveness to the various parts, which has a retarding effect upon the production.

Certain odd incidents in the course of the rehearsal make Shakespeare introduce changes on the spot. From Robinson's falling asleep Shakespeare makes Miranda go to sleep, provided Robinson playing the role, does not move while Prospero speaks. The stage presents a scene of commotion during the rehearsal partly from non-attendance of actors and partly from quarrels among them over the parts they desire to play: Field, a famous actor of female role was not found suitable to play Miranda, Richard Robinson being chosen instead. This supersession is the result of Field's growing ugly in appearance and developing a harsh voice. Similarly, *The Mousetrap* showed the secret worry by a boy actor about having to go out of business as soon as he develops a man's voice. The actors who take part in the rehearsal are all historical persons and include, apart from those already mentioned, Hemmings, Gilburne, Burbage, etc.

Shakespeare in this play is seen bidding farewell to the stage. The cause he mentions is, he is fatigued by the demands of the theatre but there is no Shakespeare-Prospero identification, which arose from the expression "Shakespeare's magick" used in *The Enchanted Island* by Dryden and Davenant. Such identification has been proved to be misleading by subsequent researches, showing that Shakespeare had literary models for practically every speech and action in the play.<sup>49</sup> The play concludes philosophically with Shakespeare's view that a time will come when he will be forgotten as well as his plays and the theatre where these were performed. Condell opposed this remark by his suggestion to bring out a complete edition of his works and thus to hand down his memory to posterity. The

46. W. W. Greg's *The Shakespeare First Folio* (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1955).

47. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

49. Preface to "The Tempest", *London Shakespeare*.

short play, *The Great Globe Itself* is written in modern prose containing, however, quotations of verses from "The Tempest" being rehearsed by the actors. The dislike of the play by the actors, especially by Burbage, arose from the demand for pathos and passion which "The Tempest" did not satisfy. Condell, however, thought it the best play Shakespeare ever wrote and promised to give it the pride of place in the complete edition he desired to publish with Hemmings as his collaborator. The latter did not think the play a success and was lukewarm in his attitude towards it, half-condemning it as an "ultra-modern comedy". The name of Walker's play and some of its philosophical ideas are obviously taken from the following celebrated passage in Shakespeare's "The Tempest":

"And like the baseless fabric of this vision,  
The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,  
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,  
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,  
And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,  
Leave not a rack behind."<sup>50</sup>

H. F. Rubinstein's *Night of Errors*<sup>51</sup> is published in 1964. Unlike other plays on Shakespeare theme it attempts an interpretation of Shakespeare's drama, seeing in it a symbolical view of life and having a tragic dimension even when the play concerned is a comedy. Bacon appears here as a commentator and exponent. He has more esteem for Shakespeare the playwright than he has for rank and blood. Shakespeare on the other hand, covets the blood of his betters and is concerned with his application for a coat-of-arms. Accordingly, he declares that he has a lack of what Bacon has. If we analyse the play we find that the themes set forth fall under three several heads.

Regarding the reception of Shakespeare's play in the theatre—Tom, the servant, is enthusiastic but when catechized he fails to mention the name of a single play by him. On the other hand, he attributes "The Spanish Tragedy" to Shakespeare and speaks of its great popularity. In Shaw's "Dark Lady" Shakespeare asks the warder to come to his play as often as he pleases. "Bring your wife. Bring your friends. Bring the whole garrison. There is ever plenty of room,"<sup>52</sup> says Shakespeare, but to attend "The Spanish Tragedy", he adds, one has to pay for admission.

The second theme is concerned with the Dark Lady. She is introduced dramatically at the moment Southampton reads aloud Sonnet No. 144, containing a reference to her as well as to the Earl himself. The reference is explicit as regards the Earl's being a rival in the affection of the Dark Lady. The affairs at home at Stratford are also introduced in this connection. Mistress Anne reports much uneasiness on the part of the poet's wife

50. *The Tempest*, Act. IV, Sc. 1. 150 ff.

51. H. F. Rubinstein's *Night of Errors* (Heinemann London, 1964).

52. Bernard Shaw's *The Dark Lady of the Sonnets*, (*Selected plays with Prefaces*, Dodd, Mead & Company, New York, 1948), p. 801.

because of the intrigue with the Dark Lady. Shakespeare is annoyed but confesses: "If Anne is half-crazed, she is not the only one ! (More calmly) Yes, my old friend, I have been justly punished. But now it is all over, I think. Ask me no more."<sup>53</sup> Shakespeare evidently understands that he has come to a parting of ways and what follows confirms the view. Shakespeare promises to purchase the largest house at Stratford for his family. We learn that this is possible because he is making profits on his shares in The Globe bought with Southampton's money. The reading of the Sonnet marks a tension between the Earl and the Poet. The situation between them, he remarks, is parallel to "The Two Gentlemen of Verona". The famous song "Who's Silvia ?" is also alluded to and like Valentine, Shakespeare volunteers to give up his Silvia to the Earl, remarking somewhat acidly that he can write off his debts to him in return. The Dark Lady, in a boyish grab is presented as both witty and vivacious ; at the end she makes it possible for the friends to be reconciled by withdrawing from the scene altogether. She is seen being hustled off the stage by the Earl. This was, therefore, a moment of crisis in the poet's life. Finally, we have an analysis of Shakespeare's play "The Comedy of Errors" and also of his own character by Bacon, introduced as a sorcerer. The two great men apparently meet for the first time and Bacon expresses his pleasure at this opportunity. In his view, Shakespeare the poet and the player are two men and they are united to form a single happy personality. He, however, describes himself as a mean creature, a toady, a braggart and a coward. Shakespeare declares that he is more than two men. "Your gentle Shakespeare harbours whole legions of serpents and monsters."<sup>54</sup> This view is practically the same as Shaw states : "Sometimes Adam, sometimes Benvolio and anon the Ghost."<sup>55</sup> There is a difference in stress. Shaw does not emphasize the evil characters whereas Rubinstein finds them to be more representative of Shakespeare's genius than anything else. The third element consists in an attempt at interpretation. Bacon does not see in Shakespeare an affair of influences from various quarters. He sees, instead, mathematics and metaphysics and perhaps also philosophy. Bacon interprets "The Comedy of Errors" as "a convenient cover for deeper designs". The explanation he offers is subtle and Shakespeare accepts it, declaring that his plays are parables. Bacon describes the pattern of "The Comedy of Errors" with great subtlety in the following terms : "Creation descended into multiplicity. In multiplicity we now live amidst errors and terrors, illusions and confusions. The reign of multiplicity is the theme of your play."<sup>56</sup> He again says : "Creation, Fall, Awakening, Death, Rebirth, Resurrection—all these are acts of a cosmic drama, reflected in every context from the cycle of the seasons to the succession of the Kings

53. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

54. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

55. Shaw's *The Dark Lady of the Sonnets*.

56. Rubinstein's *Night of Errors*, p. 22.

of England."<sup>57</sup> This subtlety of interpretation is in accord with modern trends illustrated among others by Wilson Knight and by Auden in his *Dyer's Hand*. This is "the deeper design" which had made Bacon take an interest in Shakespeare's plays. The view here taken of Bacon and Shakespeare is a contrast to Sir John Squire's "The Clown of Stratford" where Shakespeare is blackmailer, and Bacon author of the plays, a philosopher and a man of public authority and eminence.

The Shakespeare theme as treated in the shortplays examined above is limited to a few major dramas and leave untouched the Histories and the Roman plays. There are other omissions but not comprehensive enough to constitute separate classes by themselves such as the two mentioned above do. Far more critical in attitude than the earlier periods of Shakespeare study, the twentieth century has not made any attempt at retailoring Shakespeare so was to make the plays approach closer to its own life and ways of thinking. The plays are not all of the same standard but they have all of them enjoyable qualities which we cannot miss whether we read them or see them performed. Various ideas are presented to fill the void in our knowledge of Shakespeare and his times. Thus the plays not only provide pleasure but also some degree of enlightenment, or at least, a measure of stimulus to our own thinking.

57. Rubinstein's *Night of Errors*, p. 22.

# MOCK MARRIAGES IN INDIA

P. THANKAPPAN NAIR

## *Introduction :*

Mock marriage is a particular rite practised by some of the aboriginal as well as civilized communities of India, as a prologue to real marriage. Marriage implies union of one man with a woman, or women or *vice versa*, with the intention of procreation of children. If there is no such intention, there can in fact be no marriage. Mere association for the sake of discharging sexual urges is not worth the appellation of marriage. When a person marries, he or she undertakes the responsibility of providing consortium. Marriage does not take place if the parties are not creating some kind of an obligation. Prevalence of divorce does not itself show that no obligation is created. Divorce is an implied right of the parties to unget themselves from the obligation they have created for themselves.

The term 'mock marriage' indicates a marriage in which some of the elements of a real marriage are lacking. As we have already stated, there should be two opposite human beings in a marriage who unite themselves primarily for sexual partnership. Such being the implication, if one of the parties is an inanimate object or a botanical specimen, there is no marriage in the actual sense of the word, but something that outwardly resembling a marriage. Inanimate objects or plants that thrive with Nature's bounty cannot perform the marital duties that appertain to human species. Mock marriages do not create any *vinculum juris* which is essential in a contractual obligation. Consequently, one who has performed a mock marriage can not go in for a divorce. He is not called upon to perform the marital duties.

## *Origin of mock marriages :*

Origin of mock marriages is as obscure as their development. We hopelessly fail to understand the motive behind such *pro forma* marriages among the tribal populations. If we label such marriages as some freakishness of the primitive mind, we are rather committing the fallacy of oversimplification, and dismissal of such practices due to mere superstitious beliefs of the indigenous people leads us to the *cul-de-sac* of under-estimating. Anthropologists rather tend to label such practices as manifestations of Sympathetic Magic. The theorists will probably hold such practices are meant for avoiding the visitations of catastrophes that may befall on the parties during their married life, and marrying an animate or inanimate thing is to find out a scapegoat that will shoulder the burden of such future misfortunes. The primitive man may laugh at such 'discoveries' of his civilized brethren. Psychological interpretation and its *raison d'être* have

not come forth so far and we should try to find out a clue\* in the pantheistic conception of the primitive man. He may be performing the rite simply to pay his respect to such objects. In fact if a member of the cotton-ginning caste is first of all married to a *rui* (silk cotton) tree, it will simply be a way to show some respect to the tree which gives him his bread. Similarly, if a bachelor among a particular tribe of traditional military caste is married to a sword or an arrow, it indicates that he is not giving up his profession of arms, though he incurs obligations in marriage. The marriage of bachelors to such things as *rui* tree, *shami* bush, jujubee tree, ring, arrow, sword, etc. might originally have been connected with the particular profession practised by the tribes which they have changed due to competition or reasons beyond their control. Perpetuation of the practices might have lost their significance and the continuance of such customs are to be taken in their sentimental perspective.

The motive behind a mock marriage which a bachelor, who wishes to espouse a widow, has to go through may be quite different. Marriage is an original mode of acquisition of property in the person of the bride and reconveyance of the same is impossible in the absence of the original owner. When a widow is married, she should still be held as the property of her late husband and no act of third parties can transfer her in the absence of her late husband who has acquired her by either serving or paying for her. When the property vests in a group of persons, death of one of them will automatically vest the property in the surviving persons. Consequently, the widow is required to marry or render service for those who have paid for her. As the property still vests in others, and reconveyance has not taken place, only her services can be lent to a third party. Approbation of the society is required even for such temporary transfer and a mock marriage should be gone through to validate it.

The hypotheses suggested in these lines require testing, but human species are not susceptible of such tests. We can only gather a few examples in support of our point of view

Most of the tribal marriages were, and are still, adult, and we cannot advance the argument that there is a social stigma if a girl attains puberty without being married, as is in the case with the more Hinduized tribes of India. Infant marriages were invented possibly by Brahmans in order to counteract the premarital sexual licence that prevails among the tribal people. No value is attached to chastity, a virtue opposed to Nature's conception of sexual union. Fornication is likely to result in conception and a parturition without a recognized parentage is intolerable to our civilized society. Notification of the flow of the first menstrual blood is required among some of the communities and if the girl is not disposed of in marriage, the community at large will come to know of such irregularities. To avoid such social ostracism, the girl is married to some person who after

the marriage ceremony is dismissed summarily in some of the communities in India.

Fake marriages are also gone through in order to proclaim that a girl is of marriageable age and suitors may try their hands according to the whims and fancies of the lady. To facilitate regular marriages among the suitors fake marriage is a prologue in which she goes through a *pro forma* marriage ceremony. In this case it is not borne out of any social stigma.

Primitive people may also resort to fake marriages in order to ward off the spirits and evil-eye. Evil-eye is dreaded by the primitive man and even we notice a pot with a hideous face drawn on it in the kitchen or vegetable gardens raised on riparian alluvium. Performance of sham marriage to dispel jettatura is good if believed in its efficacy. We fail to give any scientific proof of the efficacy of jettatura here.

## II

### *Marriage of bachelors to widows :*

Among some of the tribes of Bombay Presidency, a bachelor is required to go through a mock marriage before he goes through the actual one. Some of the tribes actually discourage marriage of bachelors with widows. The reason advanced for the mock marriage ceremony with a ring, *shami* bush or *rui* tree is that it is meant for warding off the spirit of the dead husband. The machinations of the evil spirit of her late husband may bring disaster to the new husband, and the evil dispositions of the late husband can be transferred to a scapegoat such as a tree, ring or other objects. A second marriage of a woman is supposed to bring misfortune, but a third one is not. To our mind, there is no reason why the spirit of the late husband should not cause injury to the person who tries to seduce his spouse. If the people believe that the spirit is active and his machinations will bring real harm, no amount of deception practised on him by a mock marriage will be efficacious or bring an appeasement.

The real reason seems to be quite different. A widow, according to primitive mind, is still the property of her late husband, and she can not be appropriated by marriage. Only her services can be obtained, for she is destined to rejoin her husband in the nether world. A widow whose misfortune has brought about the death of her husband is looked down upon by the primitive society and by marrying her a man is inviting trouble for him. If he simply lives with her, there cannot be any misfortune, for he is not acquiring her. The real marriage ceremony takes place to a ring or *rui* bush and the widow is simply hired for her services. As we reserve discussion on the notions entertained by the aboriginal people of India in respect of widow marriage, we cut short here.

In concluding this part of the essay, we should remind ourselves that it is high time that we give up interpretation of obscure tribal customs in

terms of magic. We should rather try to analyse them according to their psychological meaning. With these preliminary remarks, we shall cite a few examples of tribes who practised mock marriages. An exhaustive survey of the practice or its incidence is not attempted.

### III

#### Assam :

The institution of adult marriage has discouraged mock marriages in Assam. Further payment for the bride establishes the claim of the relatives of the deceased to retain her in service. Consequently instances of mock marriages are few and far between.

#### Eastern India :

We have some evidence of the practice of mock marriages among some of the primitive people of Bengal. The Kurmi<sup>1</sup> bridegroom of Chotanagpur is required to undergo a marriage ceremony with a mango tree. Not only he embraces it, but he is tied to it with thread and just as in real marriage, the vermilion is applied to the forehead of the bride, the tree is daubed with it. The bride is similarly taken to a Mahua (*Bassia latifolia*) tree and she has to marry it as a counterpart of the bridegroom's marriage to the mango tree. The Mundas<sup>2</sup> also have similar customs. A Munda bride is married to a Mahua tree and the bridegroom to a mango tree or both to mango trees, and *sindur* is daubed on the tree. Before a Bagdi<sup>3</sup> starts in his marriage procession he is to be married to a Mahua tree and bedaubed it with vermilion. The Mahua tree is the scapegoat for Kharwars<sup>4</sup> also. Among the Mahilis<sup>5</sup> of the same locality, the bridegroom marries a mango tree and the bride a Mahua tree before the actual marriage. The Newar girls of Nepal<sup>6</sup> are married to *bel* fruits in their childhood, the fruit being thrown into any sacred river.

The deformed Kandus<sup>7</sup> girls are married to swords, and when she is able to procure a husband the real marriage ceremony is gone through. The Sahar<sup>8</sup> bride is married to an arrow on the point of her attaining puberty, and is tied to a tree in the forests. The stigma of having girls who have attained puberty may also be removed by giving them in marriage to old men, who act as *pro forma* husbands. The *pro forma* husband is not expected to perform any marital duty and the girl is free to marry any one whom she likes. A Chasa<sup>9</sup> girl may be married to an arrow with some *bush* grass which she worships as her real husband. In a subsequent marriage she is married as a widow to which the bridegroom need not present himself in person, but may depute a proxy.

#### South India—Nayars<sup>10</sup>:

Mock marriage was a necessity among some of the communities of India among whom real marriage ceremony used to be conducted only once at



regular intervals. Thus, among the Nayars of Kerala it was the custom to get all the girls, irrespective of their age, married to a mock husband or a real one at regular intervals. Consequently girls may be married to a *pro forma* husband who is dismissed immediately after the marriage. He has no claim to marry her when she attains puberty, if she has not attained it already, unless she is his cross-cousin on the maternal or paternal side. In the absence of a real human mock husband, she is married to a sword symbolising the bridegroom. The Nayars are a martial race and they lived by their profession of arms. The marriage to a sword is thus in the fitness of things. Similarly, among the Kedara Kumbis, girls are married only once in twelve years. In order to avoid such long periods, girls are married to flowers which may be afterwards thrown into wells. Sword marriages were not infrequently resorted to by the Rajputs who are professors of arms and their long absence in the battle-fields necessitated marriage of girls to inanimate objects that symbolise their profession. A widower-bridegroom among the Halwai<sup>11</sup>, the present confectioner caste of Bihar, used to be married to a sword, or a piece of iron which is treated with vermilion. The Arasu<sup>12</sup> bridegroom may be represented by a sword in marriage, which is his weapon in battles. If a Kahar<sup>13</sup> bachelor desires to marry a widow, he is married to his ear-ring.

#### *Western India*<sup>14</sup> :

Among most of the tribes of Western India bachelors espousing widows must marry some animate or inanimate objects before the actual marriage ceremony. Thus among the Alkaris, Dhangars, and Mahars a ring may get the fortune of being married before its owner, the bachelor-bridegroom, marries a widow. Shami (*Prosopis Spicigera*) trees are married by the Bagdis, Bharmtas, Bhandaris, Chambars, Dhodias, Dublas, Golas, Holayas, Jingars, Kaikadis, Macchis, Managals, Ravals, Sindhavas, Tambolis, Tingars, etc. as a preliminary to bachelor-widow union. Rui (*Calotropis gigantea*) plant or some other trees are preferred by the Barrias, Bhistis, Bhois, Buruds, Chodhras, Devangas, Dhangars, Dhors, Gopalas, Kolhatis, Maratha Kumbhars, Mahar, Sudirs, Telis, Thakurs, etc. as the object of mock marriage. We are not sure if a widower is to go through similar ceremonies when he marries a virgin.

#### *Central India* :

Bachelors among some of the aboriginal tribes of Central India<sup>15</sup> are required to be votaries of mock marriages before espousing widows. Thus a Marori bachelor may marry a ring before he weds the widow, a Tiyar a bunch of flowers, an Ahir a dagger or an earthen vessel, a Bharbhunja a stick or an ear-ring, a Bharia a ring, a Kaikari a ring or *akao* plant, a Kotia a cotton plant, a Kunbi an *arka* or swallow-word plant, a Mali any tree he likes.

The Kol<sup>14</sup> bridegroom is made a widower before he marries a widow so that he should not outweigh in the social scale. The *Panch* arranges the mock-wedding for the bachelor-bridegroom when he seeks connubial relations with a widow. Mock marriage among them takes several forms, like circum-ambulation for seven times around a silver or gold ring tied to a *magrohan* stick bedaubed with *sindur*. Immediately after the mock marriage he is annointed with sweet oil mixed with turmeric to signify that his wife (the ring) is dead and as he is now a widower, he can marry a widow.

#### *Northern India :*

Among the Baurias<sup>17</sup>, if a blind or one-eyed man must marry a blind or one-eyed woman, we should not make haste to generalize that a widower must marry a widow only. The Hindus<sup>18</sup> of Panjab are allowed to marry for a fourth time, but there is a prohibition to a third time. Hence the bridegroom is required to be married to a Babul tree, or an *Akh* plant on the third instance, so that the lady becomes his fourth wife.

#### *Conclusion :*

Instances of mock marriages are not lacking in India. The motive behind it is not certain, though it is supposed to ward off evil spirits. Caution must be exercised in accepting such a theory. Primitive people are primarily wedded to their callings and marriage detracts them. Hence it is in the fitness of things that they must marry their objects of callings.

When a bachelor marries a widow, the actual marriage ceremony is performed on some animate or inanimate objects with a view to utilizing the services of the widow as a kept-woman, for actually she belongs to her late husband and she is incapable of being permanently annexed, as can be done in a ceremonial marriage.

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# SCHOOL AND COLLEGE LIBRARIES IN THE EVOLUTION OF EDUCATION IN MODERN INDIA\*

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I feel honoured by the invitation of the All India Federation of Educational Associations to act as Chairman of the Library Section of the Thirty-ninth Session of the All India Educational Conference. Aware as I am of my limitations I have accepted the honour and responsibility with diffidence. I am, however, confident that my short-comings will be amply made good by the distinguished delegates present here by their lively participation in and valuable contribution to the proceedings of the Conference. I am equally sure that the exchange of ideas and experience among the delegates will widen the range of our vision about the shape and function of the present-day libraries, increase our interest in library matters, and enrich the store of our knowledge and experience of the library world ; or, in other words, we go back from here much richer than we came. It is a real gain indeed ! This gain on the part of individuals interested in libraries should not be viewed as merely a personal gain or a passing phase of no consequence. Its impact on library movement is bound to reflect in an acceleration of the said movement which in its turn will again further the cause of libraries and the purpose of the conference will thus be well served. I thank the authorities of the Conference very sincerely for the opportunity they have given me to come in contact with an august body of educationists and learned men who are at the same time interested in libraries and to derive benefit from their knowledge and experience.

If the account of the sporadic efforts for the establishment of individual libraries here and there in the country in the past be left aside the history of systematic and organised attempt for the furtherance and formation of libraries of modern concept in India can be said to be now a little over half a century old. Its beginning can be ascribed to the foundation of a state-aided system of free public libraries in the former native state of Baroda in 1910 by its highly enlightened ruler the late Sayaji Rao Gaekwad II. Since then a movement has been carried on continually for the propagation of modern library ideas in our country. As a result such ideas relating to various fields of library service are generally making a headway in the country. Nevertheless the position of libraries and particularly of those in the educational institutions of our country is still gloomy.

The function of education has been viewed differently by different persons and societies according to their own concepts of it at the different stages of evolution or at different levels of their culture and civilisation.

\* Presidential Address delivered at the Library Section of the thirtiyninth Session of the All India Educational Conference held at Indore (M. P.) in December, 1964.

Even to-day educational experts may not agree upon a precisely same and unanimous definition of the term, education. Whatever may be the connotation of the term a sense, may be it is vague and hazy, has dawned upon the modern man that education is of vital importance to the individual and to the society and that without it neither any progress can be made by a society, nor can democracy in a state succeed. So in a democratic state a high value is attached to education. Turning back to the function of education it may be said that it is agreed in all quarters that one of the essential functions of education is to arouse the potential and dormant faculties in the individual and help him in their development and full blossoming. And that this process of development of the self is a continuous one which spreads over the whole life of the individual. To acquire the skill for the development of his latent faculties the individual generally needs some help, guidance and training in the earlier part of his life, which are expected to be provided in the institutions of formal education, namely, schools, colleges and universities. Formal education as imparted in educational institutions extends over a limited period of a few years while the period of self-education is, as already stated, unlimited. At whatever level of education an individual may leave an institution of formal education he can continue to acquire self-education throughout his life provided he has, after he leaves the educational institution, access to the means of self-education and has been initiated to the technique of acquiring self-education prior to his leaving the institution. The best means of self-education is the library and the technique of acquiring self-education lies in the knowledge of fruitful use of the library. So value of libraries in a system of education is immense. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that the All India Educational Conference will in its annual sittings discuss the subject of libraries. The topic assigned to this section of the Conference for discussion is, I understand, 'Provision of Amenities of Library Service in Schools and Colleges.'

It has been earlier said that the modern library ideas have made some headway in our country. But if an idea remains at the plane of idea only and is not translated into practice it does not have practical value. Let us try to find out how far the value of libraries has been given practical recognition in our present educational system. In the light of the finding it may be possible to make suggestions for consideration by the Conference. A brief survey of the treatment of libraries in some of the important educational documents relating to the present educational system of our country since its beginning will perhaps enable us to assess the place of library in the system.

The origin of the present system of education in India can be traced to the first half of the nineteenth century. When Lord William Bentinck was Governor-General of India Macaulay's famous Minute of 1835 in favour of English education in the country was immediately supported by a

Resolution of the Governor-General in Council and thereby the long and well-known controversy between the Orientalists and the Anglicists over the policy of education in India was set at rest, the verdict being in favour of the Anglicists. In the Resolution of Lord Bentinck it was stated that 'the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India.' The system of English education thus finally adopted and encouraged by Government has been pursued till the present day. Both Macaulay's Minute and Lord Bentinck's Resolution of 1835 were concerned with the broad policy of education in the country and therefore could not naturally be expected to have, and actually did not have, in them any reference to 'libraries.'

A parliamentary enquiry into the condition of India in 1853 preceded the confirmation of the East India Company's Charter, in the course of which British Parliament for the first time investigated the development of Indian education. As a result a despatch known as Wood's Despatch after the name of Sir Charles Wood who was then the President of the Board of Control was issued in 1854. The Despatch envisaged a system of education in India 'beginning with the humblest elementary instruction and ending with the full university test of a liberal education.' And in this system the object of the schools was to be to provide 'opportunities for the acquisition of such an improved education as will make those who possess it more useful members of the society in every condition of life.' The Despatch provided adoption of a system of grants-in-aid for schools for specific purposes among which 'the provision of an adequate supply of school books' was one.

As a sequel to the Despatch of 1854 three universities in the three Presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras came into existence, University of Calcutta in December, 1856 and those of Bombay and Madras in 1857, the Acts of Incorporation of the three being passed in 1857. These universities were originally established not as teaching or research institutions but merely as affiliating and examining bodies. So the question of providing libraries in the universities did not naturally arise then. Nevertheless authorities of the Calcutta University at least foresaw the formation of a University Library within the University as is evident from the fact that in the first bye-laws of the University a clause empowered the Registrar of the University to be 'the custodian of,' among other things, 'the library' of the University.

The great object of the English education was claimed to be 'the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India.' But actually a large number of administrators who were all foreigners and dominated in giving shape to the educational policy in India sought only to create through the system of education a class of people who would help them in carrying out the administration of the country according to the British ideas. Education in English schools assured and secured coveted jobs in government offices. Thus the emphasis in the system of education

shifted from 'the promotion of learning' to the preparation of people to help running the administration and all attention was thus concentrated on a very narrow and limited objective view of education. It appears that students, their guardians and educators all became concerned only with text-book and passing the examinations by the students so that the students might possess the pass-port for entry into government and foreign mercantile services in the country. Under such circumstances, it can be easily understood, one can not expect the library to play any important role in the educational system. Scanty reference to them can, therefore, be accounted for in the educational documents of the period. Yet libraries were, as is noticed from reports about some of the educational institutions of the time, attached to some colleges especially to those which were run by government or missionaries.

In 1882 Government of India appointed the Hunter Commission 'with a view to enquiring into the working of the existing system of Public Instruction and to the further examination of that system on a popular basis.' Dealing with the subject of 'college libraries' the Commission gave a brief account of a few college libraries in different parts of India and found that libraries in aided institutions were not considerable. As regards the extent to which college libraries were used the Report observed : .. 'the general reading of students is confined to the books which have some bearing on the subject of examinations.' The Commission recognised the need of assistance to college libraries and in its recommendations for special grants for specific purpose to aided colleges included the college libraries. It also recommended 'that a small annual grant be made for the formation and maintenance of libraries in all high schools.' Turning to the subject of Internal Administration of Education Department the Commission recommended 'that a general educational library and museum be formed at some suitable locality in each Province.' Thus, it appears, for the first time since the adoption of the English systems of education in India some stress on libraries in educational institutions was expressly given in an educational document of all India importance.

Perhaps the next important document is the Report of Universities Commission appointed by the Government of India in 1902. In it the Commission reported on 'the University and College libraries' thus : 'Of the present University libraries there is not much to be said. The library at Madras appears to be entirely neglected ; Bombay has a good collection of oriental and other books ; but the library is little used by graduates and hardly at all by students. Calcutta has a library and moneys have been granted for the purpose of making it supplementary to other libraries in Calcutta. It is open to Fellows and to persons permitted by the Syndicate to use it for the purpose of literary research. The Allahabad University has no library. Lahore has not a very large University library.' In view of the slender financial resources available at the time the Commission

dismissed the idea of forming 'vast collection of books such as the universities of Europe and America now possess' and left such possibilities to chances of benefaction for the purpose. The Commission, however, attached great importance to the formation of good 'reference libraries' in universities and colleges and held the view 'that in a college where the library was inadequate or ill-arranged the students had no opportunity of forming the habit of independent and intelligent reading.' The Commission held the view that at the time of granting affiliation to colleges certain matters were to be considered among which 'access on the part of the students to a library' should be one. While dealing with the college life of students the Commission suggested establishment by the University of a reference library with reading and conference rooms in which college students might read and hold debates. 'Such an institution' the Commission observed, 'whether established by University or college action or by private effort would bring Professors and students into contact with their academic neighbours of whom under existing conditions, they see very little.' In its final recommendations the Commission again emphasised the importance of providing reference libraries in universities and colleges.

The Indian Universities Act of 1904 which followed the Report of the University Commission of 1902 empowered the universities to make Regulations relating to certain matters of which recognition by universities of schools which intended to send up candidates for the matriculation examinations of the university was one. For the purpose of recognition at least schools under the Calcutta University were required according to the Regulations of 1906 of the University framed under the Act of 1904, to establish that due provision was made by them for the maintenance of a library and for lending out appropriate books (not school text-books) for the use of pupils. The recognised schools were further required to spend at least sixty rupees for addition of new non-text-books to the library annually.

The famous Calcutta University Commission (1917—1919) widely known as the Sadler Commission after the name of its President Dr. M. E. Sadler, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds prepared a Report which has been acclaimed as a monumental work in the learned world. Although the Commission was ostensibly concerned with the jurisdiction of the Calcutta University its report portrayed a picture of the condition of education which was practically applicable to any part of India at the time and has profoundly influenced the development of secondary, collegiate and university education all over India. In its Report the Commission has dwelt on the condition of secondary education rather fairly and elaborately but has hardly dealt with school libraries directly. In the matter of university and college libraries the Commission, however, was not indifferent. Through a query included in the questionnaire issued by it the Commission wanted to elicit opinion of competent persons on 'whether university training at its best



involved that the teachers and students should have access to well-appointed libraries.' It noticed that 'the colleges were, with few exceptions, too poor to be able to supply the equipment necessary for university work, and as a case in point mentioned their inability 'to maintain good libraries.' The Commission devoted considerable space to discussing the subject of the 'neglect of college libraries' and in this connection observed : 'It is true that a University has not fulfilled one of the most important of its more purely intellectual functions unless it has made its students feel at home and happy in a library of books, knowing how to use it. From this point of view one of the greatest weaknesses of the existing system is the extraordinary unimportant part in it which is played by the library. Few of the colleges have good libraries. Even the best that of the Presidency College [of Calcutta] is very defective at many points. In general the libraries are quite inadequate for the needs of the students and still more for those of the teachers'. The Commission realised that neither the students nor the underpaid teachers could afford to buy books and that 'they were therefore far more dependant upon libraries for books they needed than was the case in other countries. Moreover public libraries to supply this deficiency were absent almost everywhere.' Taking a realistic view of the situation as prevailed in the country the Commission however did not suggest to set an impossible and unreasonable standard in regard to libraries but at the same time wanted to remind every body concerned that in the mofussal colleges especially not only the students but the teachers also were almost wholly dependant upon the college library. As regards attitude of college authorities towards college libraries the Commission observed : 'Indeed we have found it impossible to resist the conviction that in some colleges the library is regarded, not as an essential part of teaching equipment, but merely as a more or less useless conventional accessory. When the library is regarded and treated in this way by the authorities of a college it is not to be expected that the students will realise its importance ; they are already too prone to assume that the text-book and the key are all-sufficient.' Enquiry by the Commission into the extent of the use of libraries by students in the colleges revealed that in none was the library used freely ; that very few books were borrowed by the students from the library ; and that the students seldom showed the development of independent interests outside the formal curriculum. The Commission emphasised one very important but always overlooked point relating to libraries namely the necessity of teaching the students the proper and regular use of the library. It observed : 'It is plain that one of the greatest needs, in many of the colleges of Bengal, is some means of training the students and occasionally also the teachers in the use of a library' and quoted the views of several distinguished persons on this point. Sir Gooroo Das Banerjee told the Commission that 'students should be taught early how to make legitimate use of a library.' Nawab Syed Nawabaly Chaudhury said : 'There is no provision to compel the students to use the libraries.'

There are no special classes for library work. The students are left to themselves, and, as is natural under the circumstances, they pick out just a few books here and there aimlessly, without any special reference to the nature of the work they are engaged in.' Sri Panchanan Das Mukherji more specifically informed the Commission that 'mere access to libraries will not do. Just as the science student's time table is so arranged that he may devote a considerable part of his time to actual laboratory practice, so the arts students should be compelled to devote a few hours each day to work in the great intellectual laboratory—the library.'

Next in chronological order may be mentioned the Report of Hartog Committee. It was an Auxiliary Committee with Sir Philip Hartog as the Chairman appointed by the Indian Statutory Commission familiarly known as the Simon Commission to review the growth of education in British India. The Committee which submitted its Report in 1929 noticed hopeful signs of healthy progress and new developments and activities in several areas of secondary education. It, however, does not say anything about school libraries apparently because it found nothing worth mentioning about them. Perhaps the reason of this neglect of school libraries may be traced in the finding of the Committee that 'the whole system of secondary education was still dominated by the ideal that every boy who entered a secondary school should prepare himself for the University'. On libraries in University education the Committee reported that the needs of the existing libraries both as regards books and collection of the chief periodicals and current periodicals were still very great. The Committee thought that the dispersal of resources for university teaching among a number of colleges had made it difficult to build up university libraries of the type required for advanced work both at the Honours and the research stage. The Committee was convinced that the majority of the university libraries were inadequate and all needed great additions but curiously enough left the possibility of their development to uncertain windfalls of benevolence of charitably disposed benefactors as will be apparent from the following sermon of the Committee in this respect : 'No object could be more worthy of the generous benefactor than the endowment of university libraries in such a way that they may be able to supply the proper foundations for higher work in the departments in which teaching and research are carried on and be kept up to date.'

The Wood and Abbott Committee of 1936-37 held the view that Higher Secondary Schools should not only instruct boys but also 'train them how to study' and that schools should have 'a well-stocked library'. The 1944 plan of the Central Advisory Board of Education for Post-War Educational Development in India known as Sargent Report has been applauded by many as an important educational plan ; but unfortunately practically nothing has been said in it about the role of the library in education.

The University Commission of 1948-49 presided over by Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan also gave fairly considerable attention to the subject of

university libraries. It referred to the library as 'the heart' of all the university's work and research, scientific and educational ; and considered that 'a first class library was essential in a university' both for humanistic and scientific studies. The Commission noticed that a few universities had good libraries but was distressed to find that 'in most colleges and universities the library facilities were very poor indeed'. It found that in most of the Indian universities the annual grants for libraries were inadequate and that most libraries did not allow open access. The Commission, in its Report, pointed out the necessity of educating the undergraduates in the use of the library and supported introduction of the open access system in libraries and provision of keeping the library open for long hours. According to the Commission the ideal university library system would consist of 'a large Central Library with departmental libraries in organic connection with it'. It held the view that the university library should have adequate and well-qualified staff of several grades of employees at the top of whom would be a man of the calibre of a university professor who had specialised in some aspects of library science after having done a full degree course and who had capacities of organisation and management. The Commission further added that there must be 'at least one university centre in each province offering the facilities for training for the (library science) diploma course' and that 'degree courses' might be provided in three or four universities 'located in different zones or regions'. The value and importance of reference service in the libraries which had so far gone neglected had been emphasised in the Report. The Commission urged that the student 'must be made book conscious' and 'encouraged to possess his own small library and educate himself by his private reading' and that 'right from his school he should be convinced of the value of book-buying'. In its recommendations the Commission suggested that lectures would be supplemented by library work and that university libraries should be greatly improved by large annual grants, the expenditure on college and university libraries being  $6\frac{1}{4}$  per cent of the total budget of the institution, or Rs. 40.00 per student. It also recommended introduction of open access system ; longer library hours ; better organisation ; and a well-trained staff which should include reference assistants.

The Report of the Secondary Education Commission of which Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University was the Chairman and therefore is known as the Mudaliar Commission Report was published in 1953. It considered the school library to be of 'crucial importance' and gave attention to the question of school libraries to a degree which was not noticed in important Indian educational documents published before it. At the outset the Report categorically stated that in a large majority of schools there were at the time no libraries worth the name. Referring to the sad plight of the library in the school it regretted that most teachers and head masters and even the educational adminis-

trators and authorities did not realise how unsatisfactory the position was and therefore they had no sense of urgency in the matter'. The Commission held the view that the school library 'must be made by all possible means the most attractive place in the school' adequately supplied with suitable books and periodicals and provided with, as far as possible, open shelf system to enable the students to have free access with an efficient service so that students would be naturally drawn to it. In most schools, the Commission observed, there was no conception of such service. The school library, in the opinion of the Commission, would require the service of a highly qualified and trained librarian who should have 'a love for books and understanding of students' interest' and 'who should be on a par with other senior teachers in pay and status'. The Commission made definite recommendations that there should be, in every secondary school, a full-time librarian and a central-library under him. It also recommended that 'all teachers should be given some training in the basic principles of library work in the Training Colleges as well as through refresher courses'. The Commission also discussed 'subject libraries' and 'class libraries' in schools and advised to utilise them for the educational purposes of secondary schools.

The University Grants Commission—the name itself indicates its functions—brought into existence by the Government of India in 1953 became a statutory body in 1956 when the University Grants Commission Act was passed by Parliament of India. It holds very progressive ideas about the college and university libraries. In its Report for the year 1957-58 the view of the Commission on, and its attitude towards, libraries in higher academic institutions have been expressed thus : 'Libraries occupy a pivotal place in modern universities and the Commission has accordingly given a high priority to the improvement of university libraries.' It also has issued circulars to universities and colleges proposing to upgrade the salary scales of qualified librarians and put them at par with those of the college and university teachers.

A rapid survey of the place given to the library in our educational system and its actual position in the system as seen through important educational documents prepared over a period of a century and a quarter long brings to notice some salient facts. We notice that the importance of the library in the educational system in its higher stage has generally not been theoretically ignored in most of the documents though at the same time they almost invariably reveal a lamentable plight of the library in the actual working of the contemporary system. It is also found that constructive and valuable suggestions often have been made in the documents of a period for the improvement of the library and its service in the academic sphere but seldom have they been appreciably implemented in the subsequent period. As a result the library has always been found to be practically non-existent in or to be a limping limb of our educational institutions. Even in the present day a survey of the condition of the library in the institutions of

formal education in India does not present a better or brighter picture in the case of the majority of the institutions. The ideal situation in this respect still is to be found only in the realm of idea and its semblance has, as we all know, yet no place in reality and no bearing on the real state of affairs in the country. The unsatisfactory condition of the library in our present educational institutions is a common knowledge and does not need elaborate description. Briefly stated it can be said that a few of the present-day Indian university libraries may be good but none yet can claim to be the ideal. The college libraries are as a rule, with the exception of a very few, neglected. School libraries are practically totally ignored. What are the reasons of this gloomy and depressing condition of the libraries and what are the remedies? These are the thoughts and questions which at once crop up in the mind.

One of the reasons of this deplorable condition of libraries in the educational institutions undoubtedly is the wrong emphasis that has been, under historical circumstances, laid on the object of education since the early days of the introduction of the English system of education in the country—an emphasis which unfortunately has been still working imperceptibly but dominantly in our efforts for education. The misconceived idea, though it may have been now diluted to some extent, that the only or at least the primary purpose of education is to pass students through the examinations so that they may secure employment in government and other offices, or to secure a pass port for admission to collegiate and university education still holds the ground. It has jaundiced the vision of the administrators of education and prevents development of an educational institution in proper lines. Otherwise, the library would have had its recognised place in the institutions. One may agree or not, a close study and observation of the situation indicates that we still do not seriously consider education to be a means of preparation of the individual for life so that by pursuing it under proper and congenial environment and circumstances an individual can fully develop his qualities and potential faculties to the benefit of himself and of the society. Had this true object of education been sincerely realised and appreciated and placed in the forefront in the pursuit of education the library certainly would have secured, as just stated, its due and assured place in our educational institutions. So the remedy lies in reshaping this wrong attitude of mind towards the object of education which of course is not an easy job to effect speedily. It is often difficult to shake off an inertia of a long standing without violent and repeated jerkings.

Another reason, no doubt, is the slenderness of the financial resources which are specifically made available for the purpose of the establishment and development of the library in an educational institution. Funds are essentially necessary for better libraries and better library service. The ready plea of inadequacy of funds for purposes which do not immediately produce palpable results is always there perhaps in all countries and

particularly in the underdeveloped countries. But more often than not this paucity of fund is more illusory than real. If persons who hold in their hand the purse string for the development of education were men of broad and far sighted vision and held enlightened and progressive views with a conviction about the urgency of investment in projects of development of the library in the academic institutions it would not have been difficult to have more money provided for the library. This view and possibility is amply strengthened and justified by the measures and action taken by the University Grants Commission for the improvement of university and college libraries in recent times. But for the liberal, enlightened and convincingly progressive views of the Commission about university and college libraries the amounts spent by it on the libraries of the colleges and universities would have been diverted to other channels on the plea that no fund was available for the purpose. So here again the mental attitude of the persons holding the charge of finance, towards the library and its service really matters and decides the issue. Very often these people who do not attach importance to libraries in the educational system generally belong to the older generation having fixed and old ideas about libraries and therefore do not understand the generous, sympathetic and progressive view of the modern times in the matter. It is generally difficult to convince them of the urgency, efficacy and utility of the library in the modern educational system. But this difficult task has to be performed with patience. They are to be converted to the modern library idea and ways and means for it have to be found out and resorted to. Otherwise, funds will never be forthcoming for the development of libraries in educational institutions even though there was no real paucity of funds for the purpose.

The third obstacle in the way is the poor conception and imagination of the administrators of educational institutions about the value and importance of the library in these institutions. Even though sufficient money be available a library in an educational institution will neither be properly organised and developed or prosper, nor can it function or thrive effectively and efficiently as a matter of course unless the authorities be eager to see the library take its appropriate place in the institution. If the authorities concerned be callous and indifferent to the needs, efficacy and utility of the library and if the library has to exist without any encouragement and support from the administrators it does not get the impetus necessary for its development. For, if the head of a family himself is indifferent to the needs and welfare of the family others seldom feel the urge or are competent to make up the deficiency.

Other reasons are more or less dependent on the above factors or are interdependent. Reduced to simplification all factors lead to the conclusion that library consciousness so far as libraries in educational institutions are concerned has not yet been sufficiently, properly and evenly aroused or developed in the country and particularly in quarters whose sympathy and

active support are essential for the development of these libraries. Educational Conferences may help to some extent to grow this library consciousness in the appropriate quarters by highlighting and repeatedly hammering the question of organising and providing suitable libraries in educational institutions for the fulfilment of the true object of education. This Conference, I hope, will not fail in the matter.

I have no doubt in my mind that libraries at all stages of our educational system and in all institutions of education need better organisation and further development. But at the same time I strongly feel that under the present condition of the country it is the library in the stage of the secondary education that needs the top priority and the utmost attention and consideration for its proper organisation, speedy development and efficient and effective service. This emphasis on the library in the world of secondary education I place not merely because school libraries are practically non-existent in most of the Indian schools, and because throughout the history of secondary education in India school libraries have been utterly neglected but for other reasons as well.

Even if a limited view of the object of secondary education be taken which may be construed to mean only preparation of the pupil for entry to the portals of higher education there is no reason why even that education imparted in schools should not be as best and as perfect as it may be to form the foundation of the edifice of higher education. Failure on the part of secondary schools to supply the proper type of students for collegiate education has all along been lamented by educational experts in the past. School libraries certainly have an important role to play in the enrichment of the purely curricular activities of the schools. Unless schools be provided with suitable libraries and library service they cannot turn out pupils competent to receive higher education or in other words schools fail in the discharge of their responsibility viewed even from a very narrow point of view.

Again it may be said that on the quality of the secondary education depends the quality of education as a whole. On the one hand, secondary schools send out pupils who take up courses of higher education in colleges and then in universities where the future leaders of the country are shaped and trained to formulate in due course national policies including that of education ; on the other, these schools supply the bulk of teachers for primary education and adult education. So the quality of education both at the level above secondary stage and also at that below it will be vitally affected and influenced by the quality of education provided in the secondary schools. Because of this pivotal importance of secondary education the school libraries without the provision and use of which secondary education cannot to-day be as it should be, assume an importance of high priority.

Then again secondary education should be considered as a stage complete in itself. For it is the age which in all countries marks the completion of the formal education for the vast majority of the pupils who pass



through institutions of formal education. But education itself is a life-long process. As such, in the case of any individual who does not proceed beyond the stage of secondary education his further education must of necessity be self-education. In a democracy education is considered to be of vital importance for its success. It is therefore obvious that if a democracy is to be real those of its citizens who will be soon leaving secondary schools must have in the mean time acquired the art, habit and technique of acquiring self-education to enable them further to pursue this life-long process of education. And the library is the best means of self-education. It is therefore imperative that all secondary schools should not only be indispensably provided with good libraries but that pupils at the stage of secondary education should also have a thorough and complete initiation to and training in the best use of this essential tool of self-education.

From these considerations, if for no other reasons, it is apparent that the school library in secondary education holds a vital and unique position and its neglect means nothing but a curse and condemnation of the system of secondary education itself. If school libraries are thus an essential factor in secondary educational system what might be the essential points which need especial emphasis relating to these libraries? Let us try to mention a few of them.

The school library no doubt functions to further the objectives of the school. It becomes increasingly effective as teachers and students learn to use its resources and utilise its services for their work and other purposes. A properly organised and administered school library is, according to the opinion of experts, expected to provide boys and girls with books and other modern library materials and services most appropriate and most meaningful not only in the pursuit of the school courses and curricula but also in their growth and development as individuals. It is further expected to stimulate, guide and encourage boys and girls in all phases of their reading to enable them to find increasing enjoyment and satisfaction and grow in critical judgement and appreciation ; to provide an opportunity through library experiences for the pupils to develop helpful interests, make satisfactory personal adjustments, and acquire desirable social attitudes ; to help children and young people to become skilful and discriminating users of libraries and of printed books and audio-visual materials ; and to introduce pupils to community libraries as early as possible and cooperate with those libraries in their efforts to encourage continuing education and cultural growth.

To fulfil its obligations the school library needs a suitable abode and no longer should the dark and dingy corner of an otherwise unusable room be dubbed as the school library. It should be provided with accommodation in a central and easily accessible part of the school building, sufficiently spacious to carry on its activities, well-lit, well-ventilated and with cheerful surroundings. The furniture for the library should be stout, durable, beautiful and above all functional. The library stock should consist of well-



chosen books, periodicals, audio-visual materials and other modern tools of communication suitable for the purposes of the school library. The library should be kept open for long hours and particularly beyond the school hours. Open access system should necessarily be introduced in the library. Provision of efficient service is a necessity and this can never be assured unless a full-time, well-qualified and trained librarian is appointed with the pay and status, as recommended by the Mudaliar Commission, of a senior teacher.

To have a good library can by no means be an end in itself in a school. It is necessary to see that it is well used and that the taste for wide reading and the habit of reading for pleasure and profit are created and stimulated in the students. For this not only the time-table of the school should provide library hours but a regular and graded course of teaching the use of books and libraries should be essentially introduced in all schools. Without this compulsory teaching of the proper use of libraries not only the education of the pupils in the school and their preparation for life will remain incomplete and imperfect but also in their later life these pupils will not be able to use the library in their respective fields to the best of their advantage and interest and of the society. This will then be almost a national tragedy.

For the success of the school library it is not only necessary to teach the students the use of libraries but it is equally important to include a course of instruction relating to school libraries in the teachers' training institutions so that teachers also can contribute their quota to such success.

For the establishment and service of standard libraries in schools adequate fund will be necessary. If the real objects of secondary education are sincerely aimed to be achieved, economy in this matter will mean putting off the objects from their realisation and, therefore, cannot on any account be justified.

As regards the college libraries its value and importance have been repeatedly emphasised in most of the important educational reports and documents we have so far had in India. Nevertheless the position of college libraries has not much improved yet. The college library is still to-day in many quarters looked upon either merely as a conventional accessory of the college as it was noticed long ago by the Sadler Commission or only as a decorative adjunct to it. Time at my disposal will not allow me to discuss the problems and possibilities of the college library at length which I hope will be covered by the delegates in their contributions to be forthcoming in this session. But I would like to draw attention of all persons interested in college libraries and for that matter in collegiate education in the country to one or two particular points and to the urgency of tackling them.

'Reference service' has yet to be developed in most of the Indian university libraries. It is practically non-existent in college libraries. The situation in this respect should change if we really want our college students

to be properly educated and equipped to meet problems and challenges in various situations of the modern life. This totally neglected aspect of the college library service demands immediate attention; this is one point. There is another point regarding the college library and I have finished. Success or failure of any library depends on several factors. One of the important factors is the librarian. It is true that the ability, attitudes and personal outlook of the librarian are expected to go a long way in shaping the pattern and affecting the quality of library service in a library. It is therefore necessary, if maximum advantage and benefit is to be derived from the library, to appoint a librarian who is duly qualified, well-trained and experienced for the purpose and possesses organising and administrative ability together with a lovable personality. But at the same time it is absolutely necessary in the interest of the library and library service that the librarian should be treated by all concerned with due respect, confidence and sympathy. Confidence begets confidence, respect yields respect and consideration and sympathy bring good result in their turn. Lack of them in an organisation cannot create a situation or an atmosphere conducive to healthy growth and the progress of the organisation. The University Grants Commission evidently realised that the status of the college librarians should be recognised in such a way that it would lend dignity to the post. It has been strongly recommended by the Commission to equate the college librarian with the teaching staff of the college in the matter of pay scales. Though the recommendation has been on record for the last several years it has, unfortunately, not yet been implemented in the vast majority of the colleges. This is very sad indeed! Arguments, I know, and seemingly weighty ones, may be advanced in support of the attitude which is responsible for this situation; and counter arguments, I equally know, not less weighty, are also there. It will serve no useful purpose to enter into a controversy over the matter. This recognition of the status of the college librarian is necessary not out of sympathy for the librarian or as a personal favour to him but to inspire him to give his best to make the library in the college life what it should be. In the interest, immediate and distant, of the college library and library service and for that matter for the collegiate education itself it is highly necessary that the college libraries should be moulded and run to serve the best interest of collegiate education. If this is to be made possible, that can be possible with the spontaneous and willing cooperation of the satisfied librarian. And for the sake of it, it is urgently necessary and desirable to push aside all obstacles whatever they may be, real or imaginary, and implement the progressive recommendation of the University Grants Commission with good grace and without hesitation as speedily as possible. The matter should not be overlooked or sidetracked or allowed to go by default because the librarians as a class are too shy to be loud and vocal in their demand. It is hoped that all right-thinking persons will realise that to meet the ends of equality and justice and in the interest of

the college library and of the collegiate education in the country the implementation of the recommendation of the University Grants Commission brooks no delay.

In conclusion, let me remind all persons who are interested in education in India and for that in the welfare of our mother country that education in free India occupies a vital role in the regeneration of the people and reconstruction of the country and that since library facilities, amenities and service in educational institutions highly affect and influence the working of the educational system it is of paramount importance that adequate and constant attention is paid to libraries in all educational institutions.

Let the authorities that be in our country therefore shake off their traditional indifference and slumber in the matter of libraries, and take active and effective forward steps to put the libraries in our educational institutions in their appropriate place in the system of education so that they may function and exercise influence exactly in the manner they should do in an ideal system and fully contribute their quota to the advancement of learning of the highest type in the country and thereby further raise the stature of India in the comity of nations.

## Reviews & Notices of Books

**Indian Handicrafts**—By Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya. Indian Council for Cultural Relations, New Delhi, 1963. 95 pp. 45 monochrome and coloured illustrations.

Printed on quality art paper throughout and illustrated profusely with coloured and monochrome plates, and with the text written by a distinguished writer who has contributed more than anyone else towards the resuscitation of Indian handicrafts, this elegant little volume purports to be the finest introduction to the study of the subject, that I have come across. Frankly it is not a book for scholars; it was not intended to be. But here on these pages one would find a brief and eminently readable, at the same time a most authentic account of all our major handicrafts: pottery, metalware, textiles, embroidery, carpets, jewellery and mats-basketry. The origin, evolution and form and technique of each of these crafts are briefly touched upon, and their place in our day-to-day life indicated, along with a plea for further creative efforts towards giving these crafts a new lease of life in terms of the contemporary situation. All this has been done in a form and style that command attention.

*Indian Handicrafts* is the second to appear of a series of publications on art sponsored and planned by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations. Srimati Chattopadhyaya has done an admirable service to the cause which the Council stands for.

NIHARRANJAN RAY

## **Ourselves**

### **VII INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS**

The Seventh International Congress under the auspices of International Association for Quarternary Research will be held at Colorado, U.S A in August-September, 1965. Sri A. K. Ghosh, Reader, Department of Botany, Calcutta University, has been invited to attend the Congress as a delegate of this University and to deliver a course of lectures at different centres in U.S.A. and Canada, subject to approval by the University.

#### **CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAMME BETWEEN INDIA AND U.S.S.R.**

The names of the following teachers of the University College of Science have been suggested for training in the U.S.S.R. for a period of 9 to 18 months under the Cultural Exchange Programme between India and U.S.S.R. :—

#### **CHEMISTRY**

1. Dr. Sadhan Bose, D.Sc., F.N.I., Reader in Physical Chemistry.
2. Dr. Anilkumar Bhattacharya, D.Sc., Reader in Analytical Chemistry.

#### **BIOLOGY (BOTANY, ZOOLOGY AND MARINE BIOLOGY)**

1. Dr. Sivatosh Mookerjee, Ph.D. (Edin.), Professor of Zoology, Presidency College, Calcutta.
2. Dr. Ashok Ghosh, M.Sc., D.Phil. (Sc.), Lecturer, Department of Zoology.
3. Prof. S. M. Sircar, Ph.D. (Lond.), F.N.I., Head of the Department of Botany, Calcutta University.

These names have been forwarded to the Secretary, University Grants Commission, for necessary action.



## Notifications

### UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification No. C/508/107-(Aff.).

It is hereby notified for general information that in extension of the affiliation already granted, the Midnapore College, Midnapore, has been affiliated in Botany to the B.Sc. Honours standard with effect from the commencement of the session 1964-65 i.e. with permission to present candidates in the above mentioned subjects at the B.Sc. Part I Examination in 1966 and B.Sc. Part II Examination in 1967 and not earlier.

Senate House, Calcutta,  
The 13th August, 1964.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
*Registrar.*

### UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification No- C/448/112 (Aff.).

It is hereby notified for general information that in extension of the affiliation already granted, the Ra-tragurn Surendranath College, Barrackpore, has been affiliated in Bengali to the B.A. Pass and Honours standard with effect from the commencement of the session 1964-65 i.e. with permission to present candidates in the above mentioned subject at the B.A. Part I examination in 1966 and B.A. Part II examination in 1967 and not earlier.

Senate House, Calcutta,  
The 13th August, 1964.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
*Registrar.*

### UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification No. C/456/17 (Aff.).

It is hereby notified for general information that in extension of the affiliation already granted, the David Hare Training College, Calcutta, has been affiliated in Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Social Studies, Logic, Psychology, Economics and Civics, Educational and Vocational Guidance, Social Education and Education in Ancient and Modern India to the B. T. standard with effect from the commencement of the session 1964-65 i.e. with permission to present candidates in the above mentioned subjects at the B.T. Examination, in 1965, and not earlier.

Senate House, Calcutta.  
The 13th August, 1964.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
*Registrar.*

### CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. CSR/21/64.

It is notified for general information that the following changes in Chapter XLIX-F of the Regulations relating to the Diploma Examination in Oto-Rhino-Laryngology were adopted by the Academic Council on the 27th August, 1963, and accepted by the Senate on the 13th June, 1964:

That the distribution of marks as shown in Section 6 under Part II of the Regulations and syllabus for the Diploma Course in Oto-Rhino-Laryngology (Chapter XLIX-F) be replaced by the following:

	Written full- Marks.	Oral full- marks.	Clin. & Prac. full- marks.	Total full- marks.	Pass marks written & oral.	Pass marks Clin. & Prac.	Total Pass Marks.
1st Paper—100 (Oto-Rhino- Laryngological Diseases)	200	100	100	400	150	50	200
2nd Paper—100 (Pathology & Bacteriology, Operative Surgery, Peroral Endoscopy, Audiology).							

Immediate effect has been given to the above changes.

Senate House,  
The 13th August, 1964.

J. C. MUKHERJEE,  
Assistant Registrar.

### CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. CSR/22/64.

It is notified for general information that the following revised syllabus for the B. Tech. Examination in Radio Physics and Electronics (Chapter XXXVII-A of the Regulations) were adopted by the Academic Council on the 5th February, 1964 and accepted by the Senate on the 13th June, 1965:

#### Theoretical

- |           |  |
|-----------|--|
| Paper I   | (a) Engineering Mathematics                                    |
|           | (b) Electric Circuit Theory                                    |
| Paper II  | (a) Electromagnetic Theory and Wave Propagation                |
|           | (b) Antennas and Transmission Circuits                         |
| Paper III | (a) Physical Electronics                                       |
|           | (b) Electron Devices   |
| Paper IV  | (a) Electronic Circuits  |
|           | (b) Communication Systems                                      |
| Paper V   | (a) Electrical Machines and Industrial Electronics             |
|           | (b) Measurements on Electronic Circuits and Circuit Parameters |

#### Practical

- |           |   |
|-----------|---|
| Paper I   | (a) Engineering Drawing                     |
|           | (b) Workshop Practice                       |
| Paper II  | (a) Electrical Machines                     |
|           | (b) Radio Engineering                       |
| Paper III | Radio Electronics                           |
| Paper IV  | Radio Engineering                           |
| Paper V   | UHF-microwave Technique and Pulse Circuits. |

The above revised syllabus would take effect from the examination of 1965.

Senate House,  
The 13th August, 1964.

J. C. MUKHERJEE,  
Assistant Registrar.

### CORRECTION SLIP

Chapter XLIX-P (Regulations relating to the D.M.R.T. Course) as circulated under Notification No. CSR/9/64, dated the 16th June, 1964, should be read as Chapter XLIX-Q in place of Chapter XLIX-P, wherever it occurs in the said Notification.

The Mistake is regretted.

Senate House,  
The 13th August, 1964.

J. C. MUKHERJEE,  
Assistant Registrar.

## CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. CSR/23/64

It is notified for general information that the following nomenclature and distribution of marks in different papers for the B. Tech. Examination in Chemical Engineering and Chemical Technology (Chapter XXXVII-A of the University Regulations) as well as the detailed syllabus of the said examination as set out in the accompanying papers were adopted by the Academic Council on the 5th February 1964 and accepted by the Senate on the 18th June, 1964:

## Theoretical Paper

Paper I	Inorganic Technology	...	...	...	...	100
Paper II	Organic Technology	...	...	...	...	100
Paper III	Applied Physical Chemistry and Chemical Process Principles	...	...	...	...	100
Paper IV	Chemical Engineering I	...	...	...	...	100
Paper V	Chemical Engineering II	...	...	...	...	100

## Practical

Inorganic Technology	...	...	...	...	100
Organic Technology	...	...	...	...	100
Applied Physical Chemistry	...	...	...	...	50
Biochemistry	...	...	...	...	50
Chemical Engineering	...	...	...	...	150
Drawing	...	...	...	...	50

The above changes in nomenclature and distribution of marks and the detailed syllabus thereof were given effect to from the examination of 1966.

Senate House,  
The 11th August, 1964.

J. C. MUKHERJEE,  
Assistant Registrar.

## UNIVERSITY OF GAUHATI

Orders passed by the Executive Council by Resolution No. 25 dated 23rd August 1960, with regard to the cases of candidates who used unfair means in the I.A. Examination, 1960.

1. The Examination of Nos. 1-9 are cancelled and they are debarred from appearing at any University Examination until 1962.

2. The Examination of No. 10 is cancelled and he is debarred from appearing at any University Examination until 1963.

Sl. No.	Roll & No.	Names of the candidates.	Name of the College.
1.	Bar 60	Mati Lal Pathak	M. C. College, Barpeta.
2.	Bar N 20	Md. Mizanur Rahman	Do.
3.	Gau 117	Baikuntha Sarma	Cotton College, Gauhati.
4.	Gau 756	Devendra Kumar Das	Pragjyotish College, Gauhati.
5.	Gau 829	Md. Tazer Ali	Do.
6.	Mangal N 3	Md. Abdul Mazid	Mangaldoi College.
7.	Nal 132	Siddhi Ram Das	Nalbari College.
8.	Now 110	Chitta Ranjan Das	Nowgong College.
9.	Sil 310	Promathesh Dhar	G. C. College, Silchar.
10.	Sil N 18	Nishi Kanta Choudhury	Do.

P. DATTA.  
Registrar.  
Gauhati University

## UNIVERSITY OF GAUHATI.

Orders passed by the Executive Council by Resolution No. 26 dated 23rd August, 1960, with regard to the cases of candidates who used unfair means in the I. Sc. Examination, 1960.



1. The Examination of the following candidates (except No. 3) are cancelled and they are debarred from appearing at any University Examination until 1962.

2. The Examination of candidate No. 3 is cancelled.

Sl. No.	Roll & No.	Names of the Candidates.	Name of the College.
1.	Dhub 44	Rajendra Nath Mazumder	B. N. College, Dhubri.
2.	Dib 15	Atul Borkakoty	H. S. K. College.
3.	Dib F 2	Indira Gogoi	Do.
4.	Gau 67	Deba Nanda Dutta	Cotton College.
5.	Gau 245	Ranjit Kumar Dutta	Do.
6.	Gau 345	Alok Kumar Sinha	Do.
7.	Gau 355	Manoranjan Nayak	Do.
8.	Gau 443	Hemanta Bhuyan	Pragjyotish College.
9.	Imph N 3	Angom Kumar Singh	D. M. College, Imphal.
10.	Imph N 7	Takhellambam Babu Singh	Do.
11.	Jor 14	Kiran Chandra Borkotokey	J. B. College, Jorhat.
12.	Jor 99	Keshab Chandra Goswami	Do.
13.	Jor 168	Hem Chandra Gogoi	Do.
14.	Sil 12	Atindra Nath Sen	G. C. College, Silohar.
15.	Sil 14	Amalendu Kar	Do.
16.	Sil 37	Goya Sankar Patoa	Do.
17.	Sil 110	Bikash Krishna Dey	Do.
18.	Tez 51	Md. Faizur Rahman Lasker	Darrang College.

P. DATTA.  
Registrar.  
Gauhati University.

#### UNIVERSITY OF GAUHATI

Orders passed by the Executive Council by Resolution No. 27 dated 23rd August, 1960, with regard to the cases of candidates who used unfair means in the Inter Law Examination, March, 1960.

The Examination of the following candidates are cancelled, and they are debarred from appearing at any University Examination until 1963.

Sl. No.	Roll & No.	Names of the Candidates.	Name of the College.
1.	Gau 7	Abdur Rahim	University Law College.
2.	Gau N 9	Hirendra Kr. Sarma	Do.

P. DATTA.  
Registrar.  
Gauhati University.

#### UNIVERSITY OF GORAKHPUR

No. 2207/Ex.

Dated: Gorakhpur : Sept. 10, 1960.  
Notification

It is hereby notified that the following candidates who appeared at the Supplementary Examination of the Gorakhpur University held in August 1960 have been found guilty of using unfair means at the Examination at which they appeared. Their results have been cancelled and they have been debarred from appearing at any University Examination till 31.12.1961.

Sl. No.	Examination	Roll No.	Centre.	Name of the candidates with addresses.
1.	B.A. II.	2008	St. Andrew's College, Gorakhpur.	Sri Ram Pd. Gupta, Shahjanwa, Gorakhpur.
2.	B.A. I.	1071	Do.	Sri Jwala Rai, Vill. Mahuav, P.O. Tikapur, Azamgarh.

By Order  
Illegible  
Registrar.

## UNIVERSITY OF BIHAR

The under-mentioned candidates have been debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the examination noted against their names as they were found guilty of using unfair means at the Supplementary Intermediate and bachelor Examinations of 1960 in Arts, Science, and Commerce and Agriculture.

Sl. No.	College & centre.	Roll No. & Regd. No.	Candidate's Name and Address.	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the exam. named below.
1.	Arrah H. D. Jain college.	I.A. Arr. 59 15664-60	Paras Nath Singha, C/o Sri Madhav Sharan Singh, Vill. Chakwath, P.O. Mahaw, Dist. Shahabad.	Annual, 1961
2.	Do	I.Com. Arr. 3 16242-59	Jamil Ahmad, C/o Sri Md. Ilyas, At. & P.O.: Daulatpur, Dist. Koilwar, Dist.: Shahabad.	Suppl., 1961
3.	Do.	I.Sc. Arr. 21 3531-55	Md. Omair Khan, At. & P.O. Koilwar, Dist. Sahabad.	Annual, 1961
4.	Aurangabad, S. Sinha College.	I.A. Aur. 3 24969-59	Kumar Surendra Narayan Singh, C/o Sri Balmukund Singhjee, At. & P.O.: Dhiralukh, Dist. Gaya.	Annual, 1961
5.	Aurangabad, S. Sinha College.	I.A. Aur. 8 24794-59	Tribeni Prasad Singh, C/o Sru Bhuneshwar Singh, Vill.-Bholabigha, P.O.: Kapasia, (Gaya).	Suppl., 1961
6.	Do.	I.A. Aur. 37 37330-59	Hari Nandan Tiwari, C/o Sri Bindhyachal Tiwari, Vill.: Panduhar, P.O.: Akori, (Shahabad).	Suppl., 1961
7.	Do.	I.Sc. Aur. 31 27123-58	Kishori Singh, C/o Sri Mangeshwar Prasad Singh, Vill: Chaite, P.O. Keshpa, (Gaya).	Suppl., 1961
8.	Do.	I.Sc. Aur. 40 24628-59	Mathura Pandey, C/o Sri Chandradeo Pandey, Vill.: Pirtampur, P.O.: Siris, (Gaya).	Suppl., 1961
9.	Bettiah, M.J. K. College.	I.A. Bet. 42 898-57	Jalil Ahmad, C/o Sri S.K. Bhi-khi At. & P.O. Basucasia, Via.-Lawris, Champaran.	Suppl., 1961
10.	Do.	I.Sc. Bet. 32 23283-59	Ran Vijay Prasad Singh, C/o Sri Jamuna Prasad Singh, Vill. & P.O. Sirisia Adda, Dist. : Champaran.	Annual, 1961
11.	Bhagalpur, T. N. B. College.	I.Sc. Bhag. 188 4179-58	Md. Abdul Qayum, C/o Sri Md. Ishaque Rahmani, Moh.: Sarai, Bhagalpur. City.	Suppl., 1961
12.	Bhagalpur, Marwari College.	I.Com. Bhag. 30 5456-58	Ram Prasad Sharma, C/o Sri Raghwa Krishna Sharma, Fancy Cloth Importum Bhagalpur.	Annual, 1961
13.	Do.	I.Com. Bhag. 65 23513-58	Surendra Narayan Jha, C/o Sri Keshaw Lal Jha, Moh.: Khan-japur, Dist.: Bhagalpur.	Annual, 1961

14. Begusarai, I.A. Beg. 42 Dinesh Prasad Singh, C/o Sri Annual, 1961  
G.D. 22582-58 Deo Saran Singh, At. & P.O.:  
College. Chittaur, Via Begusarai,  
(Monghyr).

N.B.: Serial No. 10 will, further, not be permitted to appear from any centre of District Champaran.

15. Begusaria, I.Sc. Beg. 51 Ram Charitra Singh, C/o Sri Annual, 1961  
G. D. 19045-57 Nitaram Singh, At. & P.O.:  
College. Ramdiri, Dist.: Monghyr.
16. Biharsharif, I.A. Nal. 142 Lalit Kumar, C/o Sri Sukhu Sao, Suppl., 1961  
Nalanda 2331-59 Vill.: Ashanagar, P.O.: Sohsa-  
College. rai, Dist.: Patna.
17. Do. I.A. Nal. 202 Tanik Singh, C/o Sri Harbanish Annual, 1961  
8598-58 Singh, At. & P.O. Maur,  
Dist.: Monghyr.
18. Do. I.A. Nal. 213 Raja Ram Singh, C/o Sri Ram Annual, 1961  
1863-58 Swaroop Singh, Vill.:  
Dhanawa, P.O.: Gopalbad,  
Dist.: Patna.
19. Sohsarai, I.Com. Nal 14 Harbanish Narayan Singh C/o Suppl., 1961  
Kisan 2418-59 Sri Shukdeo Pd., Singh, Vill.:  
College. Goshnagar, P.O.: Kenar Kala,  
Dist.: Patna.
20. Chaibassa, I.A. Chai. 27 Purnachandra Ram, C/o Sri Suppl., 1961  
Tata 23413-59 Baiju Ram, Vill.: Nimdih,  
College. P.O.: Chaibassa. Dist.:  
Singhbhum.
21. Dinapore B.S. I.Ss. Dina. 26 Shyam Narain Sharma, C/o Annual, 1961  
College. 14209-59 Raghubans Sharma Budhani-  
chak, Barh, (Patna).
22. Do. I.Sc. Dina. 32 Samresh Banerjee, C/o Sri Annual, 1961  
14299-59 Suresh Ch. Banerjee, Arindra  
Abas, Chirayatar, Patna.
23. Gaya. Gaya I.A. Gay. 46 Ramesh Pd. Sinha, C/o Sri Suppl., 1961  
College. 27868-59 Ramdhan Pd. Sinha Mah..  
Tilha, Near Mahabir Asthan,  
Gaya.
24. Gaya. Gaya I.A. Gay. 47 Rabindra Kishore Prasad S/o Suppl., 1961  
College. 8795-59 Sri Mahendra Kishore Pd.,  
Moh.: Piparpati (Gaya).
25. Do. I.A. Gay. 65 Shabbir Ahmad, S/o Mahboob Suppl., 1961  
10042-59 Hussain, Moh.: Maroofgauj, Patna  
Gaya.
26. Do. I.A. Gay. 68 Shafiur Rahman, C/o Sri Md. Suppl., 1961  
10563-59 Khalilur Rahman, Money  
Road, Murarpur, Gaya.
27. Do. I.A. Gay. 206 Radha Kant Pandey, S/o Sri Suppl., 1961  
27862-59 Shiv Kumar Pandey, At. &  
P.O.: Jamhar, Dist. Gaya.
28. Do. I.Sc. Gay. 5 Arbind Prasad, C/o Sri Munish- Suppl., 1961  
10325-59 war Pd., Ram Lakchmi & Co.,  
Krishna Prakash Road, Gaya.
29. Do. I.Sc. Gaya. Jugeshwar Prasad, C/o Sri Ram Annual, 1961  
20 Keshwar Pd., Bengalibigha,  
10179-59 P.O. Gaya, Dist.: Gaya.

30.	Do.	I.Sc. Gay. 36 3397-59	Prem Chand, C/o Sri Gopi Sahu, At. Dona, P.O. Mandal, Dist. Gaya.	Annual, 1961
31.	Do.	I.Sc. Gay. 61 100338	Bikramaditya Singh, C/o Sri Bannan Singh, Vill.: Satai- tand P.O.: Nagwagarh, (Gaya).	Suppl., 1961
32.	Do.	I.Sc. Gay. 74 10202-59	Sadanand Prasad, C/o Sri Maksudan Pd., At. & P.O.: Hasua, Dist.: Gaya.	Suppl., 1961
33.	Do.	I.Com. Gay. 11 9614-59	Moti Lal, C/o Kanghu Nath, Jyotishi Jhe Shahid Road, Gaya.	Suppl., 1961
34.	B.Sc. Gaya, Gaya College.	B.Sc. Gay. 20 4822/54	S. Ata Karim, C/o Sri S. Raza Kariam, Church Road, Gaya.	Annual, 1961
35.	Do.	B.Sc. Gay. 28 7707/55	Ramashis Singh, C/o Sri Man- galdeo Singh, Vill.: Gaharpur. P.O.: Tekari, (Gaya).	Annual, 1961
36.	Do.	B.Com. Gay. 7 7397-55	Bachchan Pd. C/o B. Sahadeo Narayan, New Godawn, Boliki Lane, Gaya.	Suppl., 1961
37.	Do.	B.Com. Gay. 14 7454-54	Ramdas Gupta, C/o Mahabir Ram, Vill. & P.O. Nouli, Dist. Gaya.	Suppl., 1961
38.	Do.	B.Com. Gay. 23 7537-55	Binoy Kumar Gupta, C/o Sri Rani Narayan Bhakta, Inside Purani Godam, Gaya.	Suppl., 1961
39.	Hazaribagh, St. Columba's College	I.A. Haz. 101 23367-58	Mustafizul Islam Siddique, C/o Sri Ali Ahmad Siddique, City Stores, Hazaribagh.	Suppl., 1961
40.	Do.	B.Sc. Haz. 11 19682-55	Rajendra Pd. Pandey, C/o Chunni Lal Pandey, At. & P.O.: Saraiya Hat, Dist. Santhal Pragana.	Suppl., 1961
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42.	Khagaria, Koshi College.	I.Sc. Khag. 23 1937-7	Sadhusaran Pd., C/o Sri Raghu Sahu, Vill.: Sadipur Chhoti, durgashthan, Monghyr.	Suppl., 1961
43.	Do.	B.A. Khag. 1 14522-57	Birondra Narain, Mishra, C/o Keshav Mishra, Vill. & P.O.: Patana, Dist. Darbhanga.	Suppl., 1961
44.	D. Katihar D.S. College.	B.A. Kat. 9 2713-57	Parmanand Singh, C/o Sri Dhirnarain Singh, Vill. & P.O. Madrauni, Dist. Bhagal- pur.	Suppl., 1961
45.	Madhubani R. K. College.	B.A. Madhu. 49 14960-55	Tripti Narain Jha, C/o Pt. Sri Mangal Jha, Vill.: Chauri, P.O.: Pandaul, Dist.: Darbhanga.	Suppl., 1961
46.	Monghyr, R.D. & D.J. College.	I.A. Mong. 46 26338-58	Arjun Mandal C/o Sri Batoran Mandal, Topkhana Bazar, Monghyr.	Suppl., 1961

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|-----|---|---|---|--------------|
| 47. | Muzaffarpur,<br>L.S. College              | I.A. Muz. 73<br>1769-59                   | Kartik Kumar Sahu, C/o Shaahi<br>Ranjan Pd. Sah, Sah Pokhar,<br>Muzaffarpur.                                | Suppl., 1961 |
| 48. | Do.                                       | I.A. Muz. 20<br>2543-59                   | Braj Kishore Pd., Srivastva,<br>C/o Sri Sita Ram Pd., State<br>Bank of India, Muzaffarpur.                  | Annual, 1961 |
| 49. | Do.                                       | I.Sc. Muz. 107<br>25432-59                | Ram Nagina Das, C/o Sri Ram<br>Sagar Das, Vill.: Bakdih, P.O.:<br>Bhairampur Deorhi, Dist.:<br>Muzaffarpur. | Annual, 1961 |
| 50. | Patna,<br>College of<br>Commerce.         | I.A. Pat. 87<br>2927-55                   | Ram Prit Pandit, C/o Late<br>Mewa Pandit, Vill.: Barike-<br>wai, P.O.: Daniawah. Patna.                     | Suppl., 1961 |
| 51. | Do.                                       | I.Com. Patn.<br>71<br>22145               | Ashok Kumar Srivastava, C/o<br>Sri Devaki Narain, Pd., Shail<br>Kutir, Devendra Path, Patna.                | Suppl., 1961 |
| 52. | Do.                                       | I.Com. Pat.<br>32<br>14931-59             | Md. Saleh, C/o Md. Ayub, Moh.<br>Mampura, P.O.: Dinapur,<br>(Patna).  | Suppl., 1961 |
| 53. | Do.                                       | I.Com. Pat.<br>103<br>22053               | Bishwanath Sharma C/o Sri<br>Onkar Dutt Shastri, Birla<br>Mandir, Patna-4.                                  | Suppl., 1961 |
| 54. | Ranchi,<br>Ranchi<br>College.             | I.Sc. Ran. 147<br>10970-                  | Ramprit Ram, C/o Sri Angnu<br>Ram, At. & P.O.: Ramchan-<br>darpur, Dist.: Saran.                            | Suppl., 1961 |
| 55. | Sahibganj,<br>Sahibganj<br>College.       | I.A. Sahib. 69<br>4046-58                 | Surendra Mohan Jha, C/o Sri<br>Bimal Chandra Jha, Vill.:<br>Shrinia, P.O.: Musikpur,<br>(Monghyr).          | Suppl., 1961 |
| 56. | Siwan, D.A.V.<br>College.                 | I.Sc. Siw. 42<br>10699-58                 | Shaikh Mohammad, C/o Abdul<br>Latiff, P.O.: Mania, Vill.<br>Gaziapur, Dist.: Saran.                         | Suppl., 1961 |
| 57. | Sabour, Bihar<br>Agricultural<br>College. | B.Sc. Agri.<br>(Prev.)<br>Sab. 1<br>27800 | Ghulam Rahman. C/o Sri<br>Ghulam Nabi, At. & P.O.:<br>Dehti, Dist.: Purnea.                                 | Suppl., 1961 |
| 58. | Khagaria,<br>Koshi<br>College.            | I.Sc. Khag.<br>59<br>24723-59             | Dasrath Kumar, C/o Sri Bhag-<br>wat Pd. Mandal, Vill.:<br>Gaudari, P.O.: Muskipur,<br>Dist.: Monghyr.       | Annual, 1961 |

P. R. CHOWDHURY  
*Dy. Registrar,*  
 University of Bihar,  
 Muzaffarpur.

## ANDHRA UNIVERSITY

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE SYNDICATE

Wakair, 2-11-1960.

No. S3/9847/60

*Sub :* Misconduct at University Examinations, September 1960—  
*Read:* Syndicate Resolution dated 22-10-60.

## O R D E R

The results of the following candidates who have been found guilty of resorting to unfair means at University examinations held in September, 1960 are cancelled and they are debarred from appearing for any of the University examinations for the period noted against each.

Sl. No.	Name of the Candidate	Examination	Reg. No.	Centre in which the candidate appeared for examination.	Period of Rustication
1.	T. Sambamurti	Matriculation	19	S.K.B.R. College, Amalapuram.	Debarred for two years and permitted to sit for the University examinations to be held in September 1962 or thereafter.
2.	Shivaji Singh	Do.	2056	S.R.R. & C.V.R. (Govt.) College Vijayawada.	Debarred for one year and permitted to sit for the University Examinations to be held in September 1961 or thereafter.
3.	Mohammed Abdul Majeed	Do.	2644	Do	Do.
4.	C. Harinadha Rao	Do.	2861	Mrs. A.V.N. College, Visakhapatnam.	Do.
5.	Arif Nooran	Do.	3195	M.R. College, Vizianagram.	Do.
6.	G. Emmanuel Paulson	Intermediate	65	W. G. B. College, Bhimavaram.	Do.
7.	S. Atchutaranyya	Do.	77	Do.	Do.
8.	K. Hanumantha Rao	Do.	225	Sir C. R. R. College, Eluru.	Do.
9.	R. Subba Rao	Do.	819	S. S. N. College, Narsaraopet.	Do.
10.	K. Venkateswaraprasad.	Pre-University.	371	W.G.B. College, Bhimavaram.	Do.
11.	S. Satyanarayana Reddi.	Do.	381	W.G.B. College, Bhimavaram.	Debarred for one year and permitted to sit for the University examinations to be held in September, 1961 or thereafter.
12.	P. Ramalinga Prasad	Do.	393	Do.	Do.
13.	J. V. S. Narasimha Rao	Do.	541	Do.	Do.

14.	B. Chenna Reddi	Do.	793	Sir C.R.R. College, Eluru.	Debarred for three years and permitted to sit for the University examinations to be held in September 1963 or thereafter.
15.	D. Krishnamohan	Do.	1054	A.N.R. College, Gudivada.	Debarred for one year and permitted to sit for the University examinations to be held in September 1961 or thereafter.
16.	M. Janardhana Rao	Do.	2306	Hindu College, Masulipatam.	Do.
17.	K. Venkateswaraswam	Do.	2483	Narsapur College, Narsapur.	Do.
18.	K. Chinnalingarna	Do.	2634	S. S. N. College, Narsarepet.	Debarred for two years and permitted to sit for the University examinations to be held in September 1962 or thereafter.
19.	M. Sambasiva Reddi	Do.	2641	Do.	Debarred for one year and permitted to sit for the University examinations to be held in September 1961 or thereafter.
20.	N. Satyanarayana Rao	Do.	3367	V.S.R. College, Tenali	Do.
21.	M. Lokeswara Rao	Do.	3518	S.R.R. & C.V.R. (Govt.) College, Vijayawada.	Do.
22.	Y. Babu Rao	Do.	3549	Do.	Do.
23.	T. Ramkrishnayya	Do.	3568	Do.	Do.
24.	S. S. Rami Reddi	B.A. (O.R.)	973	Hindu College, Guntur.	Debarred for two years and permitted to sit for the University examinations to be held in September, 1962 or thereafter.
223	Muhammed Abdul Hafiz	B.Sc. (O.R.)	424	S.R.R. & C.V.R. College, Vijayawada.	Debarred for one year and permitted to sit for the University examinations to be held in September, 1961 or thereafter.
26.	P. Satyanarayana	B.A. (N.R.)	68	W.G.B. College, Bhimavaram.	Do.
27.	J. Venkatesachalam	Do.	107	Do.	Do.
28.	G. Jacob	Do.	653	Narsapur College, Narsapur.	Do.
29.	S.O.S.R. Krishnamurti.	Do.	35	W.G.B. College, Bhimavaram.	Do.

(By Order)

(K. V. GOPALASWAMY)  
Registrar.

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# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

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## SHAKESPEARE'S SCHOOLING

K. LAHIRI

Many of Shakespeare's contemporaries took pride in their university education. Greene claimed for himself a special distinction of being a Master of Arts of both Oxford and Cambridge. To these University Wits the lad from Stratford was a mere ignoramus whom they would regard as an illiterate clown or rustic with no more than a plebian experience of life, and barely able to declaim a fine passage.

Shakespeare himself pleads his ignorance in a suppressed tone of regret, and laments that he lacks learning and is not graced with the arts. The poet confesses to his Love that he composes under inspiration and not out of fullness of learning :

"Thine eyes, that taught the dumb on high to sing,  
And *heavy ignorance* aloft to fly,  
Have added feathers to the *learned's wing*,  
And given *grace* a double majesty.  
Yet be most proud of that which I compile,  
Whose *influence is thine*, and *born of thee* :  
In others' works thou dost but mend the style,  
And *arts with thy sweet graces* graced be ;  
But *thou art all my art*, and *dost advance*  
*As high as learning my rude ignorance.*"

(Sonnet LXXVIII)

It is doubtful if Shakespeare had any education of the regulation type. In all probability the education of the Stratford burgher's children was neglected. Shakespeare was no product of a university. The boy William could not dream of being sent up to Oxford or Cambridge, probably on account of his father's financial leanness, or simply because it was not in

the tradition of the family. His parents were uneducated. His mother, Mary Arden, was unlettered and could not read ; and his father, John Shakespeare, could not do much more perhaps than write his name.

Unlucky in not receiving university education, Shakespeare seems to have been rather sensitive to academic degrees and qualifications in his learned friends. His touchiness or "complex" regarding this aspect of his personal deficiency may be felt in

"Have added feathers to the learned's wing"

in the autobiographical Sonnet referred to above. And in *Love's Labour's Lost*, through little Moth's lips, Shakespeare laughs at the pedagogue, Holofernes, and enjoys a pun on the B.A. of that 'artsman,' which the impish page slightly associates with the 'b—a, b—a' bleating of a lamb :

Armado. Monsieur (to Holofernes), are you not lettered ?

Moth. Yes, yes ; he teaches boys the horn-book ;—What is a, b,  
spelt backward with the horn on his head ?

Holofernes. Ba, *pueritia*, with a horn added.

Moth. Ba, most silly sheep, with a horn.—You hear his learning.

Hol. *Quis, quis*, thou consonant ?

Moth. The third of the five vowels, if you repeat them ; or the  
fifth, if I.

Hol. I will repeat them, a, e, i,—

Moth. The sheep ; the other two concludes it ; o, u.

(Act. I, Sc. 1, Lines 48-59)

That amusing comedy itself aims at deprecating scholastic pedanticism, and Shakespeare seems to recommend therein education, not in school or college, but from life and love, untrammelled by the bonds of a fixed curriculum.

The clearest light that shone on the mind and fancy of the greatest poet of England, emanated not from lessons received in academic halls, but from experiences learnt in what old Gower called 'the University of all the World'. Shakespeare had, in an absolute form, the intuition of gathering every 'unconsidered trifle' and every 'weighty matter that could profit his art,' with that concentration which is a necessary attribute of genius. And the coincidence is not accidental but significant that it is non-academic people—among them the Welsh private gentleman Morgann and others like Lamb, Hazlitt, Furnivall, Furness—who have been the quickest to discern the master's essential greatness.

With revolutions in the social order, our very conception of education has suffered a sea change. Today the word 'uneducated' most often means those who have not had the education provided in a school. 'To have spent six or seven years at school is a matter of legal compulsion now, but it is

neither proof nor test of education.' It was easier for those who did not live in the modern industrial civilization to understand that there could be 'educated' people who had no schooling, but had gained traditional knowledge and skills from the life they lived. Shakespeare belonged to that order of society where knowledge could still be absorbed largely from life itself.

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Was Shakespeare ever in school? His biographers have said all there is to say about his going to school, and guessed a great deal more. But all this is mere conjecture. There exists no authentic evidence of Shakespeare's schooling. Stories of whether at all or how he went to school lack authority. There is no external proof that the boy was sent to the local Grammar School at Stratford. It is by no means certain that Shakespeare was ever in the room over the Guild Hall which is so sacredly preserved as the relic of the class he attended. In Shakespeare's boyhood days the Guild Chapel was still used as the class-room, though later it ceased to be so. There is an entry in the Corporation books of March 5, 1595, to the effect that "there shall be no school kept in the Guild Chapel from this time following." It seems likely that the work of the school, begun perhaps after King Edward's Charter in the Chapel of the Guild, was changed, at the date, to the room now used.

It may, however, be safely assumed that Shakespeare did attend the Stratford school. Where else could he have gone? It is true that no record has yet been discovered to show Shakespeare's attendance at school. But lack of records is no proof of non-attendance. It is only to be expected that many school records should have been lost during the centuries that have elapsed. The registers of the Stratford Grammar School, if any were kept at the time of Shakespeare's boyhood, have disappeared. If they could be recovered, it is possible almost to the degree of certainty that they would be found to include the names of John Shakespeare's four sons: William, Gilbert, Richard and Edmund. And since the art of biography did not develop until sometime later in the seventeenth century, there was no alternative method of preserving the knowledge of such details.

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It is difficult to deny Shakespeare's schooling. 'Taking all the circumstances into consideration, it is dubious to assume that Shakespeare did not attend school. To be quite fair, it is only a small minority of the theorists who would not accept the fact.' Though the assumption of Shakespeare's education at Stratford Grammar School is not supported by any documentary evidence, it is a safe conjecture that has every reason in its favour and none against it.

First, Shakespeare's achievement itself speaks of his schooling. For such endowments and possibilities as were Shakespeare's, something of

education was a vital need. The theory of Shakespeare being an untutored, unlearned genius is not tenable. Secondly, there was educational facility at Shakespeare's place. 'Those who seek to maintain that Shakespeare, being a Stratfordian, came from a village of illiterate peasants, and therefore could not have become a literary man, are far from accurate. There was already a good school in waiting in the town. So, inspite of the ignorance of the parents, it was possible for their son to know the best things that England then could give to her youth of privilege. Thirdly, a son of an important personage of the town as Shakespeare was, we may legitimately expect him to have received proper education at least in the small town of his birth. His father was a middle-class citizen of sufficient means to give his sons Grammar School education that was of a rather liberal standard. John Shakespeare was one of the prominent men of the locality ; he held in succession a number of important municipal offices, including that of Bailiff ; it is inconceivable that his son should not have attended the town school in which the son of the burgess was entitled to free education.

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Before going up to the Grammar School which imparted a high training in Latin, the little boy may have received his primary initiation into letters and the world of culture in some smaller unrecognized institution or even in a nobleman's house. Quite likely the child at first learned in some 'petty' school ABC's and catechism in English.

And the education that the boy may have got at a noble's household was likely to be more of the nature of cultural acquisition than progress in literacy. Dover Wilson, assuming John Shakespeare to be 'an ardent Catholic,' suggests that little William may 'have received his education as a singing boy in the house of some great Catholic nobleman.'

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From the 'petty' school Shakespeare passed on to the Grammar School at Stratford. Ben Jonson's ascription to his rival of 'small Latin and lesse Greeke' would be understood by an Elizabethan as meaning that Shakespeare had the regular Grammar School education of the time. Rowe in the Preface to his Edition of Shakespeare (1709) states that Shakespeare was educated at Stratford school. That part of Rowe's Preface is the first formal biography of Shakespeare, and there is no need to doubt the truth of Rowe's statement.

Nor can we minimize the value of internal evidence as mere creation of fancy. There are distinct projections of Shakespeare's reminiscences of his school days in two of his comedies, namely, *Love's Labour's Lost* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. "Those who are fond of dwelling upon Shakespeare's illiteracy, and of drawing conclusions from it, would do well to ponder over the play, *Love's Labour's Lost*, which shows both learning and its comedy". Shakespeare's own impressions of his Grammar School

pedagogue had definitely much to do in the shaping of Holofernes. He teaches in the 'Charge house', the school he keeps 'on the mountain'. The mention herein of the 'Horn-book' (the 'Absey book' or ABC book in *King John*), the amusing reference to learning the letters of the alphabet and syllables ('b-a, ba'), the joke on 'jerks' or flogging, and above all the perpetual satirical harping on the pretentious pedagogue's parade of pedanticism—are specs of memory recalled with the wistfulness of an elderly successful man of the world.

And who will deny the claim to reality of the vivid specimen of a lesson on Latin grammar imparted by a schoolmaster in the delightful episode of Mrs. Page—Master William—Sir Hugh Evans in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*? At the mother's request the teacher holds in the public street an unscheduled class in Latin grammar for the benefit of her ward. The very name of the boy, one likes to feel, is significant. Like William Page, little William Shakespeare had no doubt to go through similar tests, and was dismissed, if not with a threat of birching, at least with a commendation upon his 'good sprag memory.' And the portrait of Mrs. Page escorting her son to school at eight in the morning and resenting a 'snap' holiday, may have been suggested by the memory of the child Shakespeare being taken to school by his mother. Mary Arden, herself unable to read, would naturally be keen on getting her child well educated.

Interesting are the speculations on the age at which Shakespeare was admitted to school, the duration of his schooling, the year of his leaving school, and the reason for and reactions to this event. Some believe that in Elizabethan England the education of children commenced at a comparatively low age. They began early in those days. Shakespeare started going to school—and the boy went daily—while very young, most likely when he was barely four, in 1568, the year in which his father became High Bailiff and things were going well with him.

Admission at this tender age was probably to a 'petty' school and not to the Grammar School, to which the usual age of entrance was seven and the minimum eligibility was ability to read and write English and 'fit'-ness for Latin grammar. It is more than probable that Shakespeare became a pupil in the Grammar School at seven in April, 1571. His father took William, to be enrolled, to the school in Church Street, for which, as Chamberlain, he had done yeoman service.

The master, Walter Roche, B.A., satisfied that the alderman's son had 'at the least-wise entered or was ready to enter into his Accidence and Principles of Grammar; would recite to them the statutes of the School; and on the father's undertaking to see them performed by his son, and the boy's promise to submit to correction if he did not perform them, he admitted the pupil, writing his name in a parchment register'. The Stratford Register



is lost. The admission test had been, before Shakespeare came, made easier through an agreement with Smart by the Stratford Corporation in 1554.

How long Shakespeare's school days lasted, there is no means of knowing with accuracy. Some believe that Shakespeare had full ten years' schooling, from his fourth year to the fourteenth, starting in 1568 and continuing upto 1577-78. Others hold that even if Shakespeare's school life may have extended to nine or ten years, it must have started late in his seventh year. His education in the first, and longest, period of school life (7-12) was under the Oxford man, Simon Hunt, a 'secret Catholic.' The next stage (12—15) was under an unknown person from Warwick School who came to succeed Hunt at Stratford. And Shakespeare's last year at school was under Thomas Jenkins.

As Shakespeare, on finishing his English course in the 'petty' school, was admitted to the Grammar School, he followed the curriculum and texts which had become practically uniform throughout England by the middle of the Sixteenth century.

The King's Free School at Stratford was a *Schola Grammaticalis*. It provided him with a fair education in the classics. The subjects taught were Latin Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric, and, of course, Poetry. It gave him, besides mastery of the elements of this language of scholars in Renaissance Europe, some familiarity with the major Latin classics, and, in addition, a training in the arts of speech and eloquence. His education must have helped him to be acquainted with the modes of argument and with the art of speaking and writing in such a way as to plead a cause or persuade an audience impressively.

Shakespeare's plays and poems are full of illustrations displaying his power of declaiming and arguing with absolute confidence and perfect ease in language. All these bear out an unmistakable internal evidence of their author's attainment of a high standard of schooling. Whether he went to school for a single day or not, Shakespeare shows in his writings grasp of the theories of Rhetoric, Logic, and composition forms such as were taught in the Renaissance Grammar School.

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When and why did Shakespeare leave school? 'Old tradition and inherent probabilities of the case agree in withdrawing Shakespeare from school at a comparatively early age.' Financial difficulty at home led to the boy's discontinuing his studies. When John Shakespeare's affairs began to take a turn for the worse, about that time, his biographers suggest, he was taken away from school and put in his father's business. "The narrowness of his circumstances and the want of his assistance at home forced his father to withdraw him from school" (Rowe). "John Shakespeare's large family rendered his circumstances narrow and forced him to withdraw

his eldest son from the Free School and employ him in his own business as a wooldriver" (Betterton). In 1577 John Shakespeare's prosperity as a dealer in wool began to wane. This circumstance is believed to have sent the lad William to his first work as a wage-earner.

Shakespeare's reaction to this compulsion of circumstances must have been far from ungrudging submission. The boy desired to continue his studies ; he was unwilling to leave school. Did he not cherish an ambition to proceed to the university ? When the situation left him no other alternative, William was depressed, he resented, and fled away from home. We may well imagine that when his father removed him from school and wished his son to help him in his then declining business, it must have been against his mother's wish. Mary Arden was for her son's education all through. Young William refused, or at least showed the strongest dislike and reluctance. Elderly John Shakespeare must have stamped and stormed. There was a deuce of a family row. And young Shakespeare ran away to the sea, the sea of life in the wide world of London.

# IBSEN'S CONCEPT OF TRAGEDY

MANMOHAN MEHRA

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Ibsen began by 'deromanticizing' tragedy treating characters as real people instead of either heroes or villains. According to Shaw, Ibsen injected another element into tragedy : ideas. In his social plays Ibsen presents a conflict of ideas, a conflict between the individual and the social code of morals, and "thereby invests them with a universal and tragic quality". A careful examination of his dramatic works reveals that, while in his earlier plays, namely, 'Brand', 'Peer Gynt', and 'Ghost', social conventions and dogmas are held mainly responsible for a person's tragedy ; in his later dramas 'Hedda Gabler' and 'The Master Builder', although social traditions and taboos contribute to the protagonist's catastrophe, the germs of tragedy are sown to be deep down in his heart. Evidently the different stages in Ibsen's dramatic development are, on the whole, determined by the development in his attitude towards art and life in general.

Shaw aptly remarks in 'The Quintessence of Ibsenism' that 'Ghosts' is "an attack on the institution of marriage as a useless sacrifice of human beings to an ideal". The society prescribing ideal duties and not enjoyment for Alving, forces him to enjoy himself in an underhand and incriminating manner. Alving is a drunkard, a libertine and a recklessly dissolute person who continues to indulge in debaucheries to the end of his life and dies a wreck. Mrs. Alving revolts against such a life of dissipation, and in the humiliation of her husband's infidelity, leaves the house and goes to Pastor Mander's who sends her back home telling her that she has to perform her wifely duties to the man she has chosen and to whom she is bound in 'Holy Matrimony'.

The tragedy of Mrs. Alving lies in yielding to the social conventions and dogmas of the past. She tells Manders (Act II) that she feels "hemmed in by ghosts—not only by the ghosts we inherit from our parents—but by the ghosts of innumerable old prejudices and beliefs". Under the pressure of the society (personified in Manders) she has to sink her individuality, abandon all attempt to do what she knows to be right in order to avoid a clash with her husband. With deep devotion she carries out her wifely duties, and sacrifices her own happiness and freedom to shield his reputation by weaving a monstrous web of lying and imposture ; she is thus forced "to live a degrading falsity instead of a reality".

The other fatal result of Mrs. Alving's following the Christian ideal of marriage under external pressure is the insanity of Oswald. In one of

his notes respecting 'Ghosts' Ibsen writes : "Marriage for external reasons, even when these are religious or moral, brings a Nemesis upon the offspring," and from this, Halvdan Koht concludes, "Oswald was branded with disease, not because the father was a beast, but because the mother had obeyed the immoral ethics of society. It was, from the first, this sin of the mother's which avenged itself. The starting point for Ibsen was not at all the medical fact, but a purely ethical principle—as was always the case with him." Lest Oswald be tainted with the sins and lies of the house, Mrs. Alving sends him to Paris for his education ; and after his return from abroad, we find he has inherited his father's disease and his love of enjoyment. The sins of fathers visit upon the sons. The boy feels disgusted with the galling circumstances of the house and wants 'sunshine' at any cost. Mrs. Alving, with the horizon of her mind widened by the reading of medical books, realizes the futility of the institution of marriage, and, when reminded by Manders that "her marriage in every way conformed to the strictest rules of law and order," she exclaimed : "All this talk about law and order ! I often think all the suffering in the world is due to that." "I must work my way through freedom," she added.

So when she hears the awful thing between her son and Ragina, his half-sister, she thinks she has no right to constrain him to be dutiful ; she perceives too the injustice done to the unfortunate husband and "the cowardice of the monstrous fabric of lies and false appearances she has wasted her life in manufacturing". In desperation she makes frantic efforts to save him from insanity by making his life happy ; Ragina, knowing that Oswald is invalid, quits the house and he meets a tragic end longing to see the sun. 'Ghosts' hits out at the conservative society of Ibsen's day ; and the tragedy of Mrs. Alving and Oswald is primarily attributed to the 'hypocritical conventions' and dogmas of the dead past. There are the traditions—a dead faith and a dead sense of duty—which are walking the earth again. "They are not living in us," says Mrs. Alving, "but they are there all the same, and we cannot get rid of them."

In 'Hedda Gabler' there is no attempt to expound a thesis ; the centre of interest shifts from morality to psychology. An analysis of the play shows that the protagonist is largely responsible for the tragic doom she brings on her head. With all her personal magnetism and cleverness, Hedda is a bundle of shortcomings. She is impulsive, neurotic, vain, insolent, 'fiendish' in her dislike of unaesthetic people and things, imperious in her demand for 'the joy of living' and ruthlessly selfish, trampling under foot every person or thing that stands in her way. The play is concerned with the incompatibility or misalliance of the couple ; but who is primarily responsible for this incompatibility and the unhappiness occasioned by it ? The marriage with Tesman is of her own choosing ; and although she is the daughter of General Gabler and has been used to a higher standard of living, she could adjust herself to the bourgeois environment, however

galling. As she makes her bed so she must lie. But she does not do so; on the other hand, she looks down upon her husband, his family circle (Miss Tesman and Miss Rina), and her temperament so revolts against the 'sordid transaction' that the prospect of having a baby drives her almost frantic. With a view to escaping the boredom of the house, she becomes intimate with Brack, an aristocratic libertine and epicurean, who by his sallies tries to amuse her behind her husband's back. In her conversation with Brack she divulges the sordid motives governing her marriage, calls her husband a 'learned wretch' and mocks at the idea of loving him in spite of his dependable nature.

Not only she is an unworthy and perverted wife, but is also a jealous woman with an insatiable vanity. Mrs. Elvsted's inquiries about Lovborg revive Hedda's interest in her former lover, and pretending a hypocritical delight in seeing her schoolmate, she insinuates herself into her confidence, and obtaining a glimpse of the pure relationship between Thea and Lovborg, she is obsessed with an overweening desire to sabotage their friendship which has been Lovborg's salvation. Her vanity cannot suffer the idea that Mrs. Elvsted should have more influence with him than her own domineering self. She, therefore, makes an all-out effort to draw Lovborg back into her own toils to re-establish her sway and thwart Thea's work of rescue. The ambition to shape a human destiny takes hold of her mind and she makes a clean breast of it to Mrs. Elvsted.

"For once in my life I want the power to shape a human destiny" and when Thea suggests that she can exercise that power over Tesman, Hedda cynically retorts: "Do you think he's worth bothering about? If you could only understand how poor I am; and that you should be allowed to be so rich."

Making a contemptible use of the confidences wrested from Mrs. Elvsted, the heroine stings Lovborg's pride and goads him into rebellion against his benefactress; and when she gets into her possession the 'child' (manuscript) of Lovborg and Thea, she is seized with an evil joy and consigns it to fire. She gloats over the evidence of Lovborg's tragedy inasmuch as it proves that she has foiled the designs of 'that pretty little fool' who had her 'finger in a man's destiny'. Thinking that the manuscript is lost in the house of ill-fame, Lovborg threatens to kill himself, and Hedda presents him with a pistol asking him to do it 'beautifully'. Lovborg, in the depth of despair, plunges into debauchery and is found dead. Brack, identifying Hedda's pistol, anticipates a trial with scandalous revelations; all depends upon his silence. Finding herself helpless in his clutches with the prospect of being involved in a scandal, Hedda shoots herself and thus puts an end to her life.

Brack may be accused of precipitating the catastrophe, but it is Hedda's egoism, spiritual poverty, imperious temperament, jealous nature and ruthless selfishness which cause her to destroy herself and others. Her

tranquil, polished and cold exterior hides a monster ; all her exquisite qualities of culture and subtle intellect become atrophied. We are appalled at such a tragic waste.

In 'The Master Builder' Halvard Solness, the hero, has worked himself up to the commanding position of an architect outstripping Brovik and other builders. Ragnar, an excellent designer, who is in his employment, represents the new generation, which in the order of nature must rise and displace the old. The protagonist is aware of this brutal law and descants on his fear of the young generation in the conversation with Dr. Herdal ; yet he tries to suppress his young rival and holds on desperately to the position he has won, and refuses to yield an inch. Granted that it is the materialistic civilization which creates such situations confronting him with such a relentless alternative ; and Ibsen may be arraigning the social conditions for creating such alternatives ; nevertheless, the hero cannot be exonerated from the insinuation of being excessively ambitious and unaccommodating. When Brovik begs him to permit his son to do a little work on his own account, he bluntly says : "I can do nothing about it. I am made that way—I can't change my nature."

Solness may be kind and gentle as Mrs. Solness would have us believe, but is immensely selfish and ambitious. In order to retain Ragnar in his service, he ruthlessly exploits the love of Kaja, and when he has no use of her idolatory and love he dismisses her. She is one of the many victims sacrificed at the altar of material success. The accident of the fire of the old house that was a part of his wife's property affords a real insight into his 'Viking' conscience. He tells Hilda that he wanted to pull down the old building and replace it by rows of villas to make a fortune ; but he never dared to sound his wife who cherished old family associations and memories of childhood, and even kept her nine lovely dolls, feeling them 'under her heart, like little unborn children'. He knows in his heart of hearts that the destruction of the house would give a shattering blow to Mrs. Solness's peace of mind ; so he keeps reticent ; he observes a crack in the old chimney which must be repaired if the house is to be safe against fire. One night the house is ablaze and Solness wanted that it should catch fire ; the shock affected his wife's milk and both the babies died. From the ruins of the gutted house his fortune rose, but never since that day has he known happiness, nor built any churches but only homes of comforts.

Who is responsible for the hero's unhappiness and the agony of Mrs. Solness ? The ambitious protagonist himself. The sighing wife and the speechless accusation in her eyes are echoed by his own conscience. He is half insane, and his sickness is an indication of his morbid condition induced by his silent brooding on his guilt. To Hilda whom he unbosoms the inmost secrets of his heart, he points out that all the master builder's success had to be paid for in human happiness, not only his own happiness but that of other people also. He says : "Aline had a gift for building

up the souls of little children, Hilda. That was her talent. But it's all been wasted—it's of no use to any one now. It's like a smouldering heap of ruins." He admits that there is a troll in him, "It's the troll in us that summons the powers outside us ; and then, whether we like it or not, we are forced to give in."

Solness is building a new house for himself hoping against hope that the anguish pursuing him may be banished from the new abode. If the protagonist had a 'robust' conscience, he might have carried the heavy burden of remorse, but his conscience is too soft and feeble to confront the 'hard things'. Ragnar comes again and repeats his request which Solness first turns down, and when Hilda expresses contempt at his lack of generosity he hesitatingly gives his recommendation. This concession which he makes to the 'clamour of conquering youth' involves his collapse ; for Hilda too represents youth—the coming generation ; it is in this capacity that she makes the Master Builder sign his own death warrant. Hilda's idealization of the hero inspires him with something of his old courage, and disregarding his wife's warning, he accepts the challenge of his 'princess' and 'tries to build the loveliest thing in all the world' (castles-in-the air). Mounting to the top of his new house and placing the garland on the vane, he grows dizzy and tumbles headlong to the earth.

Retribution is inexorable. Solness ousted Brovik, and his son Ragnar who represents the new generation, destroys, in his turn, the protagonist. Moreover, the weak (and Solness has a delicate conscience) must go to the wall. Solness's overweening ambition, moral cowardice, selfishness, lack of foresight and the troll in him largely contribute to his tragedy. He is not afraid of destroying other people's happiness, and pays a heavy price in losing his own.

The examination of these three plays reveals the evolution of Ibsen's view of tragedy. We see that, while in an earlier play 'Ghosts', social forces contribute largely to the catastrophe of man, the tragedy in the later dramas is shown to be primarily brought about by the protagonist's own failings. As Ibsen's mind developed, his attitude towards art and life also underwent a change.

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## IS A NEW IMAGE FOR BUDDHISM IN THE MAKING?

WILLIAM PULLEY

What has served to provoke this following comment, was a 6-page article published in Time International magazine (American), December 11, 1964. Those who understand the current tensions brought about by cold-war and policies of 'containment', will also understand that when Time magazine gives 6 pages to any issue, it is not only vital as world interest, it reflects a powerful trend as well. Time magazine, and perhaps many in the West, are reaching out for an answer to the conduct of the Vietnamese Buddhist monks and others in the Buddhist world, and we shall try to answer this to the best of our ability and experience. One of the questions posed in this article seems to reflect the general resentment which reads as follows :

"Are Tri Quang and the other Buddhist leaders naive or villainous, or both ? Are they merely inconsistent in the grand Vietnamese fashion ? Are they nationalistic or Communist dupes ? Whatever the answer, much of it lies embedded in the myriad traditions of a great faith, noble, puzzling to the West, durable, and sharply challenged by the modern people."

Many also are those in the 'civilized' world who await hopefully for the cold-war to abate that a more positive period of constructive action can be expressed in the affairs of East and West. For over 15 years, an unending 'war of nerves', political and economic juggling among nations have left the readers of newspapers jittery and brooding while neurosis and psychosis increase yearly to fill Western hospitals to overflowing. And now, when the carefully laid plans of 'containment' to surround and control the 'enemy' fade into mists of illusion, the planners are seen as frustrated, unpredictable and surely angry men.

Now the trend to 'name calling' and hate provoking is already seen in the journalistic effort of Western newsmen to direct attention to religious influences said to 'defeat' the noble effort of cold-war. Time magazine, in writing their 6-page account on the rise of Buddhist rebellion in Asia which frustrates the planners of cold-war, focuses its white-light of journalistic power on the traditional monk who is said to have made an about turn from docility and goodness, to political and materialistic attachment and entanglement. Another statement that is characteristic of several others says : "Buddhism now may be as great a threat to the embattled country as the Viet Cong—if not greater."



It appears then that the 'new image for Buddhism' will suffer greatly, or such politically keyed information to decry 'degeneracy' in Buddhist development will cause millions to thoughtfully examine the facts and bring about a needed 'house-cleaning' in all Buddhist lands. The article of Time magazine is well researched and surely reveals a number of facts not too well known in either Asia or the West. Also, the author of this particular article has more than average interest and insights on the Buddha's noble doctrine as this was revealed in early Buddhist-thought. But he also employed the ugly colouring of political opportunism to destroy the brighter colours of good reporting. However, the writer of the article was merely doing his journalistic duty to fulfill the wishes of his editor. Then the point of criticism on my part is aimed at the 'spirit' or reason for suddenly airing a so-called 'degeneracy' in Buddhist ranks and associating this with a sanctioned and hallowed cold-war.

Let it be said that my reason for 'standing up to be counted' (as a Buddhist) lies in the thought that I am no stranger to the subject of Buddhist development in South East Asia. Actually, I have spent several years in the Robe as a Buddhist monk and have taught and lectured to young student monks from some 5 different Asian countries. From such good contact I have learned the inner feelings and objectives of Buddhists throughout the Far East. Moreover, my secondary reaction to Time magazine's article, was to remind myself (and others) that ours is not the problem to protect sectarian attachments and loyalties to 'Buddhism,' but to see such movement, degenerate or otherwise, as merely the outgrowth of world upheaval and the result of misguided men (monks and others), who fail to read and live the Buddha's clearly outlined guidance. Also, those who reason along such lines must know that the planners of cold-war threaten, invade and destroy Buddhist lands. If then there are seen monks who 'break their silence' to prevent such action, can this be called 'degeneracy'? Among these monks are men of wisdom who know the tendency of ambitious and egocentric men to 'use others up'. Korea is a striking example of this.

Let us begin a more worthy analysis of this situation by saying that Buddhist development in South East Asia was a process that only the honest historian can ably assess. It was as much a 'hit-and-miss' movement in the life of humans as anything comparable to Western lands. But now the present inroads that foreign intervention and cold-war make on Buddhist lands compel some unification of aims and objectives to survive, hence a 'house-cleaning' is in order. This is a statement of fact even as accurate as the knowledge that the present cold-war must explode into glaring flame exposing it as a medium for power and new markets and not the 'peace promoting' influence Western journalists picture it to be. Colonialism and cold-war are actually one and the same influence if we are to

believe history and review the negative movement of Portugal, Spain, England and other European countries who send armed ships and men to the unexplored regions of the Far East in search of trade and loot. Cold-war has only taken on new proportions abetted by modern psychology and rapid communication of selfish men. For such action, a man of wisdom will not blame whole nations but will single out the guilty.

But this same history further shows the equally important picture of a slow and painful movement of 'integration' in human affairs brought about by a 'shrinking' world, the same force that gave birth to the cold-war and desire of men to control the lives of others. A 'shrinking' world would be certain to increase contact and communication among humans, but such experience to the tradition-heavy human mind would also be sure to cause disruption and fear. Psychologically and factually the element of 'change' is painful to humans who have always expressed great fear when change endangered their gods, their tribes and their traditions. This is not shown for the working out of any benevolent plan for 'evolution' in the affairs of men, but as an inevitable consequence of *contact* and *communication*.

Here, I shall omit any mention of the sordid history of the Western man pushing into the peaceful but uncertain life of the Asian, because such argument is relatively unimportant in contrast to the overall picture of the growing and more powerful historical influence of contact and communication in a modern setting. This present-day action on the part of educators, politicians and the forward march of scientific and technological aids do not actually balance the scales between East and West, nor do they erase the brutal history of the West. All that is said here points up a typical Buddhistic view on 'Dependent Origination' to show how events in history or the coming together of various influences tend to create situations and new forms. And this same principle further reveals that the new forms created are things in the process of forever 'becoming' (changing) fraught with the elements of change and chance as science now concludes. Man is indeed the 'creator' of mental and physical forms, which work he attributes to creator-gods, and now he must pause to examine such truth and place it within reach of our confused and dissatisfied youth.

To clarify a few of the unmentioned psychological and historical facts not mentioned in the Time magazine article, let us turn to a Buddhist event of great eminence and movement, better known as the Chattha Sangayana or First World Conference of Buddhists held during 1954-56 at Rangoon, Burma. Burma invited thousands of representative monks and laymen from most every country in Asia to include European Buddhists. The conference convened with Theravada and Mahayana sects participating side by side over this two-year period during which time elaborate plans for the propagation of Buddhist Doctrine were made but few carried out to fruition. Actually, six of such conferences were held in various parts

of Asia with the same more or less negative ending of apathy and uncertainty on objectives. One highly intelligent monk from India who attended all of these conferences described them to me as 'window-dressing' and even 'political feelers'. He was indeed depressed with his experiences, seeing no effective aims in concerted Buddhist action of the conferences. I cannot confirm this because I did not attend the conferences that followed the Chattha Sangayana at Rangoon. True, the Buddhist monk is no grand organizer such as we will find among Western churchmen and business types. And because of this, when world movement demanded organizational 'know-how' the Buddhist found himself not only ill equipped but hesitant and confused. But if we are to believe the reports coming in, he is learning fast.

Then what happens when we examine this same picture from a purely psychological frame of reference? Day after day in that 100-acre compound the First World Buddhist Conference had named 'Kaba Aye' (Peace Pagoda), thousands of yellow- and brown-robed monks of Theravada and Mahayana backgrounds experienced that greatest test that grows out of contact and communication. Without being too fully aware of what was going on in their subconscious minds to protect traditional views, a great majority did feel the arising of resentments as individual challenged individual on 'belief' and doctrine. Then later, youthful black-robed monks of Japan joined the happy gathering to add to the frustration brought about by the coming together of men more attached to their sect than wise-detachment. Under such pressures, is there any wonder that so little was done at the conferences? Psychological factors must be considered. Here we see at once the power of sectarian and ideological attachments as the greatest of disrupting influences. Human tendencies to cling to ideologies even in the face of dangers brought about by world upheaval were present in these Buddhist gatherings.

Moreover, this brings up the study of the mechanical nature of the human mind to react to loyalties and traditional patterns long before any reaction to reason takes place. Working for the best interests of humankind is generally secondary thought; robes and the colour of robes flashed before the eye are too often the primary consideration of monks and others who react to their sense of 'loyalty' and so-called duty. Fortunately, there are always more thoughtful monks and laymen to counter balance such error.

In this more constructive criticism of my fellow-men who wear the garb of the saffron robe, and the obvious political nature of the Time magazine article, let it be truthfully said that both studies are relatively insignificant when we think in terms of the magnitude of human responsibilities in our modern and demanding world. Politicians or statesmen are rarely prone to touch the sacred confines of religious thought in any land, and it is only under the pressures of a sanctioned cold-war and a so-called political

expediency that such action is taken. And it is strange indeed to see and feel a note of 'lament' in the writing and account of the Time article, a type of lament emerging from a Western journalist for a religious (or philosophical) influence said to be exclusively 'Eastern'. Here the journalist wishes to give the impression that he is 'carrying the ball' for improvement in Buddhist-thought and action equally as well as any Eastern adherent might carry it. The journalist did his job of reporting, but he was obviously pained and distraught and even beset with some feeling of guilt. At least, I would like to think this was the case.

Also in the 6-page article of Time, there were accounts of overstressed situations regarding the so-called 'abandoning' of the Buddha's command which made no allowance of tolerance for young monks in training. The comment of distraction and negative criticism ran as follows: "...the sandaled monks with shaven heads have abandoned Buddha's command to be 'still and motionless' and have plunged deep into politics. While most continue their usual duties of meditating, reading the scriptures, teaching and begging, more and more of them are busy issuing political manifestoes, organizing riots, and working for the downfall of governments." Here we catch the note of resentment and distraction of those who plan or report the cold-war and we quickly envision the politician, the militarist and others sitting in smoke-filled rooms smilingly debating and resolving the fate of South East Asia and Buddhist lands, mentioning them as 'push-overs' (easily conquered) and destined to be subdued according to the elaborate plans of the planners.

On the matter of monks dabbling in politics, the Buddhist world must remind Time magazine and all others involved that they have omitted a type of criticism to include the Roman Catholic church in politics. The Roman Catholic church seems most proud of its ability to participate in local, national and international political juggling which action no doubt has contributed to its ability to survive and dominate. True, such action is foreign and even distasteful to Buddhist monks who relegate such matters to trained statesmen. What happens to able statesmen in times of powerful cold-war is another consideration, but the fact is evident that when statesmanship fails in Buddhist lands, the responsibility of the monk becomes obvious and urgent.

It seems most reasonable to assume that following the experience of the cold-war 'experts' on what was gathered about Laos and Cambodia, and the bite of old wounds inflicted by the Chinese and Koreans at an earlier period, the planners should have good reason to not only reflect on the emergence of Buddhist resistance, but to put this feeling into an entirely different type of protest. But instead, the reporting takes the form of a wordy article that has the high potential to stir the already raw emotions of Western readers into greater 'extremeisms' such as those felt by the Inquisitors of the Middle Ages to re-light the fires of religious hate. Such

action tends to cancel out the long years of constructive planning and hoping for better East-West relationships that sincere people the world over have sought and laboured for. Jean-Paul Sartre, the eminent French playwright and novelist, refused the Nobel Prize on the argument that the best interests of East-West communication and integration was endangered if he should accept a prize exclusively Western. Our hats off to Sartre and others like him.

But the more thoughtful Buddhists should find in the Time article some blessings in disguise. There was helpful information offered on the Seventh World Fellowship Buddhist Conference at Sarnath, India, which convened early in December, 1964. Here at the Deer Park of Sarnath where the Buddha some 2,500 years ago delivered his first sermon to five devoted followers, 150 Buddhist leaders from 25 nations gathered to resolve Buddhist interests which is said by Time to have sounded more like a U.N. debate. Present were Russia's Venerable Lama Jambal Dirji Gomboeve said to represent 500,000 Soviet Buddhists and the conference's guest of honor the Dalai Lama now exiled in India. The conference was said to be highlighted by motion-pictures and testimonies of South Viet Nam with the published statement: "The unified Vietnamese Buddhist Congregation solemnly declares before the world that it avoids all activities which are opportunist, discriminating and political." This conference, convening in the name of Buddhist effort, is seen by Time magazine as a strange contrast to that first meeting of 5 devout men who gathered to hear the Enlightened One expound the Four Noble Truths with an excellence that echoed around the world to the benefit of men in all lands where education and cultural advance has found expression. On this, we must agree.

But most saddening of all was the published comment about the 'leadership' of the Vietnamese monk, Thich Tri Quang, said to be the emerging South Viet Nam's top Buddhist leader, and the same person who took refuge in the American Embassy during those hateful days that produced the self-sacrifice of monks and others in public places. Thich Tri Quang is said to have reacted to questions put to him about politics by saying: "Like all educated Buddhists I don't like Communism because it is *atheistic*. I strongly believe that Communism can never win." How often were similar statements heard during the American political and racial upheavals in Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama and even echoing as far north as Chicago and New York. Here was a little monk mouthing the same sentiments of the cold-war planners, blown by the winds of chance to South East Asia. Such is the lamentable ignorance and misguidance to inflame the Asian and even those wearing the robe. A monk who has chanted Buddhist scriptures for many years, comes up with hate-provoking and short-sighted statements about 'winning and losing' in a day of H-bomb development. Or to display his lack of understanding about 'atheism'

within the framework of Buddhist thought which is surely no mark of leadership or scholarship.

In this same thought, we are reminded of the American churchman who also lamented the presence of 'atheism' in 'godless' countries through the newspapers so long and loudly, giving birth to cold-war and a chain-reaction of approval from leadership in all levels of American life. 'McCarthyism' emerged from these ashes of fiery hate to threaten the political structure of a nation, and so-called respectable men took up the cry and the wave of cold-war rolled on uncontrolled and unchallenged. And now Buddhism stands in the path of this rolling storm of hate at whose core is that ancient and unconscious fear of the loss of gods and treasured mental images of illusion. The all Enlightened One could find no evidence of creator-gods and made this most emphatic in his teachings laying a firm foundation for this doctrine in his Anicca, Dukkha, Anatta (Impermanence, Suffering, No-Self), therefore making of Buddhist-thought the mother of agnostic and scientific outlook on the life processes. Consciously or unconsciously the god-minded planners of the cold-war now seek out the Buddhist to punish him as the ancients punished the heretic and the godless. Leadership indeed!

We who willingly and humbly stand up to be counted in these trying days, must ask the question, 'Is this the beginning of the end for those who 'fare forth' in the quest of enlightenment and higher values through education? Are we as humankind inviting another Dark Age of priestly dominance and political corruption? Or, will such threatening events slowly put an end to crass ignorance and even stir the world's thinking element into a giant protest against hatred inciting propaganda and cold-war sanction? Or, is it naive to believe that intelligence can usher in a new day of higher educational and spiritual standards? All such questions are pregnant with potentials depending on the 'winds of change and chance' and the movement of human energies.

Another high point of historical interest is briefly referred to in the Time article regarding the 'march and countermarch of conquerors in Asia' as an influence on Buddhist life and outlook. It is a known and historical fact that Buddhism has undergone painful experience at the hand of the conqueror, and is also seen to change and absorb its various settings wherever it takes root. This is factual information when we review the events and environments of Buddhist life in India, Burma, Cambodia, Laos, China, Viet Nam, Korea, Japan and other areas in which the Doctrine of Enlightenment was introduced. The lines of good information that Time magazine omitted was to state that any doctrine of enlightenment is relative in both effect and fact, therefore to find wide variations of the Buddha's teachings in these lands mentioned, should be seen as natural outcome. And now that Buddhism has reached the West, it will take still another form under science and the activism of the West. The Time's writer tried

to sum this all up in his statement : "The ties that bind Buddhist monks and laymen are vague, for Buddhism has neither dogma nor pope, offers no individual immortality, neither premises divine authority nor promises forgiveness of sins. Its diversity of practices embraces everything from the cool conundrums of Zen in Japan to Cambodian water rites and the exorcism of devils in Ceylon through a dance-to-exhaustion. Yet at the heart of all this is the escape from the burdens of existence as exemplified in the life of that princely ascetic and saintly *agnostic* Siddharta Gautoma." A bit of salt and a bit of sugar, but facts nevertheless.

Without question, a Buddhist 'house-cleaning' is in order to restore its original heritage of wisdom. The findings of science and education have long abandoned the false and deluding promise of heavens and hells that priestly types have invented and drilled into the spongy confines of the unconscious mind. But now Buddhist texts are seen to be a grand mixture of speculative commentary, fantasy and the clearly outlined guidance of the Noble Buddha to confuse and confound the reader of such texts. From time to time it is the practice of thoughtful monks to 'weed out' commentary that is misleading in the texts, but time and mental limitations of egocentric men are almost certain to put the same errors back in another form. Many sincere men going to the Far East and to Buddhist lands for new and helpful insights are heard to ask the question : "Is it not possible for you to offer me Buddhist doctrine devoid of tradition and dreamed up monkish hallucinations?" The answers are sometimes apologetic and sometimes vague because local tradition and commentary misguidance have crept into this noble doctrine in spite of the wisdom of older monks to oppose such development. There is always the tendency of unwise monks who invent fantasy to serve a mass-mentality, bringing a great philosophy down to this level and even incorporating illusion into scriptural writings. Therefore the scholar who studies Buddhist-thought knows he must spend some time separating commentary and fantasy from the early doctrine of Siddharta Gautoma as given to his five followers in the Deer Park at Sarnath and called the Four Noble Truths.

Many also are the sincere and devout workers for enlightenment in both Asia and the West who decry the 'paradoxes' that are taught as Buddhist scripture to assume that 'rebirth' and 'memory of past lives' can be parallels to science and educational guidance. The scholarly argument poses the question, 'how can the Buddha's unique and timely doctrine of No-Self balance with a thought about rebirth and memory of past lives?' Science definitely shows the illusion of any lasting 'self' in the unending breakdown of conscious moments and the endless changing of the very cell life that gives form to what is called a personality. If something is 'reborn' and able to 'remember' past lives, then the Buddha's greater wisdom on No-Self is cancelled out. Professor E. R. Sarathchandra of the University of Ceylon decries the presence of so much Vedantic (Hinduism) outlook in the



Buddhist scriptures, and in the latter part of his book, reveals why Hindu pressures changed much of the Buddha's doctrine. (Buddhist Psychology of Perception, Ceylon University Press, Colombo).

But in that ancient day of Vedantism and Brahmanistic outlook it was almost inevitable that the Buddha's teachings were to take a beating at the hands of fanatical and egocentric priests. If we have any desire to probe the facts and to argue about such phenomena as the 'continuity of the life forces' or the origin and expression of recall or 'memory' within the confines of consciousness, let this be associated with the more recent and dependable findings of those who understand these subjects. The Buddha definitely scolded those who foolishly talked about 'past and remembered lives' and mentioned such talk and speculation as empty and idle thought. The Buddha explained much about the life processes in language understandable to his time, but did not and could not describe these life processes in the more clear language of the geneticist who explains the hereditary principles with the aid of electronic microscopes and laboratory experience. This should be evident to the more thoughtful person who has ranged beyond blind-belief.

Actually, the Vedantists took such words as *Patisandhi* which scholars know have several meanings such as 'Rejoining', 'Reunion' or 'Rebirth' but used the word *rebirth* to serve their outlook under a Hinduism that taught both Self and a Brahma to whom this Self was attracted and absorbed. The 'Rejoining' of such elements as corporeality (matter), feeling, perception, thought-objects and consciousness can be mentioned without assuming any existence of a Self, but that would not have served the Vedantist concept. The result is to see the word 'Rebirth' repeating itself over and over throughout the Sanscrit and Pali Canon.

Also, the phenomenon termed 'recall' or 'memory' has long been under analysis, clinical and otherwise, and is seen as a function of the unconscious 'memory' arising in a more or less mechanical and impersonal manner from sensual stimulation or from hypnosis, self-induced or otherwise. Memory, then, can be seen as an unbroken chain of events leading back into ancestry of humankind and definitely associated with the hereditary principle. Obviously this involves not only the person 'remembering' something of the past, but it involves the many experiences of several persons stretching back into a remote era of human action. The unconscious, for example, 'remembers' and gives expression to primitive tendencies built into our reactions to seeing, hearing, feeling, tasting and consciousness. The 'genetic' or hereditary make-up of all living creatures is bound up with the principle of *memory* which fixes its vibrational presence in the cell life to be transferred or 'relinked' in another creature through sexual contact and the evolvment of an embryo into the full-blown form of human or animal.



Therefore, some persons under hypnosis can 'remember' what appears to be 'past lives' when actually they merely tune in on that endless chain of memory that stretches itself back as far as memory can travel. However, to the religiously devout or the emotionally unstable, the romantic sound of the word 'rebirth' lends a promise for a much desired continuity of life but at the same time offers no explanation aside from heavens and hells. It would be shocking to the god-minded to infer that *movement* of objects (mental and physical) is creative in itself. The Buddha taught that voluntary movement, physical and mental, created a condition of 'karma' (action) which is the result of objects coming together. Therefore, memory and karma (action) are one and the same, the result of many 'bits' of experience coming together as a conscious concept.

Referring again to the stimulating comment of the Time's journalist, there is the interesting account of a religio-political movement in Japan known as 'Soka Gakkai' (Value-Creation Society). Here again we have an illustration on how 'karma' or action tends to create and add to that endless flow of memory. This society is now being organized in Japan at the rate of 10,000 adherents each month and is shown to be a religio-political group with a membership of 13 million. It is further described as 'intolerant in religious matters, fanatic, leftist and reforming in its political attitudes'. Its leader, Koji Harashima, is mentioned as a 'completely independent entity' aiming at putting 32 candidates for the 467-seat lower house and 10 in the upper house next spring, in the thought that all are most likely to be elected.

Viewing the rapid and popular rise of the Soka Gakkai Society of Japan brings up speculation about its true meaning and of the basic causes of the emergence of Japanese unrest and its aims for Buddhist and political reform. Time magazine merely gives the overall picture of an 'emerging' reform but does not attempt analysis. But we do know that this tight little island, already overpopulated to the explosion point, is now seen to be engaged in a type of sanctioned materialism which the Soka Gakkai Society sees as dangerous to the religious, moral and social well-being of Japan. The Japanese 'bonze' (priests) no doubt also suffer the same pressures as they see themselves caught up in the sweep of exploding industrialism and control by foreign powers. Frustration and discontent must follow such a pattern. It is very much like being caught up in a huge web of circumstances that was woven by hands that are foreign to the soft touch of Buddhist-thought and the traditions of Japan.

But in a day when a 'shrinking' world must integrate and experience the pains of contact and communication at all levels in human society, the sentiment about ancient tradition must bow low to the more negative movement of industry, sensual satisfaction and a type of interchange not always welcome. Under such influence, the traditional 'webs' in which we all struggle become temporary prisons and we strive to break out into

the more clear atmosphere of freedom where we can remake and remould more satisfying forms of life. In this same light, the Japanese might see their plight as a country gripped within the reaction of a rapidly changing world whose 'growing pains' are expressed in industrial dominance and sensual delights while the pitiful form of cultural life and moral balance goes neglected. It is interesting to know that Japan is seemingly doing something about its plight wherein there are many of us more or less powerless to act and who are filled with apathy, confusion and the deadly vapors of cold-war.

In such a day, cold-war must be seen for what it is and efforts be made to raise social, educational and moral values to new and higher levels to parallel the facts about the life processes and the duty of individual and state to accept a full responsibility to combat the aimless movement of these life processes charged so heavily with the elements of change and chance. The new image that arises on our modern horizon is *Man* and the demand that we reexamine the power of man to create and to destroy his creations. Failure to recognize this arising of the new image for both Buddhism and Man can offer but one alternative, to repeat another long cycle under leadership with mass-mentalities wearing robes or the grey-flannels of the diplomat.

Those who read this comment on Buddhist development, or as *Time* magazine wishes to show the 'lack of it', should not grow too upset and emotional or cast feverish eyes about seeking out the so-called guilty to blame or punish. We all stand guilty. All of us would do better to see this world-wide strife as a chain-reaction caused by ignorance and a type of movement out of step with enlightenment. Action and action-result have created an explosion of unrest and change that contact and communication have brought about. The Buddha would remind us to think in terms of his 'Dependent Origination' where it is shown that beings and events are created by the coming together of elements and influences that react on each other to bring about an action-result. Therefore to know that thought and movement are creative forces within themselves, man stands fully responsible for what his thinking and movement create. Strange as this may sound to the god-minded who people the earth in such abundance, on closer examination of facts it will be found that man is actually creating his present and his future to bless or to damn him.

Therefore, if we are among those who will 'stand up and be counted', to work for further unfoldment of enlightenment through the medium of reason and higher values, let us be tall enough to see above the obscuring mountains of pettiness and sectarian attachment that cloud the view. When we begin to break free from this web of cold-war propaganda and religious compulsions that cling to us like barnacles on the hulls of old ships to halt movement in this river of life, we can see the clear outlines of the Buddha's Middle Path before us. Some control of the sensual life shows

immediately that there is for ever a Middle Path in all situations if we will but only quiet the mind and emotional-attachments long enough to invite a new consciousness of reason, devoid of greed and anger.

Most basic then to our unrest and the upheaval that contact and communication have brought about, is the 15-year old dirge about 'communism-capitalism'. This has created a type of madness and frustration that seems to defy any attempt at a Middle Path. But the day of 'house-cleaning' is upon us if the new image for Buddhism is to take a more positive form for international outlook in the affairs of men. Such house-cleaning can be likened to the spring when the householder removes the accumulate dirt that time and human limitations have deposited within the mind and affairs of humankind. We then thank Time magazine for the stimulation offered whether we have agreed or disagreed. The important thing is that out of such mental stimulation new thought is born.

# CHRISTABEL : A STUDY IN PSYCHOLOGICAL SYMBOLISM

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Swinburne expressed the sentiments of many when he described *Christabel* as 'the loveliest of all Coleridge's poems'.<sup>1</sup> It is the loveliest in spite of its being a typical 'tale of terror'; and herein lies the peculiar alchemy of Coleridge's poetic genius; this producing of loveliness out of terror. There is assuredly something inscrutable about the poem which has prevented critics from approaching it as often and as eagerly as they have done in respect of *The Ancient Mariner* and *Kubla Khan*. The fact is, whatever may have been the process by which it was shaped, it was different from that which went to the making of *The Ancient Mariner* and *Kubla Khan*.

A cursory review of the various approaches to *Christabel* reveals that the poem has mostly been studied either as a piece of didactic morality or as a sort of spiritual allegory as Mr. Cotterill has described it. Then, there are others like Dowden,<sup>2</sup> Thompson<sup>3</sup> and Graham Hough<sup>4</sup> who consider it merely as 'an imaginative romance prevented by the supernatural'. They have taken it as an average tale of chivalry and magic, bracketting it with *The Lady of the Lake*, *The Eve of St. Agnes* and Morris's romances. "The story", says Thompson, "is one of those tales of wonder involving supernatural agency, the like of which German Romanticism had made popular".<sup>5</sup> There is obviously one great disadvantage in such an approach. It fails to read any deeper meaning in the poem or to discover any strong personal experience behind it. According to this group of critics, the medieval theme is used either for its beauty, mystery or enchantment, 'without any other very strong reason for the choice'. The following remark of Hough shows very clearly how this poem has been underestimated by him and his associates: "*The Ancient Mariner* seems to come as it comes, a complete conception in response to some very deep inner experience, while *Christabel* is a haunting piece of romantic composition; its elements are not so much symbols as stage properties."<sup>6</sup> I, however, am unable to concur with this view and the present essay is an attempt at an interpretation of *Christabel* as a psychological symbolism. The vision of *Christabel* was as much a part

<sup>1</sup> Foakes, R. A., *The Romantic Assertion*, (London, Methuen & Co., 1958), p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Dowden, "Coleridge as a Poet", *New Studies in Literature* (London, Kegan Paul, 1902).

<sup>3</sup> A. H. Thompson, *Selection from the Poems of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, Introduction.

<sup>4</sup> "Wordsworth and Coleridge", *The Romantic Poets*, (London, 1953).

<sup>5</sup> A. H. Thompson, *Selection*, Notes, p. 116.

<sup>6</sup> *The Romantic Poets*, p. 66.

of the poet's inner experience as that of *The Ancient Mariner*. The poem can well be studied as an appropriate illustration of hypnosis or suggestibility in the light of modern psychology.

Humphry House in his famous *Clark Lectures* argued that in *Christabel*, "Coleridge was hampered by problems which belong to the psychological borderland where matters of religion overlap with matters of sex."<sup>7</sup> Even Tomlinson, one of the authorities on *Christabel*, views it simply as a 'struggle between the instinct of death and Eros'.<sup>8</sup> But to the present writer it is, more conspicuously, a struggle between evil and innocence, resulting in the victory of the former through the power of suggestibility or rapport exercised on the latter. Coleridge here wants to depict in poetic terms the sinister working of evil and the way in which it eventually transforms innocence in its own likeness. This obviously offers scope for a scientific study of hypnosis. Hypnosis has been defined as "an artificially induced state which is characterized by heightened suggestibility, and as a result of which certain sensory, motor and memory abnormalities may be induced more readily than in the normal state".<sup>9</sup> It is, in other words, 'an extension of ordinary emotional responsiveness'.<sup>10</sup> And this is what we find in *Christabel* in which an innocent lady is subjected under strange circumstances to certain carefully ordered series of psychological shocks which ultimately overpower her innocence. It has been a common belief among hypnotists that women are more suggestible and more prone to evil influences than men. Evidence in support of this comes from the investigations of many eminent psychologists like Hull, Lindberg, Brown, Cason and Rouch. The poem also displays allegorically 'the mind's failure to guide the Will' which had been a severe malady of Coleridge himself. For *Christabel*, as much as Coleridge, suffers not only the disintegration of personality but also disintegration of the will as Tomlinson puts it. The hypnotists of standing also agree that in a state of hypnosis the subject's will is entirely subjugated to that of the hypnotist. The subject develops a dependence on the hypnotist and appears to show through it an apparent weakening of his or her will; and this is especially applicable to the case of *Christabel*.

*Christabel*, 'the maid devoid of guile and sin', suffers what is called the 'pathological isolation'. She finds herself alone, her mother being dead, her father bed-ridden and her lover away. She, obviously, figures as the typical persecuted woman of the tale of terror, defenceless and easily vulnerable. In such a plight *Christabel* comes across Lady Geraldine, a picture of outraged innocence and takes her to her father's castle. The new-comer is 'a being of pure temptation', a devil masked in angelic beauty and the first hint of the evil in her nature comes with her reluctance to join in *Christabel*'s prayer:

<sup>7</sup> Coleridge: *Clark Lectures*, 1953.

<sup>8</sup> Charles Tomlinson, "Coleridge: *Christabel*", *Interpretation*, ed. John Wain, (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1955), p. 104.

<sup>9</sup> H. O. Warren, *Dictionary of Psychology*, (New York, Houghton Mifflin, 1934).

<sup>10</sup> J. M. Schneck, *Hypnosis and Clinical Psychology*, p. 281.

Praise we the Virgin all divine  
 Who hath rescued thee from thy distress.  
 Alas, alas! said Geraldine  
 I cannot speak for weariness.<sup>11</sup>

Again, as the fatal woman, conscious of her own fatality, undresses:

Her gentle limbs did she undress  
 And lay down in her loveliness,<sup>12</sup>

and as she retires to her bed beside Christabel, she has set aside all her scruples:

In the touch of this bosom there worketh a spell  
 Which is lord of thy utterance, Christabel!<sup>13</sup>

This, obviously, appears as a psychological case of suggestion, because here we discover a process in which a proposition is accepted with conviction, irrespective of any logical reasons.<sup>14</sup> Consequently, Geraldine succeeds in imposing her own will on Christabel:

O Geraldine! one hour was thine—  
 Thou'st had thy will!<sup>15</sup>

On this self-submission of Christabel Tomlinson makes an interesting observation:

"The development, it should be noticed, takes place through instances of what happens to Christabel rather than what she does. Evil works upon her and by the time she feels possessed by it and, 'with forced unconscious sympathy' perhaps even becoming evil herself, she has lost her own free will."<sup>16</sup>

Freud propounded a theory of hypnotism which is, naturally, sexual. The relationship, he asserts, between the subject and the hypnotist is fundamentally sexual. The libido (sexual energy) of the subject becomes directed towards, or transferred upon, the hypnotist. More than this, hypnosis is, in a sense and to a certain extent, a regressive phenomenon. The subject tends to regress toward an infantile level, and the hypnotist, therefore, becomes a surrogate of the parent.

And, this is exactly what happens in the case of Christabel who while lying with Geraldine is imaged as a child with a mother:

And lo! the worker of these harms,  
 That holds the maiden in her arms,  
 Seems to slumber still and mild  
 As a mother with her child.<sup>17</sup>

As is often the case with Coleridge, here also a seemingly sexual evil is contrasted with a parental good. In a way Geraldine's undressing reveals some sort of sexual profaneity, some expressly physical horror. She insinuates herself into the religious world of Christabel, and is only afraid of the mother-spirit. It is definitely revolting to see so pure a girl having

<sup>11</sup> *Christabel*, Part I, 139-142.

<sup>12</sup> *Christabel*, Part I, 14.

<sup>13</sup> *Christabel*, Part I, LI, 267-68.

<sup>14</sup> A. M. Weitzenhoffer, "The Nature of Suggestion", *Hypnotism: An Objective Study in Suggestibility*, (New York, John Wiley & Sons), 1958), Chap. XXI.

<sup>15</sup> *Christabel*, The Conclusion to Part I.

<sup>16</sup> "Coleridge: Christabel", *Interpretations*, p. 107.

<sup>17</sup> *Christabel*, Conclusion to Part I.

contact with so obscene a horror. The evil is shocking, yet it does not fail to fascinate.

This much about Part One of *Christabel*. In Part Two Geraldine's evil starts operating in Christabel herself. Christabel, on the conscious level of her mind, makes herself reassured and finds Geraldine, her tormentor, as 'fairer yet! and more fair!' but her unconscious fears force themselves on her attention as her father gives a 'prolonged' embrace to Geraldine, taking her 'fondly in his arms' with joyous look:

Which when she viewed, a vision fell  
Upon the soul of Christabel,  
The vision of fear, the touch and pain!  
She shrunk and shuddered, and saw again  
(Ah, woe is me! Was it for thee  
Thou gentle maid! such sights to see?).  
Again she saw that bosom old  
Again she saw that bosom cold  
And drew in her breath with a hissing sound.<sup>18</sup>

It is in this part of the poem that we get perhaps the most intense and 'nightmarish' use of the recurring serpent image in English literature. Barcy's vision of Christabel as a 'sweet bird', with a 'bright green snake' coiled round it, is one of the most suggestive and original touches in the poem as it vividly expresses the nature of the conflict in the poem. It is significant to note that the sound made by Christabel resembles the hissing of snake. It brings us close to the suggestion that the identity of Christabel is desired by Geraldine and that Christabel has unconsciously assumed something of the evil identity of the other. Coleridge here has drawn upon the legends of the 'Serpent Woman' and the conventional belief in the power of the vampire to change its victims into its own likeness and, above all, upon all the implications of the snake as a symbol of insidious and potent evil in religious and profane literature.

The connection of Lady Geraldine with the legends of the vampire and the lamia has been fully discussed by Prof. Nethercot in *The Road to Tryermaine*.<sup>19</sup> He wonders whether it was a mere coincidence that Southey introduced the vampire into Romantic literature in *Thalaba* at precisely the same time as Geraldine was materialising in *Christabel*. In *Christabel*, however, this legend makes its appearance, translated into purely psychological terms. Under the serpent stare of the sinister lady Geraldine Christabel succumbs to her compulsive power, assumes her nature and begins to hiss serpentwise herself:

. . . . all her features were resigned  
To this sole image in her mind  
And passively did imitate  
That look of dull and treacherous hate!  
And thus she stood in dizzy trance  
Still picturing that look a skance  
With forced unconscious sympathy.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> *Christabel*, Part II, LI, 126-28.

<sup>19</sup> Nethercot: *The Road to Tryermaine*, (Chicago, 1939), pp. 57-79.

<sup>20</sup> *Christabel*, Part II, LI, 608-609.

Apparently, the obsession here is so deep that she not merely sees the image, but feels herself becoming the image. Once earlier in the scene she 'drew in her breath with a hissing sound' (I. 459), and again 'in dizzy trance' she 'shuddered aloud with a hissing sound' (II. 589-91). This situation is presented more dramatically and intensely by Shakespeare in *Othello*, when Iago, the devil incarnate works upon the mind of the apparently calm and ingenuous hero to such an extent that the placid surface of his mind is churned up and the wild upsurge of the primitive brutality latent in him removes the barrier between the two and Othello is content to repeat the words and the suggestions of his evil genius.

Now, to return once more to the serpent-image. At least, there is one mythical serpent, the seps, which seems to share the vampire's power to compel an imitation of itself in its victim. This creature was evidently current in Coleridge's circle in the latter part of the year 1799, for Southey introduced it into a jocular ode addressed to the Cold in his head on December 19:

Or as the wretch who on his desert way  
Bit by the seps, dissolving lies,  
Hisses like melting snow on the hot sands, and dies.<sup>21</sup>

Professor Nethercot has collected in his book a great many passages from old medical works, observations of naturalists, and other sources, that have a decisive bearing upon the serpent passages in *Christabel*. They include, among other things, descriptions of birds caught by snakes and discussions of the snake's power to fascinate (p. 106). The point, in itself, may appear as insignificant, but it helps to correct Lowes' picture of Coleridge as perpetually buried in out-of-the-way, 'abstruse', and ancient tomes. Many of those he read, of course, in the original. But he must not have failed to read such current accounts as that of the *Monthly Magazine*<sup>22</sup> in 1798, of a *Journey from New York to Philadelphia and the Brandywine*, in which the author gave a detailed account of his inquiries about the famous rattle snake. The tale had grown up from the fact that birds trying to protect their nests were sometimes caught by snakes. Coleridge, therefore, lived much in the world of his contemporaries, and a phrase was as likely to creep into his writing from a recent poem or magazine as from *The Latin of Mizaldus* to which E. H. Coleridge thought the serpent-fascination of *Christabel* might have been indebted. We, thus, conclude that however solitary a flower the poem may seem, its roots lie deep in the contemporary literary scene as well as in old times.

In *Christabel*, the characters have a symbolic significance relevant to everyman's condition of the inner psychological tension. The human and the supernatural elements in the poem are blended more completely and more subtly than in *The Ancient Mariner*. With a little effort we can reconstruct almost the same story in which the incidents shall proceed in accordance with the accepted laws of the world; we can imagine an

<sup>21</sup> *Letters from the Lake Poets to Daniel Stuart.*

<sup>22</sup> "Journey from New York to Philadelphia and the Brandywine", *The Monthly Magazine*, VI. August 1798, p. 104.



innocent girl coming under the influence of a woman older than herself, of beautiful person and powerful intellect, but of depraved character. Even the description of the broken friendship between Sir Roland and Sir Leoline in the second part of the poem is clearly prompted by the poet's personal experience. This fine passage derives a good deal of its force from an estrangement that had come about between Coleridge and his friend, Lamb. Thus by merely lowering the key all the action of the poem might be transposed from the supernatural to the natural.\* Even the malign influence of Geraldine's look askance could readily be translated into its moral and psychological significance—the fascinating or rather hypnotic power of evil over a virginal soul, the mere knowledge of vice seeming to imply a horrible community with it. Likewise many of the ideas and phrases in *Christabel* are closely linked with those in the *Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth*. It is, thus, that we may interpret the moral and psychological truth on which Coleridge's story is founded. North once said and said rightly that when we read the poem, we are all the while in our own real and living world, and in the heart of its best and most delightful affections.

# ON SINGULAR PROPOSITIONS

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This paper aims at an exposition of a long-drawn logical controversy, persisting right from the days of Aristotle. Aristotle distinguished between singular and general propositions on the basis of a consideration of the nature of terms. Terms are either singular or general. Singular terms are those like Sankara or Asoka, which are appropriated to a single individual, that can not itself be predicated of anything else. General terms are those like man, table etc. which *could* apply to any of a number of individuals though, as a matter of fact, there may be only one answering to them. Propositions with singular terms as subjects, e.g., Akbar was a great conqueror, are called singular. However, Aristotle perhaps forgets that a non-general term need not be singular, for it may be empty like the term 'goat-stag', which he himself cites in another context. It seems that he did not take notice of empty terms in building up his logic.

Although it is going too far to say<sup>1</sup> that, without introducing singular terms, Aristotle applies his logic only to universals, yet there is sufficient ground for the view that singulars are not much discussed by him. As may be evident from the scattered references throughout his logical works Aristotle seems ambiguous on the distinction between singular and general propositions. In his *Prior Analytics*, he regarded it as one of his first tasks to explain the universal proposition in terms of the singular ones. Then he blurred this distinction by using the same term to signify both primary and secondary substances, and held that 'Socrates is a man' and 'Man is an animal', although different in nature, are in an important sense alike, since both subject-terms fall under the category of substance. In its last chapter, he gives examples of inferences, including a syllogism, using singular propositions, and in *De Interpretatione* he notes that the contradictory of a singular proposition is another singular proposition. In the *Categories* it is said that the relation between the individual thing and the species, to which it belongs, is the same as that between a species and a

<sup>1</sup> Lukasiewicz, J. *Aristotle's Syllogistic*, p. 130.

wider genus. On the other hand, he insists in *Prior Analytics* itself that singular terms, by contrast with general ones, can only be subjects never predicates, and that when they appear to be predicates as in 'A white man is Socrates', this is only a rhetorical version. It follows, therefore, that Aristotle laid down conflicting views regarding the nature of singular propositions, and when his followers interpret him according to their own whims, they are only taking advantage of their master's ambiguity.

The Schoolmen too are equally ambiguous. Though they used singular propositions in their most characteristic examples both of syllogism and induction, they had no special verses for such premises in their mnemonic schemes, and tended to classify singulars as a special variety of universals or particulars, generally as particulars. They often discussed the syllogism in the third figure with two singular premises, *e.g.*, Socrates is running, Socrates is a white thing, therefore, A white thing is running. The Peter of Spain thought that, for purposes of inference, singulars are to be treated as particulars. But this presented problems with the exposition of syllogism, for if singulars are particulars then, in the syllogism quoted above, there are two particular premises. Duns Scotus solved this problem by saying that 'Socrates is running' here means 'Everything that is Socrates is running', *i.e.*, every identical-of-Socrates is running, and so it is universal. Although Peter Ramus, a violent 16th century critic of Aristotle, has put particular and singular propositions together under the heading of 'special', insisting to put syllogism with singulars in a class apart, all other post-Renaissance thinkers usually class singulars as universals. John Wallis, for example, tried to show that singular terms must be treated as general ones, and the ground is that the subject of a singular proposition is necessarily taken in its whole extension. They freely substitute, therefore, singular terms for general ones in the predicate as well as the subject-position. However, there are some points, specially in their theory of supposition, at which they show themselves keenly aware of differences.

According to this theory, there is a distinction between what a term means—its *significance*, and what it stands for—its *supposition*. What it means is fixed by usage, but once this meaning has been assigned, what it stands for depends on context. It may be used to stand for itself as a word, as in 'Man is a noun'. When not so used, its supposition is common. So common supposition is reference to a definite individual. This is had by proper names

and demonstratives, and such words also mean the very thing they stand for. The whole point of their theory in short, is plainly the perception that the real subject of predication is almost always a concrete individual. Where it is not, as in 'Man is a species', the predicate is of a peculiar sort, a term of 'second intention', or of a 'higher type' as we may call it following Russell. And where the subject-term does not actually *mean* a concrete individual, then what it means is not the subject to which the predicate is really attached; it is used, strictly speaking, not as a subject but rather as an indication of where the real subjects are to be found. Following a modern writer,<sup>1</sup> we might say that it serves to 'locate' what the predicate describes.

Even Leibniz, the father of modern logic, defended the view that singular statements may be classed as universals for purposes of syllogistic theory. He does not see any fundamental difference between universal and singular propositions, and this conclusion is implied in his oft-repeated assertion that whether universal or singular, necessary or contingent, every true affirmative proposition ascribes, to the thing denoted by its subject-term, an attribute which really inheres in that thing. Even Aristotle would have accepted this position, for his account of general propositions is based on a notion of predication derived from consideration of singular propositions. This subject-predicate way of thinking has led logicians to think of general propositions in a way appropriate only to singular propositions. In particular, they have assumed that the subject-term of a universal proposition must refer to something, and so have accepted without question the doctrine of existential import. Leibniz sometimes followed this line of thought, but the peculiarity of his thinking is due, in large part, to the fact that he also fell into the opposite mistake of trying to treat propositions about individuals as though they were like the laws we express by universal propositions. He not only thinks of the sense in which 'wisdom' may be said to inhere in 'Socrates', but also of the sense in which 'animality' may be said to inhere in 'humanity'.

It was only in the 19th century that J. S. Mill clearly stated that general terms, or 'general names' as he prefers to designate, are connotative. A connotative term is one which denotes a subject and implies an attribute. The word 'white' denotes all white

<sup>1</sup> *The Australasian Journal of Philosophy*, 30, (1952), p. 2.

things and implies, or connotes, the attribute whiteness. Hence, all concrete general names are connotative. What Mill means is that general terms refer to individuals, but not to them as this or that individual, but as the possessors of certain attributes. Conversely, singular terms, in particular proper names, do refer to individuals as this or that individual and not as those of whom certain things are true. These distinctions equally apply to propositions. He begins with propositions having proper names as subject, and says that what is asserted here is that the individual thing denoted by the subject, has the attribute connoted by the predicate. And something of the same sort is true upto a point, of propositions in which the subject is general. Here too the proposition asserts that the object denoted by the subject possesses the attribute connoted by the predicate. But in this case the objects are no longer *individually* designated. They are pointed out only by some of their attributes. In 'All men are mortal', therefore, what is asserted is not that the attributes, which the predicate, connotes, are possessed by any given individual, but that these attributes are possessed by each and every individual possessing certain other attributes. This distinction of Mill was revived by Frege, Russell and others. Mill laid down, thus, the origin of the modern view: that direct predication occurs only in singulars, and that universal categoricals are, in fact, 'formal implications' of one essentially predicative term by another.

But recently there have been two groups of logicians who hold quite opposite views, so far as regards the existential import of singulars. Those who hold the view that singular propositions do have existential import, think that general propositions assert with regard to properties that they do or do not have instances which are true, while singular propositions are instances of these properties. Now properties are divisible into those which involve at least one individual as a constituent, and are thus existentially dependent upon one or more individuals; and those properties which do not involve individuals as constituents, and are thus existentially independent of individuals. Following Moore, these may be called *relational* and *non-relational* properties, respectively. It is held, therefore, that singular propositions are instances of relational properties and thus they imply existence. They further maintain<sup>1</sup> that the nature of any singular proposition is such that there is no proposition properly contradictory to it, and obviously if both the affirmation

<sup>1</sup> *Mind* 37, (1928), p. 74.

and denial of a proposition entail existence, proper contradictories do not arise.

The other group thinks that there are singular propositions without existential import. To them "a singular term always purports to name an object but is powerless to guarantee that alleged object be forthcoming".<sup>2</sup> Now whether a word purports to name one and only one object, is a question of language and is not contingent on the facts of existence. It is surely a commonplace that some singular terms may, though purporting to name, flatly fail to name anything at all. Our mythological 'Indra' and 'O' are examples of it. In contrast to number 5 and Sankara, there is no such thing as Indra and O. The meaning of the particular word 'Indra' merely happens to be such that if the word did name an object, that object would be a physical object in space and time. But the word 'Indra' remains meaningful despite its non-naming. Most words like 'and', 'or' etc. are quite meaningful without even purporting to be names at all. It follows, therefore, that significance or meaningfulness of a word is in no way contingent upon its naming anything, and even if a word does name an object and is meaningful, there is no necessity of both being combined. The mistaken view that the word 'Indra' must name something in order to mean anything, turns on the confusion of naming with meaning. Talking sense, consequently, does not always necessitate there being things talked about.

However, apart from the question of existential import, the distinction, over which neither Aristotle nor the Schoolmen were clear, is obviously radical in the modern functional calculus. The two kinds of terms are represented by two quite different kinds of variables. Singular terms, those which at least directly name their objects, are represented by the name-variables  $x, y, z$ , etc. while the nearest thing to a general term-variable is the predicate-variable  $\Phi$  or  $\psi$  etc. Singular propositions like 'Socrates is-a-man' and 'Socrates is-not-a-man' are represented by the forms  $\Phi x$  and  $\neg \Phi x$ , while a general proposition such as 'Every man is an animal' is represented by the form  $(x) (\Phi x \supset \psi x)$ , where the relation between the predicate  $\psi$  and subject  $\Phi$  is quite different from, and more complicated than, that between  $\Phi$  and  $x$  in  $\Phi x$ . Hence, general terms always function as parts of predicates. On the other hand, singular terms are always subjects never predicates. Even where

<sup>2</sup> Quine, W.V.O.: *Methods of Logic*, p. 167.

they appear to be predicates, as in 'Everest is Gaurishankar', what is really predicated is not the singular term but a general term constructed by means of the singular term and the relation of identity. 'Everest is Gaurishankar ; therefore, means that 'Everest is-an-identical-of-Gaurishankar' and so is of the same form as 'Socrates is-a-man'. More accurately, it is a proposition with two subjects, and the predicate is the verb '-is-identical-with'-.

# REGIONALISM : ITS FACTORS AND PRINCIPLES

BAIDYANATH KAR, M.A.

Despite the fact that the term *region* is current in international political correspondence, the exact area of region remains vague. By drawing some imaginary lines on the globe we call a particular portion of it as a region, *e.g.*, the Middle East, the Far East, South East Asia and so on. Many think that geographical contiguity of the areas is an essential factor for constituting a region proper. Others lay much importance upon the integrating factors like the influence of religion, culture, social values and historical tradition among the members of the region. In *Encyclopedia Britannica*<sup>1</sup> it is stated: "A region must not only have a geographic frame work, it must also possess sufficient cohesion among its occupants and homogeneity in conditions to allow it to deal with common concerns and to differentiate itself from other regions." Even the absence of above factors does not preclude the formation of regional arrangements like N.A.T.O., S.E.A.T.O. and ANZUS aimed at military defence against Communist aggression. Here the primary object is security, but in the case of BENELUX, OEEC and E.C.S.C. the supreme interest for integration is economic, *i.e.*, development of industries and trade through greater mutual co-operation.

The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals form the basis of the chapter on Regional Arrangements in the U.N. Charter. Hambro & Goodrich<sup>2</sup> tell us that the amendment proposed by the Egyptian delegation aimed at making geographical contiguity and certain other common interests as cardinal principles of such regional arrangements, but that was rejected by Committee III/4 on the ground 'that it probably failed to cover all situations which might be covered by regional arrangements'. The Dunkirk Treaty between France and the United Kingdom or the ANZUS Treaty between Australia, New Zealand and the United States, is lacking in the aforesaid requirements and as such excluded from the scope of Egyptian amendment. Despite the absence of these cohesive factors these pacts are included in regional arrangements due to the 'community of interest' prevailing among the member-states. A note of warning is struck by Norman Hill<sup>3</sup> and E. N. Vankleffens<sup>4</sup> with respect to treaties constituting regional arrangements based on force or coercion of some member-states by others. Such treaties are not voluntary and therefore cannot rightly be regarded as constituting true regional arrangements.

<sup>1</sup> *Encyclopedia Britannica*, article on 'Regionalism', Vol. 19, pp. 73-74. Ed. 1963 (G).

<sup>2</sup> Hambro & Goodrich, *Charter of the United Nations: Commentary & Documents*. (Second Edition), 1949, p. 310.

<sup>3</sup> Norman Hill, *International Organisation* (Ed. 1962), p. 109.

<sup>4</sup> E. N. Vankleffens, 'Regionalism and Political Facts' in *American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 40, p. 667.



The U.N. Charter recognises regional arrangements under Chapter VII and it permits the formation of regional alliances subject to certain conditions. Article 53 of the U.N. Charter stipulates that "no enforcement action shall be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorisation of the Security Council with the exception of measures against any enemy state" in pursuance of Article 107 of the Charter. In fact, bi-polarity in power-politics, cold war and frequent use of veto, were not then thought of in the genial atmosphere of Great Powers unanimity and friendliness. In the League era also we witnessed the functioning of the Inter-American system and the British Commonwealth under different sets of circumstances; but the exact authority of the League upon these organisations was difficult to define.

The much-debated claim of the North Atlantic Treaty as a regional arrangement for collective security is criticised on the ground that nowhere in the treaty there is reference to Articles 52, 53 and 54 of the Charter. Rather, Article 51 which stipulates "the right of individual or collective self-defence" is the basis of the treaty, and Gerhard Bebr<sup>5</sup> clearly opines that "the (North Atlantic) Treaty is not a regional arrangement under Chapter VII of the Charter". The ANZUS or SEATO falls within this category and this marks a significant deviation from the principle contemplated in Chapter VII of the Charter. Sir Eric Beckett<sup>6</sup> and Mr. Gromyko,<sup>7</sup> though in different ways, reach the same conclusion that the Atlantic Pact is not strictly a regional arrangement. But Prof. Kelsen<sup>8</sup> while admitting that "the Charter allows contradictory interpretations", believes that the North Atlantic Treaty is a regional arrangement under the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter. In the absence of any definition of regional arrangement in the U.N. Charter the whole issue, opines Kelsen<sup>9</sup>, is dependent on the interpretation of Article 52.

Since the conclusion of N.A.T.O. a considerable number of regional organisations has sprung up in Europe. Pan-Europe movement supplied the impetus for the formation of such powerful organisations, e.g., European Defence Community, European Coal and Steel Community, European Atomic Energy Commission and so on, in successive steps. Geographical contiguity, common civilization, social values and political ideals hastened this process of integration.

Great Britain's association with Europe is historical and her presence in the European scene is as indispensable as is role of the Prince of Denmark in Hamlet. But she is neither a member of the European Defence Community nor of the ERATOM. She joined the European Coal and Steel Community after 1954, i.e., 3 years after its formation only as an associate member. The United States has made strenuous efforts for greater integration of the 'Atlantic Community' but she had been deli-

<sup>5</sup> Gerhard Bebr, 'Regional Organisation: A United Nations Problem', *American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 49 (1955), p. 166.

<sup>6</sup> Sir W. Eric Beckett, *The North Atlantic Treaty, the Brussels Treaty and the Charter of the U.N.* (Ed. 1950), p. 34.

<sup>7</sup> 'North Atlantic Treaty', *United Nations Bulletin*, Vol. 6, No. 9 (1949) for Mr. Gromyko's speech.

<sup>8</sup> Kelsen, 'Is N.A.T.O. a Regional Arrangement?' *American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 45 (1951), (Ed. 1951).

<sup>9</sup> Kelsen, *Recent Trends in the Law of the United Nations* (Ed. 1951), p. 919.

berately kept out of these organisations even though she financed the European Recovery Programme and promised to defend western Europe through the N.A.T.O. Europe itself is divided into sub-regions, *vis.*, the Baltic, the Scandinavian the Mediterranean and so on, but in spite of these sub-regional difference they have a common determination to prevent a Super-Power from exerting any preponderant influence.

Perhaps no state is prepared to sacrifice its sovereignty at the feet of a great power even for the sake of security; and this is more so in Europe. The small and unequal states are always apprehensive that this identity and independence may be threatened by Great Powers under the cover of so-called Doctrines. The French Minister Schuman's attempt in this respect to nourish the economic independence of Western Europe by creating the European Coal and Steel Community is a remarkable event. Integration among the member States has been achieved on a high level without U.S. help or participation. The Community's organs *e.g.* the High Authority and the Council are vested with powers like those of a supra-national body. They can exercise long-range powers upon member States in the economic field, having far-reaching political consequences involving voluntary infringement of national sovereignty.

A sense of isolation and hence an independent desire of co-operation in certain fields favour the formation of regional arrangements or agencies. The States may feel that as members of the world organisation their special political, military or economic interests will not be fully served by the agencies of that organisation and for that reason those of them who are situated in a particular area may integrate or unite to achieve certain common ends. George Keeton and George Schwarzenberger<sup>10</sup> hold that "regional affinities should be utilised to accomplish tasks for which there is yet no basis at a more universal level". But we cannot accept their argument "that a regional alliance was essential to compensate for the U.N.'s weakness". The idea that regional alliance will provide greater security has proved illusory against such overwhelming factors as the development of atomic weapons. Vincent Massey<sup>11</sup> discards the idea of even 'hemispheric defence' and holds that guaranteed security through 'continental isolation' has become a myth in the atomic age.

Within Europe many sub-regional agencies or organisations are working with greater efficiency than all-European ones. Mention may be made of BENELUX, European Coal and Steel Community and EURATOM. The degree of integration generally becomes greater to a smaller area. The aforesaid organisations have demonstrated greater unity and integration than the Organisation of European Economic Co-operation or the General Agreement of Trade and Traffic and the European Common Market. Some duplication work has been evident in the European organisations, such as; Economic Council of the NATO and the European Coal and Steel Community or in the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation and the E.C.S.C. This has drawn the attention of the European statesmen and recently they have decided to

<sup>10</sup> George Keeton and George Schwarzenberger (No. 27), *Organising for Peace* (Ed. 1954), pp. 826-27.

<sup>11</sup> Vincent Massey, *Foreign Affairs* (1948), *Canada and the Inter-American System*;

amalgamate the activities of the European Coal and Steel Community and the European Economic Organisation. The amalgamation is beneficial not only economically but also for eliminating possible conflicts. But conflict cannot be wholly eliminated as there is scope for it when action is required to be taken against an ex-enemy state under Article 107 of the Charter. Germany is an "enemy State", but West Germany is a member of the N.A.T.O. A situation or dispute may arise where an action involving the use of armed force may have to be taken against West Germany under Article 107 of the Charter. The Security Council itself will then employ the U.N. forces, if available; or it may authorise the members of the N.A.T.O. who are also U.N. members to employ their forces against West Germany in order to enforce peace. We here assume that the Security Council action is not blocked by veto. It is a matter of great doubt whether in either of the aforesaid cases the members of N.A.T.O. will take military action against their partner, W. Germany. Moreover, West Germany is now a free and sovereign state and has right to enter into North Atlantic alliance for collective security. As a member of N.A.T.O. she can invoke the right of mutual self-defence from her N.A.T.O. partners. Prof. Kelsen<sup>12</sup> holds that the decision of the world organisation, the U.N., remains of superior legal value even if N.A.T.O. partners decide not to follow the U.N. course of action. In that case, either the N.A.T.O. partners will remain inactive to see West Germany coerced to accept peace, or come to the aid of W. Germany as duty bound by being members of Article 51-based N.A.T.O. Either of the situations is inconceivable as a result of the eventual breakdown of the collective security machinery.

The framers of the Charter were not prepared for such an event and they excluded the possibility of forming regional arrangements with ex-enemy states as members. Rather, it was sought that the regional arrangements would be directed against them.

Rarer are now the possibilities of a 'European Union' comprising the whole of Europe than ever before. Inclusion of Russia in the European Union has been objected to, but not on valid grounds. Robert Huges and Steffan Possony<sup>13</sup> hold that "a United Europe which has no place for Germany is a contradiction in terms". The division of Europe<sup>14</sup> into Western and Russian blocks is, on the other hand, regarded as clear-cut and not only based on ideologies but also reinforced by rival military pacts. The supporters of the European unity hold that Europe has an independent and unique tradition of her own and she cannot be subjugated or bullied by either of the two Super-Powers—Russia or the United States.

Lack of unanimity among the N.A.T.O. Powers is no longer a secret affair. Great Britain's recognition of Red China, France's refusal to sign the Test Ban Treaty are some of the evidences of such discord. In a

<sup>12</sup> Kelsen, *Laws of the United Nations*, (Ed. 1951), p. 828. (Prof. Kelsen analyses the issue from a monistic and legal standpoint, his analysis is still unsurpassed, but practical politics does not always conform to his line of reasoning.)

<sup>13</sup> Robert Huges and Steffan Possony, *International Relations* (Ed. 1960), p. 886.

<sup>14</sup> The division of Germany and its unification problem are great scores on post-war Great Power relations.

Press Conference President De Gaulle<sup>15</sup> remarked that "the division of the world into two Camps led by Washington and Moscow" was no longer a fact and "the reasons for subordination to America are disappearing". France's recognition of Red China and her policy of settling the Vietnam problem by a process of neutralisation are in direct opposition to the aims and purposes of the U.S. foreign policy. Both the U.S. and France are members of N.A.T.O. and S.E.A.T.O. but the fundamental difference in their foreign policies is now obvious.

American regionalism evolved out of a novel set of circumstances in the first quarter of the 19th century. Cohesive factors like the Monroe Doctrine and its recognition by the Great Powers, geographical contiguity among the constituent States, hemispheric isolation, socio-economic backwardness, lack of security in the newly-born Latin American republics, and willingness of America to defend the hemisphere against foreign intervention or aggression, hastened the process of integration. The Pan-American movement was gradually consolidated through several conferences, and the Inter-American defence system was interlocked in the Rio Treaty of 1947. Other ancillary organisations like the Pan-American Health Organisation and the Inter-American Development Bank and Inter-American Fund for Social Progress engineered by the United States, sought co-operation from the South American States. But things did not move along the anticipated course and signs of dissension have begun to appear. The trouble came not from outside intervention but from internal discord. The success of the O.A.S. largely depends upon adherence to a common policy as pledged by its members. After Cuba's severing of relations with the O.A.S. and following a pro-Russian policy, Pan-Americanism has to pass through a great test. According to William Manger<sup>16</sup> America should infuse in the minds of her Pan-American partners a sense of oneness and a feeling of security from excessive interference so that the present crisis may be averted.

From another point of view the internal trouble in Latin America has been depicted by Charles O. Porter and Robert J. Alexander.<sup>17</sup> The lack of stability according to them is due to the fact that the freedom-loving peoples in the Latin American Republics, say, Cuba, Paraguay, Haiti etc., are in a continuous process of establishing democratic regimes even at the cost of their blood and lives. It is not good diplomacy that the U.S. who makes herself busy in upholding democracy elsewhere is not keen to safeguard and foster it in the neighbouring States. On the contrary, she made desperate attempts to keep in power some of the "terrible dictators". Commenting on Batista's policy of bloody persecution in Cuba, Porter and Alexander<sup>18</sup> say, "Ten thousands of people were submitted to vile tortures and it is estimated that over twenty thousand civilians were killed in cold blood by the army and the police."

It was no small affair to escape the notice of the U.S.A. Political instability in those countries was heightened by economic insecurity. The

<sup>15</sup> Reported in *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 24th July, 1964.

<sup>16</sup> William Manger, *Pan-America in Crisis* (Ed. 1961), pp. 95-96.

<sup>17</sup> Charles O. Porter and Robert J. Alexander, *The Struggle for Democracy in Latin America* (Ed. 1961).

<sup>18</sup> Porter and Alexander cited in (17), p. 132.

affairs of Bolivia, Mexico and Haiti reveal deep economic stagnation. The excuse of the U.S.A. for her sight-seeing attitude was that she could not interfere with the internal affairs of other States. But this is hardly tenable and runs counter to her declared policy of making the world "safe for democracy". The U. S. spent millions of dollars to develop military and economic potentialities of the N.A.T.O. members to resist Soviet military and economic threat. While she took absorbing interest in other parts of the world, she did not pay due attention to the Latin American problem. Economic assistance offered by her was also meagre, and the whole problem of security rested on her shoulder alone.

Recent development in African regionalism show that its promoters are not unanimous as to the degree of integration to be achieved. The Charter of the Organisation of African Unity was drawn up in 1963 with a view to integrating thirty-four members. Discussions in the Cairo Summit Conference in 1964 on the nature and purpose of the Organisation moved along two different lines. One school headed by Dr. Nkruma favoured the "extreme view of unification"—a "real political union". The Ghanaian President's urge for swift integration on the model of American or Russian federalism is perhaps "misconceived" and "emotional".<sup>19</sup> The other view of a "step by step approach" is held by President Nasser. According to G. H. Jansen,<sup>20</sup> this approach is "totally antithetical" to the Ghanaian approach. Perhaps the bitter experience of over-hasty attempts of Arab unity has made Nasser to take a cautious view.

Some notable advocates of regionalism like President Truman and the U.S. Secy. of State Stettinius while recognising that world peace is indivisible, expressed the view that regional alliances should be formed and strengthened for the cause of maintaining international peace within the framework of the U.N. They are largely responsible for the development of the N.A.T.O. which according to them is a full-fledged regional organisation. The basis of N.A.T.O. as we have noted earlier, is Article 51 of the U.N. Charter. Such regional arrangements are to be distinguished from those based on Chapter VII of the Charter. Prof. Kelsen<sup>21</sup> opines that Article 51 assumes "a reasonably broad approach to the question of self-defence". Secretary of State Acheson<sup>22</sup> reaffirmed that Article 53 has no operation in the functioning of N.A.T.O. In the opinion of Sir Alexander Cadogan<sup>23</sup> the deadlock in the Security Council as a result of the veto is no longer a problem as that may be by-passed by actions taken under Article 51. But as a Gerhard Bebr<sup>24</sup> has pointed out that "prior to uniting for Peace Resolution a regional organisation, could, in case of the Security Council's failure to act, exercise its right of self-defence indefinitely . . .". Whether the Recommendations of the G. A. are technically binding on

<sup>19</sup> Dr. Parimal Roy, 'African Unity—How?' *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 16th June, 1964.

<sup>20</sup> G. H. Jansen, 'Cairo Summit Conference' *Statesman*, July 24, 1964.

<sup>21</sup> Kelsen, 'Collective Security', *American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 42.

<sup>22</sup> Statement of Acheson on April 27, 1949, at the hearings of the North Atlantic Treaty before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

<sup>23</sup> His statement reported in Security Council—2nd yr. Official Records (1947), p. 995.

<sup>24</sup> Bebr cited in (8).

Members is a highly debatable issue but their power to initiate U.N. control in some form over the regional organisations is beyond any doubt.

The idea that regionalism may supersede and replace the United Nations is not without its supporters. But the latter fail to realise that regionalism can not be self-sufficient. Experience has shown that due to greater interdependence in modern world, it cannot be independent of a global organisation. Quincy Wright<sup>25</sup> rightly asserts that the United Nations principle of universality could be further developed to achieve its purposes. No real stability in the slippery international field can be attained except by conscious and responsible efforts directed to the subordination of the Regional to the Universal organisation.

<sup>25</sup> Quincy Wright, *International Law the U.N.* (Ed. 1960), p. 115.

# THE STATE AND CULTURE OF BENGAL DURING THE MIDDLE AGES (FROM 12TH TO 16TH CENTURY)

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Any state and its culture in their real sense mean only an event or a condition and its qualitative aspect. Events are always momentary, yet its momentary activity gives it a life which through its extinction leaves behind an impression that continues. Thus every event or condition has its three stages—birth, its activity or expression, and extinction or death. In the words of Rabīndra-nāth:

“Janma sei—ek nimishei—antahīn dān,  
Janma se ye grihamājhe grihīre āhvān.  
... ..  
... Mṛityu se ye pathikere dāk.”

(The Birth is that endless gift in a moment, It is Call to the Dweller to the House. . . . Death—it is a Call to the Traveller of the Path). The expression of any event—that endless gift—the middle or prominent state of any action, is of importance that connects the two other stages.

In the same way, as a man grows up through his three stages of development—animality, rationality and divinity, so a State is founded on primitive or village culture, civilized or town culture and spiritual or world culture. And by a State we generally take its second or middle stage—the town culture—that gives us the conception of Nation. In other words, this Culture or *sabhya-tā*, the distinctive quality of a citizen, is of three kinds—individualistic, monarchical and prophetic. The individual thinks of his self and his family, the monarch of his subjects, and the prophet of the whole world: the one seeks of his selfish ends, the other to the mutual benefits of one another, and the third only thinks of others with a self-less motive. The real culture of a State is spiritual where everyone should only think of others' well-being and there lies also his welfare. This welfare-State or *Rāmrajya* of Mahātmā Gāndhi is the ideal State that can lead a man and his state to world-prosperity and satisfaction of one and every being. When one will realize this State—the universality of a being, though he is

an event or a condition, entangled by space and time, he lives as world-citizen, and though he may be outwardly dead, he is in the hearts of all generations after generations. Though *Bharata* is dead, his *Bhārata-kathā* (or the stories of the actions of *Bharata*) will ever be remembered as long as India is existing.

Again, though a life has been described with its three stages, it is really ever continuous like a river. In the same way, though History divides time into three periods—ancient, middle and modern, in its true sense no such distinction should be made. As time is eternal, it is ever continuous; and for this the philosophers of history claim that the *history* is a *story of continuity* and hence, it is ever contemporary. So even the Vaishnavas say that the playful mirth of *Rādhā-Krishṇa* is not an old story, it is ever present to the real devotees of God. Yet for convenience we distinguish one State from another, and a period from another period. Accordingly, while we are going to discuss our subject, we cannot draw a line of demarcation to describe only of the affairs of Bengal and its middle ages. As the affairs of Bengal are connected with those of India, so are they connected with other States outside India. Likewise, the middle age is a very confusing term, and only for our advantage's sake we are limiting it from the 12th to the 16th century.

The Palas ruled Bengal from the last quarter of the 8th century to the beginning of the 12th, adopting Buddhism as their State religion. The last famous king of the Pala dynasty was Rampal (1079-1120). And Sandhyākar Nandi, his able biographer, has supplied us an elaborate description of the State and culture of the period. But it is to be noted that his Poem, *i.e.*, *Rāmacharita*, has its double meaning—in its ordinary sense it is the history of the Pala dynasty, specially of Rampal, and inwardly the story of Rāma, the one ideal ruler of the Hindus. The Pala empire gradually lost its power during the days of the successors of Rampal—Kumarpal, Gopal and Madanpal (1120-1155).

After the Palas, the Sena dynasty, originated from Karnāṭa in the Deccan, ruled Bengal for about two centuries. Vijaysen (1095-1158) was probably its first ruler. It appears that he also helped, like other rulers, Rampal in fighting jointly against the Varendra king Bhima, who was defeated in the second attack and killed heinously. The first capital of the Senas was probably somewhere at Rārh. After conquering 'Vanga', Vijaysen founded his new



capital at Vikrampur. During his rulership the people of Bengal for a time again were able to live their days happily and in safety.

The next emperor Ballāsen spread his empire over Vanga, Varendra, Rār̥h, Bagdī (or Bhyāghrātāṭi, situated at the Sundarbanas in South Bengal) and even Mithila. Like his father he was a great warrior. He was also famous as a great scholar; and we find references of two books—*Dānśāgara* and *Adbhutasāgara*—written by him.

Lakshmansen succeeded his father in 1179. Though he showed his power and valour in the early life, his later life passed in great disturbances and his restlessness of mind. His dependent Dommanpal declared himself at Khārī near Sundarbanas an independent king in 1196. During those days also the kings of the Deva dynasty declared themselves independent from a distant corner of Chittagong. A period afterwards in 1202 Muḥammad Bakhtiyār Khaljī with his 18 horsemen in disguise suddenly attacked Lakshmansen at his new capital at Navadvīp. Having fled away from there the Hindu king established his new capital at Lakshmanavati in East Bengal and there he ruled for three to four years.

Lakshmansen has been called a *Parama Vaishnava* (great Vaishnavite), though his predecessors as kings were called "*Parama Māheśwara*" (great Shaivites, or followers of Shiva or Maheśwara). Lakshmansen himself was a great scholar and a patron of learning. The great famous scholar Halāyudha was his chief minister. It is said that he completed the book *Adbhutasāgara* on astrology, left unfinished by Ballāsen. The court-poets of Lakshmansen consisted of Dhoyi, Umāpati-dhar, Sharaṇ, Govarddhan and Jaydev of whom the last became most celebrated by writing his *Gītāgovinda*. In short, the Sena rule has been called the golden period of Sanskrit Studies in Bengal.

It is described in the *Tabaqātī-Nāsiri* that the descendents of Lakshmansen ruled upto 1260. But no historical evidence of them is available. The two sons of Lakshmana Sena—Vishwarūp and Keshava—ruled, as it appears, upto 1230, and they were found to be "worshippers of the Sun". We also find one Madhusen as a king, who was a patron of Buddha-religion, and he ruled at Vikrampur from 1272 to 1289. Who knows whether he was a descendent of the Sena dynasty?

During the last days of the Sena empire, the Deva dynasty ruled for some years in Bengal as independent kings. No detailed history

of them is available. It is said that Dāmodardeva ruled Bengal from 1231 to 1243. During the rule of his son, Daśaratha, under the title of *Danuja-mādhava*, and with his capital at Sonargaon, the Sena power became his subordinate.

After conquering Navadvip, Bakhtiyār soon established his capital at Devakot near Dinajpur under the suzerainty of Malik Qutb-ud-din Aibak. He then turned his attention to Muslim culture like all other Muslim rulers at the risk of Hindu faith and culture. He was soon killed by his assistant 'Alī Mardān, and there reigned a rule of chaos and disorder for sometime; but soon Husāmudnīn sat on the throne of Bengal for the second time and declared himself an independent king under the title of Ghiyāsuddīn 'Iwāj (1213-1227). Though not quite educated, Ghiyāsuddīn was a patron of learning. He was also interested in the progress of Muslim culture. It was during his rule that the devastations of the famous Chāngīz Khān were made in Persia and in other Muslim States at the result of which Turks and Mongols were coming down in numbers to India. And the ruler of Bengal also like other Sultāns of India did never neglect to give facilities to his fellow-brethren.

In the next period of more than half a century under the Mamlūk rulers there was no question of the spread of Muslim domination, and it was even sometimes difficult for them to continue on their rule in Bengal. At this time the different small Hindu States with their limited powers endeavoured to restrain the Muslim suzerainty. The Sena kings were always busy with the rigour of *Kaulīya*-ism, but their power was at a loss. The Kayastha king Daśaratha of Deva dynasty was ruling at that time in the South and East Bengal with his great power and vigour. Originated from Mongolian tribes, Kach, Mech, Tharu and others of Kanrup, after their being newly admitted to Hinduism (through Buddhism), declared themselves Kshatriyas (most of whom were famous as *Bāra-bhūniyās*) and were never tired of fighting against Muslim domination. Even those Burmese Shan invaders who became the founder of the Ahom (Assam) empire and were included in the religion of Buddhism, against which Brāhmaṇya religion was so much antagonistic, fought against the Muslims. But the subordinate rulers of Jaipur under Gāngo-empire of Orissa were probably the greatest rivals of the Mamlūk kings.

Of the Mamlūk rulers mention may be made of Tughral who was at first a *de facto* ruler of the province under Sultan Balban.

But he soon declared himself independent under the title of Mughisuddin ; and was able to win over the hearts of the public as well as the officials with his cleverness and skilfulness. He even spent profusely for provision and satisfaction of the *Darvishes* and *Auliya's*. But he was soon defeated in his third attempt by Ghiyasuddin Balban, the emperor of Delhi.

The rule of administration by the House of Balban in Bengal continued for about 42 years (1286-1328). During this period Muslim domination was not only spread, but its culture also dominated with prosperity and grandeur. Apparently the unruly, blood-thirsty Muslim soldiers, finding no scope for conquest outside Bengal, concentrated their attention in subduing the small Hindu principalities, which were still then holding their own against Muslim domination. And it is said that with Muslim officials, and particularly the unruly spirits of the House of Balban, who found a more congenial home in Bengal than in Delhi, there gathered round from different parts of India and outside, the Sufis, darvishes and auliyas. These Muslim saints easily conquered the hearts of the local people, and this spiritual influence was really of considerable effect.

After the fall of the House of Balban in Bengal, condition of the State passed in restless situations till the rise of the Iliyās Shāhī power. It was during this time that the Spanish traveller Ibn Battuta while travelling throughout the Muslim countries also landed to Bengal, and from his accounts we know much about the economic and social conditions of the time. Shamsuddin Iliyas ruled Bengal independently from 1342 to 1357. During his time the whole of Northern India was in turmoil and disorder for the oppression and whimsical nature of the Delhi Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq. Finding this opportunity, he proceeded as far as Banaras after defeating the Hindu rulers, who in the mean time declaring them independent were only fighting among themselves for their selfish intrigues. He even conquered the Hindu State of Kamrup which could not be conquered till then by the Muslim rulers. Being encouraged at this he was attempting to attack Delhi, but in the mean time the next emperor Firuz Shah led an expedition against the turbulent rebel and after defeating Iliyas, brought under control all the dependencies that were conquered by him. Coming to friendly terms Iliyas ruled the next few years independently in Bengal.

As Ilyas was a patron of Muslim culture, so his son and successor Sikandar Shah (1357-89) whose rule was comparatively peaceful, spent the greater part of his administration for the progress of Muslim culture. The great Mosque of Adina near Pandua—a pride of Muslim architecture—was built by this king; and during his time many other shrines, mosques and *dargāhs* were built in different parts of Bengal mainly on the ruins of Hindu and Buddhist temples from which it may be conjectured that the influence of the Muslim saints and *auliyās* was predominating and their religion of Sufism was actively progressing throughout Bengal.

The last years of Sikandar Shah were passed in dismay owing to the plots and intrigues among his sons; and at last the rebellious Ghiyasuddin Azam Shah succeeded on the throne. It is said that Ghiyasuddin (1389-409) was just, and yet of liberal attitude; the story of Sultan and the trial of Qazi (*sultān o Kājir bichār*, as current in Bengali) is referred to this Sultan. As he was a poet, so he was also a great patron of arts and literature. There is reference of this king corresponding with the great Persian poet Hafiz on study of Poetry; and it is said that he even invited the poet to visit his court, which though at the last moment could not be obliged for some unavoidable reasons. The sultan had also cordial relations with Muslim saints. Nur Qutbul-Alam, son of the famous Sufi Ala ul-Haq, was one of his intimates, who used to preach religious doctrines from his shrine at Pandua under royal patronage. He was also in cordial relations with emperors of distant lands; and it is said that as an effect to this Yunglo, the contemporary emperor of China, sent an embassy to his court. And Mahnan, the interpreter attached to the Chinese embassy, has left us an interesting account of Bengali habits and also of our cultural, artistic performances.

Saifuddin Hamza Shah under the title of Sultanus-Salatin succeeded his father Ghiyasuddin, but he was soon removed by the hidden intrigues of Raja Ganesh, who was then in a sense the 'King-maker', and replaced by his son and grandson Shihabuddin Bayazid Shah and Alauddin Firuz Shah, who ruled till 1413.

Raja Kans or Ganesh, an influential Brahmin zamindar of Dinajpur, was the able adviser of Sultan Ghiyasuddin. After Ghiyasuddin's death we may presume that he had in his mind to re-establish the Hindu empire in Bengal, but he had not the courage to do so in such a Muslim domination all over India. Now, finding the opportunity, he declared himself an independent king after kill-

ing Alauddin Firuz Shah. But the Muslims united together to invite Ibrahim Shah Sharqi of Jaunpur for attacking Bengal. Being defeated to Sharqi it was compromised that Kans's son Jadu after embracing the religion of Islam should ascend the throne under the title of Jalaluddin. Jalaluddin (1418-31) was a patron of letters of both the Hindus and the Muslims. As he has been compared to *Naushirwān* by a Muslim historian, so he was found to patronise a Brahman who became his court-*paṇḍita* and wrote commentaries on many Sanskrit works. And during this period the Bengali *Rāmāyana* of Krittivās was written under royal patronage. His son Shamsuddin Ahmad has been characterised differently by different historians. And he was found to be abruptly assassinated by a slave of him after three to four years' rule. After a short period of chaos and disorder the nobles united together to install in his place a descendent of Iliyas, Nasiruddin Mahmud.

The later Iliyas Shahi kings ruled Bengal for about 50 years. Nasiruddin's administration was comparatively peaceful. His son Ruknuddin Barbak (1459-74) extended his domination by defeating the Raja Jagapati of Orissa. He had much interest for the advancement of Vernaculars; and it was during his time Mālādhār Basu received the title of *Guṇarāj-khān* as royal appreciation for his book *Srī Krishna Bijay*. His son Shamsuddin Yu-uf (1474-87) was also just, liberal and a patron of learning like his father; and he patronised those *Habsis* by offering them coveted posts - the Habsi-slaves who were imported and offered services in the military department by his father. But the generosity and liberality shown to the Habsis was found to be ill-retained, when we find that Yusuf's successor Jalaluddin Fath (1481-87) was murdered by the eunuchs of the palace, the *Khwajasera* Sultan Shahzada. The next few years of Habsi rule (1487-93) are enshrouded in darkness. Yet whatever records we find of them, it appears that there was turmoil and disorder in the country, and no ruler was in peace of mind for he was always in fear to be killed by his next usurper.

After a dark period of Abyssinian rule there shines an era of peace and prosperity, when Husain Shah became the ruler of Bengal with the common consent of all people, both Muslims and Hindus. Though of Arab origin, he with his father Syed Ashraf settled somewhere in Murshidabad. It is said he began his life as a shepherd to a local Brahmin; and later from an ordinary service in the Government, he rose to the position of a minister. He was the prime-minister of the

last Habsi ruler Shamsuddin Muzaffar, and it is to his credit and sagacity that the *dīwana* Muzaffar continued to rule for three years.

Syed Alauddin Husain Shah (1493-1516) is the best, though may not be the most powerful, of all kings that ruled Bengal during the middle ages. And in the same way the regime of Husain Shahi dynasty (1493-1538) may be said the golden period in the political life of Bengal. During the period the genius of Bengali people was developed in every sphere. The culture of art and architecture, literature, religion and philosophy rose to its zenith. There flourished the great man-god Sri Chaitanya (1486-1533), and with him the lyricism of the cult of *Radha-Krishna* that fervour of Vaishnavism—the religion of love and devotion—with its innate fellow feeling and social toleration continued unabated for the next hundred and fifty years. The single best production of Bengali literature—*Chaitanya Cha ritāmrita*—by Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāj, illustrating the philosophy of *Chaitanya*-cult was written during the last part of this century. And in the development of Bengali mind in a new fashion through *Padāvalī* literature, surely the part of the Muslim lord of Gaur is actively connected. The people can never forget Husain Shah's catholicity of spirit and his tolerant mind an enlightened soul which helped to a large extent to give scope to the Vaishnava leader and his followers to spread the religion of love throughout Bengal. And it is sure, if he did not know that this fervour in a new fashion is only another angle of view of Sufism—the religion of love and attachment—with the lyricism of *Yusuf* and *Zulaikhā*, he could not have tolerated another's religion. Not only Bengali, but also study of Sanskrit in all its branches—such as *Nyāya* (Logic), *Smṛiti* (Theology), *Tantra* and *Yoga* (or Concentration of the body and mind through some scientific systems) and above all Vaishnavism rose to its zenith for the second time. In fact, his tolerant attitude, sympathetic behaviour and magnanimous character had captivated the Bengalis who entitled him with *Nripati-tilak* and *jagat-bhushan* to show their due respects.

Alauddin Husain was no sectarian ruler; and we find many Hindus who were in responsible position of the State. His minister was Gopinath Basu with the title of Purandar Khān, Court-physician Mukunda Das, chief-body-guard Keshava Chhatri, general of soldiers Gaur Malik, and the famous two brothers—Rūp and Sanātan, Sri Chaitanya's two most erudite disciples—were respectively his *Dabir-khāṇ* (Private Secretary) and *Sākar Mallik*, Bengalicised from *Sāghir Malik* (or "Little King"). As he had the capacity to select really

fit persons to their respectable positions, so he had the foresight and also the firmness of character to remove from office and disband the palace-guards or *paiks*, who ever since their part in the murder of Jalaluddin Fath Shah, had grown insolent and faithless ; and finally he banished from the state those cruel, infamous Habsis, and recalled in their places the old nobles.

Husain Shah was no less interested in Vernacular literature, as in the literary appreciation of Arabic and Persian and also of Muslim art and architecture. We find some of our poets—such as Bipradis Piplāi and Bijay Gupta in their *Manṛsā-manyal kavyas* and Yashorāj Khān, son of Mālādhār Basu, in Padāvalī literature—have immortalised him through their works by referring to his patronage with gratitude. Besides, through his influence provincial governors also showed their interest in vernacular literature, of which we may cite instances of Parāgal and his son and successor Chhuti Khān, Governors of Chittagong, who patronised respectively Parameshwar and Srikar Nandi, the two earliest translators of the Mahābhārata in Bengali.

Husain Shah was also a successful statesman and a good administrator. Making treaty with Sikandar Lodi, he extended his dominion to North Bihar. After besieging the capital of Kamrup for years together, he removed from the throne its Hindu king and placed in his position his son Daniyal or Dulal Ghazi. And it is also said that he himself led the army to Tippera which could not be brought under control by the preceding Sultans of Bengal, and he made it subdued.

After the death of Husain, his eldest son Nusrat under the title of Nasiruddin Abul Muzaffar ruled Bengal for about 13 years. He was also an able ruler and a patron of learning like his father. During his time the Lodi power in Delhi was weakening, and with this opportunity Nusrat was in alliance with the Afghan party to safeguard his frontiers. But subsequently realizing the strength of the Moghul power he adopted the policy of neutrality in the Mughal-Afghan war. As to his patronage of vernacular literature, we have already mentioned about Srikar Nandi. Besides, Kaviranjan Vidyapati of Srikhaṇḍa was another great poet of Padāvalī sāhitya during his *daya*. His reign is also memorable for a number of edifices, of which mention may be made of the Great Golden Mosque (*Bara Sona Masjid*) built in 1526.

After Nusrat's assassination in 1532, his young son sat on the throne under the title of Alauddin Firuz, but he was soon replaced by Ghiyasuddin Mahmud Shah (1533-38), son of Husain Shah ; and with him ends the rule of independent Sultans of Bengal. Sultan

Mahmud has been described as a gay, pleasure-loving king, who could not stand the skilful policy and ruthless opposition of the Afghan Sher Khan. And this Sher Shah was not only satisfied with Bengal, but he soon captured Delhi after defeating the emperor Humayun. Sher Shah ruled Bengal for 5 years, and after him Islam Shah, his son, ruled for about 8 years. During this period Bengal was divided into number of *Subas*, and each of them was entrusted to a *Subadar* or a Governor.

After Islam Shah's death (1553), there began friction and revolt among the Afghan leaders giving the opportunity to different provincial governors to declare themselves independent. The later Afghan Sultans of Sur dynasty ruled upto 1564, after which the *Karrani* dynasty came into power in Bengal. After Tajkhan, ruling for about a year, his brother Sulaiman Karrani succeeded the throne. Soon he rose into such a great power that throughout North India he had no other rival except Akbar, the emperor of Delhi. The great, infamous *Kālāpāhār* was his general, who devastated many temples of Puri, when conquering Orissa; and after defeating the *Kuch-rāj* he demolished the temples of *Kāmākhyā*, *Hājo* and other places. Sulaiman's shrewed policy and watchful tactics were the cause of his extending dominions, amassing much wealth and a great military power; and in his diplomacy his wazir Lodi Khan was a great helper. The opportunist king, with all his aggression and yet diplomatic suppleness, was only able to keep the outward peace in the country; and as to cultural activities he always patronised Muslim culture by enforcing the Qurānic injunctions. After Sulaiman's death, the independence of Bengal did not last for many days under his cruel, lazy and pleasure-loving successors. And in 1572 Bengal was brought to his control by the emperor Akbar after defeating Daud Karrani who saved himself by flying away.

The last quarter of the 16th century in Bengal passed in disorder and turmoil, when it was ruled by military governors (*sipāhsālār*), one of whom was the able Hindu ruler Mānsingha, to bring under control the different Afghan and Hindu zamindars, and they were at last subdued by the beginning of the 17th century under the active control of the great emperor Akbar.

The period of our discussion is mainly the domination of the Muslim rule in Bengal; and it spread all over India. Really Islamic civilization was at its climax all over the world during the middle ages from the 8th to the 13th century, and in India it



continued at least upto the rule of the great emperor Akbar, when the European predominance—Portuguese, French and English—gained ground one after another in the land of Bengal.

Now, when any rule with its government establishes its power, it dominates not only by its military strength, but also by its cultural impetus. And in this domination of Bengal, it is clearly to be found out that long before Muhammad Bakhtiyar captured Navadvip, the Muslim culture was spreading all over Bengal. In the beginning of the 8th century Muhammad bin Qasim established his power in Sindh and Multan; and his Arab rule and conquest began to spread. After a short lapse of a century and a half the Turkish Houses of Ghazna and Ghur invaded India and established their position there. It was during the rule of Qutbuddin Aibak, successor to Muhammad Ghuri, and the founder of the so-called Slave dynasty, that one of his ordinary commander Bakhtiyar Khalji, after demolishing the University town of Uddānapur Vihāra, and Vikramasīla and Nālandā, two other University towns, suddenly attacked the Sena king, who, if he was not already aware of the awe and prestige of the Muslim power, would not have so easily left behind his capital for the Muslim invaders who were so scanty in number.

The heritage of India, with all its glorious tradition, is, no doubt, supremely cultural. But the common mass, without being able to understand the superiority of their culture, were vain-glorious and extremely narrow minded. The great philosopher and versatile genius Sankarāchārjya with all his message of universality of manhood and unanimity of culture and spirit, could not purge out the great evils of class-distinction and its natural chaos and confusion and religious bigotry from the Hindu mind. And it is no accident of circumstances that the famous scholar Al-Beruni who was so greatly profited by Indian culture, had to note with surprise that the ancestors of the Hindus "were not so narrow-minded as the present generation". On the other hand, the Muslims, who began to enter India with the Arab conquest, learnt many things of Hindu philosophical thought and his versatile intellect. And according to Al-Beruni, they learnt specially the practical art of administration, and astronomy, music, painting, medicine and architecture. Even the Muslim rulers made translations of so many Sanskrit works into Arabic through the help of Hindu scholars.

Cultural influence is really inter-connected. As the Muslims learnt many of our great arts and philosophical thoughts, so the Hindus were greatly influenced by the cultural outlook of the Muslim scholars and their poets and philosophers. The period which is marked by the dearth of Indian scholars, gave out Abul-Rayhan Muhammad al-Beruni (973-1040), who even came to India and published his master-piece *Tarikh al-Hind* (or History of India) in 1030. Of others mention may be made of the great epic poet Firdausi (934-1020), whose *Shāhnāma* had influenced to much extent to translate in Bengali under the patronage of its Muslim rulers the Sanskrit epics like *Rāmāyana*, *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhāgavata*. But probably Sufism had its greatest influence of Muslim culture all over India through its greatest exponents like Manṣūr al-Hallāj (d.922), Shaikh Sa'adī (1184-1291), Jalāluddīn Rūmī (1201-73), Amīr Khusrau of Delhi (1253-1325), the greatest Persian poet of India, who, besides his knowledge of Arabic, was a master Hindi writer, and proud of his Sanskritic tradition, and Hāfiz Shirāzī (1325-89). The first two, viz., Manṣūr and Sa'adī, came to India, and as they made themselves experienced of Indian culture, so even the people of India were largely indebted to their height of philosophical thoughts, one of whose *anal-Haq* (or I am the Truth), bearing the same meaning of the Vedantic *Soham* (or I am That), had easily influenced the Hindu mind, who heard from one of foreign country, the ideal of their Vedic lore after so many years. And Sa'adī's *Gulistān* and *Bustān* easily captivated their mind when they heard in a new fashion the old stories of Sermons (*Hitopadeśha*) inlaid with philosophical thoughts. Though Rūmī and Hāfiz never came to India, yet the influence of their thoughts had a lasting effect over India and specially in Bengal. We hear of Jayānanda stating in his *Chaitanya-mangala*, "In the 15th century Brahmanas were taking to heterodox ways, like wearing a beard instead of being clean-shaved, walking with a big stick, reading Persian and reciting the *Mathnavī*". And these the author of the biography did not evidently like, and he called them evils of *Kali* or Iron age. The reading of the volumes of the famous *Sufi* poet Jalāluddīn Rūmī, and its recitation after proper appreciation of the same, though called the evils of the *Kali* age, is really the effect of Muslim culture that even prompted the Hindu educated Brahmins to read the *Mathnavī*, when they found in it the same mystery of hidden knowledge as was revealed in their holy scriptures.

As the *Mathnawī* in six volumes has illustrated the mystery of God and His Nature through so many allegorical pictures like the Sanskrit *Purānas*, his *Diwāni-Shamsi-Tabriz* and in the same way the *Diwān* of Hāfiz, which are written in so many masterly *Ghazals*, Odes or Love-poems, have the same spirit and imagination, if not more deeper, as is found in the *Padāvalis* of *Vidyāpati* and *Chandīdās*, and a host of *Padāvali*-writers that followed in suite.

Again, if the medieval saints of India, like Rāmānanda, Kabir and Nānak, are influenced by the Persian Sufis, the same has been the result in Bengal through the influence of the *Faqīrs*, *dervishes* and *Qalandars* who travelled to Bengal even when it was not conquered by any Muslim ruler. Dr. Enamul Haq in his *Sufi Influence in Bengal* has illustrated this truth by citing many names of them who were honoured by the Bengalis even in the 9th and 10th centuries and their graves were respected by the local people; and also Dr. D. C. Sen in the 1st volume of his *Vrihat Banga* states that the famous Pandua Masjid was built by Shāh Jalāluddīn Tabrizī whose miraculous powers are recorded in *Sek Subhodaya*, an autobiographical work in Sanskrit, said to be compiled or translated by Halāyudha, minister of Raja Lakshmansen.

We also know that Sufi-movement had reached its zenith in the 12th century. During this time various Sufi Orders were established, of which specially the *Chishti* and the *Suhrawardi* Orders, and an epoch later the *Qadiri* and the *Naqshbandi*, had their great activities in the different parts of India.

Bengal is really a medley of various cultures. As there was left the reminiscence of Austro-African culture, through their successors like Bheel, Kol, Santal and other mountainous tribes, so there was found the Dravidian Civilization dominating in Bengal even after the domineering influence of Aryan Culture throughout Upper India. *Tāntrikism*, the dominating effect of these two great cultures, has left its influence most in Bengal than in any other provinces of India. But *Tantra* has at last been defeated to *Mantra*, whose upholders the Aryan people gave importance to the spiritual or mental aspect of life than the physical or material prosperity of the world. In due course the Aryan culture dominated all over India, though it also admitted under its fold the *Tāntrikism*, the so called *Bāmanārga*, the left path. In the *Purānas*, which in their outward semblance or historically have depicted the fight between the *Asurās*, the Dravidian people, and the *Devas*, the inhabitants of Upper India, following the so called *Dakshina-mārga*, the right path, of the

*Sanātana* or Brahmanic religion, we find that *Shiva*, the sublime God of the *Asuras*, the unclean souls, has atlast been hailed as the *Mahādeva*, the Great God, when a compromise was made of their fight ; or in other words, when the opposing spirits of Good and Evil, come to realize the unity of the Soul, there is no chaos and confusion, and both the mundane prosperity and the spiritual life are brought in unison in the enlightened Soul. Yet *Tantra-sādhana*, through its admixture with *Bauddha* and *Brāhmaṇya* religions, has brought forward its culture upto the end of the 16th century when its greatest upholder was *Kṛṣṇadās-Āgambāgish* of Navadwip.

Any reliable history of Bengal is available only after *Asoka's* rule in India. After *Asoka* Buddhism was dominating as a State religion and its culture was spread all over India and even outside. This *Bauddha* religion, though often distinguished from *Brāhmaṇya dharma*, or the Religion of a *Brāhmaṇa*, the *Sanātana* or *Vaidik dharma* of the Hindus, is only an off-shoot of the latter. The *Brāhmaṇya dharma* is generally the religion as described in the *Purānas*, distinguished even from the religion of the *Vedas*. But we should bear in mind that the *Sanātana dharma* or the Eternal Religion of the *Vedas* is only illustrated through different paths and means in all its sub-sects. Though professing different paths or methods, the master-minds of religion have always asserted that the paths may be different, but the Goal is the same for all. With this concept of idea, the religion of Islām has also been brought under the fold of *Sanātana dharma* by many Indian reformers of religion. But the sectarian minded people will always turn a deaf ear to it.

During those days as Buddhism was the State religion, so was *Pāli* the State language which was also the language of the people. But the so-called Sanatanists could not bear that the common people be brought under the fold of their religion and language. So we find that though written in the *Pali-age*, all the *Puranas* are in *Sanskrit*. After the *Brāhmaṇya* predominance the so-called upper classes always looked upon with contempt the common people of Bengal who appeared to be all Buddhists in course of time ; and for this we find in the 11th century some Bengal ruler had to invite from Upper India the *Vaidik Brahmanas* to serve as priests to offer their prayers to God for their own sake. How pathetic a condition—a curse of *Kaulinyasim* that one cannot offer his own prayer to his Eternal Father !

It is this sectarian view of the Hindus for which the different kings of Bengal and other places were opposing each other, that the

Muslim invaders found opportunity to rule our land. Again, when the Muslims became the rulers of Bengal, being sectarian in their thought, they could not recognize the subjects as their own people, they being different in religion. But we should know that no religion teaches sectarianism. There is no distinction between man and man ; and to the mother-land no one is a foreigner who is born to her.

The religion of Hinduism is in a sense a mis namer. A man born of India is a Hindu ; if this nativity be the only claim of his being a Hindu, then, why not a Muslim also should come under its fold ? In the same way, if by a true Muslim we mean one who has sacrificed his self for the sake of God, then why should a true *Bhakta* (sacrificed to Higher Spirit) be not considered a Muslim ? But the fact is that we consider a man by his outer garb, not by his inner spirit or character. Really *kāfirs* (infidels) or *pāṣāṇḍas* (haters of a different religion) are not those so-called Hindus or Muslims of their opposite religion, but they are those who distinguish between man and man, all of whom are born of Eternal Father and the Mother-India. So long this universal or the spiritual aspect of culture is not fully grasped, chaos and disorder can never be removed from any State ; and this has been the case throughout the middle ages we have discussed—only solitary case being the Husain Shahi rule, when distinction between caste and creed was for a period at least forgotten as by the ruler, so even by some of his subjects—and it is for this the said regime has been called the Golden Period in the State and government of Bengal during the middle ages.

# THE SPIRIT OF COORDINATION IN PHILOSOPHERS

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The biological concept of *vital coordination* of the present writer, which speaks of the most basic force of life, has been found to be supremely important for illuminating our ideas regarding the process of development in the organic world and the nature of evolution itself\* ; this basic vital force has been found furthermore, to be the source of all the activities of man, that motivate his creative thoughts and endeavours. The present delineation is an appeal to Philosophy for supporting the idea that it is the spirit of the urge of *vital coordination* in philosophers that has helped them to organize their speculations to establish their doctrines, theories and systems of philosophical thoughts.

Philosophy definitely indicates the marvellous power of coordination of the mind of man. The chief characteristics of Philosophy, which are the quest for unity and the struggle for arriving at the highest possible truths, suggest the necessity of selecting and coordinating elements of knowledge, experience, vision and intuition from their widest possible ranges, for the origin and the growth of philosophical thoughts.

Thoughts and theories of Philosophy owe their life and character to various factors apart from the moulding powers of individuals who are generally known as their originators. Systems of thoughts and theories are really the products of coordination of the elements not only from the personal influences of individuals who are commonly considered solely responsible for fashioning concepts and theories but also from the environmental conditions of time and space and from the wealth of accumulated information of the past.

Every system of thought must naturally be a continuity from the past for the germs of possibilities of the past evolve into actualities of the present. An insignificant idea of the past may thus evolve to assume the appearance

\* *Vide* the following and some subsequent papers by M. C. Ghose—

- (i) The synthesis of Power, Knowledge and Skill in Man—*The Calcutta Review*, May, 1954.
- (ii) The Social Mind of Man—*The Journal of Education*, Vol. I, No. 2, February 1954,
- (iii) Processes of Social Control—*The Teachers' Journal*, January, 1955.
- (iv) The March of Life through Associations—*The Calcutta Review*, March, 1958.
- (v) Evolution and the Synthetic Process of Life—*The Calcutta Review*, February, 1959.
- (vi) Life and its Creativeness—*The Calcutta Review*, April, 1959.

of a theory or a system of thought of the present. And this is how a system is linked to the past. Again, every system of thought is also positively influenced, during its formation, by the contemporary physical and social conditions of the region of its origin. And this is how it is related to the present. Prevalent thoughts, beliefs and zeitgeists of peoples are known to have strongly influenced the formation of the shapes of many systems of human thought. But a system of thought, after all, is the outcome of the creative activities of human individuals who play a role unsurpassed by any other factor or agency and who, in a significant sense, represent futurity because of their vision for new creations for the future. Philosophy thus, grows out of the coordinations of selected elements of the past, present and future. But it is the mind of man, the mind of the philosopher, which picks up all these elements, both consciously and unconsciously, from different phases and coordinates them into forms of doctrines and theories.

Although thinkers who enrich Philosophy by their writings and contributions are known as philosophers, all of them are by no means originators of new systems in the field of Philosophy. The development of a new system of Philosophy depends neither upon the vastness of philosophical materials nor even upon the profundity of a good many newly developed, isolated ideas ; it depends upon a particular type of mental prowess for effecting proper coordination of a world of facts, thoughts, ideas and imaginations. It is the uncommon strength and motivation of the spirit of coordination in certain philosophers, which has always moved them to build up systems of Philosophy of their own. In the treatment that is due to follow it will be abundantly clear that eminent philosophers like Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Kant, Hegel, Schopenhauer and others who established milestones in the path of progress of philosophical thought could develop their systems not only because they were skilful coordinators of thoughts and ideas but also because they unconsciously accepted and followed, in some form or other, either the idea of coordination or the mechanism of its formation for elaborating and justifying their theories and procedures. And nor is that all ; most of these philosophers were motivated either by the idea of the presence of unity in diversity in Nature or the concept of the oneness of the universe in which the parts were interrelated with each other. It is the idea of organic wholeness which helped them all to organize their systems of Philosophy. Of course the nature of the actual concepts of unity varied from philosophers to philosophers because these concepts were after all, forms of ideas coordinated by individual philosophers according to their own inclinations, abilities and powers of imagination.

#### SOCRATES, PLATO AND ARISTOTLE :

Socrates should rightly be called the founder of the modern western Philosophy ; it was he who turned the direction of the course of ancient

Greek Philosophy which had always concerned itself with material objects and phenomena, by his insistence upon the importance of the study of the mind of man. And as the concept of idealism subsequently grew out of the activities in connection with the study of the mind of man I consider it reasonable to look upon Socrates as the indirect originator of this profound concept in the field of Philosophy. Socrates was a uniquely inspiring teacher who did not write anything. But the tradition which he built up regarding his own theory and practice of the contents of Philosophy survived through many generations. We gather glimpses of his thoughts and ideas and learn much about his life and nature mainly from the writings of those who came after him. According to Aristotle, the two major characteristics of Socrates were his *ability to frame universal definitions* and his *inductive discourses*<sup>1</sup>. Both of these characteristics indicate the presence of an uncommon spirit of coordination in the mental life of Socrates, which helped him to organize his thoughts and ideas. Definitions, evidently, are coordinated units of ideas; and the greater the power of effecting coordinations in the framer the broader and wider will be the range of these definitions. And as such universal definitions which are cogent and faultless may be synthesised only by those who are adept coordinators in the field of mental and intellectual materials. Regarding inductive discourses it may be said that Socrates became famous for these. His dialectic method for the development of knowledge through questions and their answers is so much associated with his name that it is now commonly known as the Socratic method. Although Socrates himself did not invent the method he developed it and its technique so very elaborately that it now seems certain that he comprehended the underlying principle which made it so very effective as a process for the development of knowledge. Led by sheer empiricism Zeno and others had practised the method before Socrates; probably they did not understand properly what made the method successful and as such they could not bring it to a systematic finish.

The dialectic method is basically a method of coordination. There are two distinct processes in the method, which work for the formation of new coordinations. But these processes generally, are not distinguishable; they are mixed up together. With the aid of questions the learner is first led to make a conscious stock of all the related elements regarding the problem in question, which lie buried in the haphazardly accumulated mass of total information and experiences of life and then with the aid of further questions these relevantly segregated units of ideas are made to coordinate to form correct notions and concepts in the mind of the learner. Questions then direct the learner to seek and coordinate adequate materials already present in his mind; only old materials are selected and organized in a new fashion in this process for the development of new ideas.

<sup>1</sup> Metaphysics, 1078, b.



Human minds are storehouses of a vast variety of notions and impressions gained through the experiences of life. These notions and impressions may reside either in the conscious or in the unconscious mind but they are generally so very disorganized that their presence even is not always recognisable by their possessors. The technique of modern Psycho-Analysis has shown that all contents of the mind including completely forgotten and half-forgotten ideas and notions can be brought back to the conscious mind with the aid of questions. What Socrates wanted to do with his Method of Questions was to invite all relevant ideas and notions that had been formed in the mind for examining them critically and selecting all such elements from those as were necessary for coordinating or building up truths.

The success of the Socratic method depends upon the process of coordination which is involved in it. The formation of coordinated units with already possessed elements is the characteristic of the dialectic method of Socrates; systematization of disorderly elements is the ultimate goal of this coordination. But the coordination of only old materials cannot always develop knowledge; elements that constitute knowledge are often brand new, in the sense that they are not present in the total mass of old experiences in the mind of the learner.

It was Kant who suggested principles for the formation of the basis for the explanation of the process of the development of new knowledge. But our understanding of this process has been possible, thanks mainly to the contributions of Herbart who elaborated the idea that knowledge developed by the linking up of new informational materials to the body of old knowledge. But this process too, is found on analysis, to be a process of coordination; it is a process of coordination of old and new knowledge. And in fact the development of knowledge being a process of growth proceeds like any other form of growth in life, by depending upon the synthetic process of coordination.

In an indirect way the dialectic method of Socrates exerted a great influence in the field of Philosophy; it helped the development of analytical attitude and logical consistency in philosophers by directing them to put questions to their own selves by way of self-criticism while trying to form philosophical ideas and concepts. The development of this critical attitude led philosophers to take to a different form of philosophical thinking in which things that were valuable for human life were considered important. Also, this critical attitude of looking at things and ideas from different angles and considering them from various points of view served to make philosophers move skilfully in effecting broader and profounder units of coordination in their fields. Even the commonplace expressions of virtue, justice and the like were made to coordinate and associate themselves with various useful ideas and notions so that their concepts grew dynamically significant in the life of man and his society. The attention of philosophers came to

be focussed upon the mind and its powers not because Socrates preached the idea of its importance but because his dialectic method brought in an indirect way the conditions which showed that it could effect marvellous varieties of useful and inspiring mental creations. But the process by which these creations were made by the mind was the basic process of coordination. The mind thus gained its dignified position because of its great power to effect coordinations in the mental world.

The poetic imaginations and philosophic visions of Plato led him to expound his *theory of ideas* and his concept of the contents of reality; this is how the spirit of coordination in him found expression in his creations. *Ideas*, basically are ideas associated with objects from which they are subsequently separated; but by separation they develop eternal lives. Objects perish but their 'ideas' are imperishable. And 'ideas' can indicate things obviously because they were once associated or coordinated with objects. The mental process by which Plato developed the theory of ideas and explained the nature of reality was a subtle process of coordination.

From the point of view of the concept of the process of coordination it is exceedingly interesting to find that all great philosophers unconsciously took advantage either of the process of coordination for building up their thoughts or of the fundamental method of the working of the process of coordination for justifying their concepts. It has also been suggested elsewhere that all builders of profound thoughts and theories must depend, directly or indirectly, upon the process of coordination for their creations. And Plato was no exception; he could become great in the field of Philosophy because he was an adept coordinator of mental elements.

Plato's concept of harmony of human life<sup>2</sup> and of certain ethical principles such as justice<sup>3</sup>, morality, etc. grew out of his dexterity in forming cogently coordinated units of ideas. Both justice and morality, according to Plato, seek to effect harmony and coordination in human social groups. In connection with education his suggestions for accepting *correlation of studies*<sup>4</sup> and *correlation of Sciences*<sup>5</sup> for teaching youngsters indicate similarly the presence of a high spirit of coordination in him. His concepts regarding society also speak of his natural inclination for effecting coordinations; he even conceived the state as a statue with a monolithic unity. Justice and morality, according to him, were the builders of those relationships in social groups, which would establish harmony and unity. In a perfect society, he suggested, there should not exist interferences of individuals, but cooperation amongst all so that the production of a harmonious

<sup>2</sup> *Republic*; 443-4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 381, 438.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 581.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 587.

whole might be effected.\* But all these are the details of some of his minor units of coordination. His extraordinary ability to form coordination moved him to determine his own concept of unity in diversity, which was a world only of changeless and imperishable ideas ; in it lay his harmony of the whole. The picture that he presented was certainly marvellous from the point of view of his inordinate power of coordination ; but it represented the condition of an eternally static state. To seek order and harmony everywhere is a human endeavour and to establish them as the final reality is the concern of philosophers. But cannot order and harmony be found even when conditions are in a state of flux ? Are those who suggest that change is a supreme reality in the world wrong ? And can we not suggest in addition that harmony is another reality in the world ?

Aristotle differed from Plato in many respects. But they were similar in one characteristic ; both of them were effective coordinators of ideas. Although a scholar possessing encyclopedic knowledge, Aristotle was far more ambitious than his ability would have justified him to be ; he could not methodically organize and coordinate the vast wealth of intellectual materials he collected with regard to such widely different subjects as Logic, Philosophy, Ethics, Esthetics, Physics, Meteorology, Biology and the like. And as a result there were perhaps more absurdities and mistakes in his writings than in the writings of any other philosopher. In Science, for example, he left collections and classifications of data without the effects of coordination which would have enriched both his philosophy and science. Aristotle laid the foundation of modern Science mainly by coordinating the accumulated knowledge of the ancient Greeks in a particular way and yet he recorded ideas specially in Biology, which are surely to be considered absurd today. But he also had his keen observations in Biology ; records of his writings show that he indicated a good many characteristics of life, which pointed to the theory of evolution but he failed to come over to the theory itself. He failed because he failed to coordinate all these ideas of the characteristics of the living. All this, however, does not go to assert that he was an indifferent coordinator ; far from it. We shall notice afterwards that he was quite a bold coordinator. As a matter of fact, the wealth of intellectual materials at his disposal was so very vast that it was beyond the capacity of any human being to organize and coordinate it properly. And he was busy, moreover, trying to apply his concept of categories to all the diverse fields of knowledge in which he was interested. Yet in certain fields his inordinate capacity to effect coordinations brought about thoughts and theories which helped the development of the intellectual wealth of man. The unconscious spirit of coordination in Aristotle played a significant role in his intellectual life.

Aristotle's method of induction proved invaluable not only for the progress of Science but also for the determination of new truths in other

\* *Republic* ; 488-4.

fields of human endeavour. The fundamental basis of this method is coordination; only the qualities and characteristics that are common to all are mentioned and crystallized into general statements in this methods.

Aristotle's concept of his categories is evidently based upon the principle of coordination because these categories were, after all, nothing but grooves or pigeon-holes devised for putting for recording certain separate groups of relationships under each of them. Again, his doctrine of syllogism is an important work in the field of Logic, which has naturally stood the test of time. The nature of its arguments suggests that the entire group of syllogisms is based upon the principle of coordination.

Aristotle, furthermore, coordinated groups of ideas under certain names which he coined himself, evidently for simplicity, in his writings. But most of these have now become indispensable in the fields of human thoughts and endeavours; some of these words are—actuality, faculty, mean, motive, principle, energy and so on and so forth. It is easy to guess the importance of these words for the facility with which the communication of certain ideas and information can be made with their use. If by chance these words go out of our vocabulary we shall always have the necessity of describing the ideas conveyed by these words by using many running sentences. The process of description will naturally be inconvenient from the point of view of the economy of time; but this inconvenience is nothing compared to the hindrance it is due to present to the free flow of our thoughts.

Aristotle criticized Plato's theory of ideas by an analysis which indicated the way in which the concept of ideas had been unconsciously coordinated by Plato. Aristotle suggested that objects and ideas (or forms, as he called them) were not really separated, they occurred intimately associated together and that they could be detached only in our thoughts. He put forward strong arguments against the theory of ideas and expounded his own theory of universals in its place. Aristotle broke away from Plato but he himself conceived a good many concepts and doctrines in this connection. He thus coordinated his own concepts of matter and form, universals, essence, potentiality and actuality, which all grew out of his criticism of Plato's ideas. Forms, according to Aristotle, were not identical with universals; although they had some common characteristics they had different characteristics too. Forms, he suggested, were more real than material objects or matter; and unlike universals they were substantial. Forms were for Aristotle what ideas were for Plato.

Although Plato and Aristotle were both skilful coordinators of mental elements Plato wanted to coordinate his ultimate concepts with changelessness and Aristotle with changefulness; and the effects of their different coordinations were different in nature. To Plato the visible world with its changing materials was nothing but a shadow of the real world which consisted of a community of changeless ideas. But to Aristotle the basic truth was the process of the eternal struggle of matter to realize different

forms ; there was a universal seeking to become. Potentialities, he suggested, were potentialities for becoming actualities. The concept of this propensity for change in Nature was in keeping, and as such in coordination, with his concepts of entelechy and teleology in the world of the living. Although Aristotle's *Metaphysics* grew out of his *Biology* it got its strength for developing the contents and characteristics from his *ethics*. His *ethics*, it might safely be said, totally lacked emotional elements which are extremely valuable for human life. Aristotle did not perhaps, comprehend the importance of the role that emotional experiences could play in the life of man ; and perhaps that is the reason why he could leave the entire field of Religion severely alone.

#### KANT, HEGEL AND SCHOPENHAUER :

Kant could rise to such a height in the realm of philosophic thinking because he was inspired by the feeling that he had a mission to fulfil ; he was determined to save Science from scepticism and religion from reason. Diametrically opposite and contradictory writings of Locke, Berkeley, Hume and Rousseau moved him severely but he found reasons to be able to arrive at the solution by performing an effective coordination of the ideas of Berkeley, Hume and Rousseau. Matter to Berkeley was nothing ; only mind existed. But Hume insisted to prove that even the mind did not exist. And what Rousseau asserted was that in the life of man feelings were more important than reasons and as such it was wiser for man to follow his basic inclinations rather than reasons. The decline of the idea of importance of reason was disastrous for Science and the decline of the notion of the importance of feeling was calamitous to the cause of religion. Kant wanted to select suitable elements from the streams of opposite views and bring about, by coordination, a balanced system of philosophical thought which sought to rescue both Science and Religion. It was thus the spirit of coordination which fundamentally served as the prime-mover of the creative activities of Kant.

Although Kant's way of putting facts in language was complex and cumbrous and although he engaged himself to elaborate his system of thought mainly with a view to developing ideas that would serve to keep alive both Science and Religion his contributions in general became highly valuable for the elucidation of a number of complicated concepts and processes in the field of Philosophy.

Kant's analytic description of the procedure of the development of thoughts and knowledge from crude sense-impressions was highly scientific and enormously instructive. He conceived of a special power of the mind of man, which he suggested was responsible for converting impressions of senses first into percepts and then these percepts into concepts. And for the explanation of the process of elaboration of thoughts and knowledge

from concepts Kant devised the concepts of 'Forms of Intuition' and 'Categories.' But the entire process which he delineated, with the aid of these concepts, for the conversion of sense-impressions ultimately into thoughts and knowledge now exposes itself to be a typical process of coordination. The special concepts of 'Forms of Intuition' and 'Categories' become superfluous with the concept of the process of coordination ; these concepts only indicate some special ways in which coordinated units are grouped and modified for organizational simplicity. They signify intermediate stages of the process of coordination.

Let us examine the consideration of time and space. All human experiences automatically get coordinated with time and space evidently because experiences must take place at some time and at some place ; this conditioning of experiences to time and space is an interesting phenomenon in human life. And as elements of time and space in their finite limits are always coordinated with all forms of mental coordinations it is reasonable to comprehend why man cannot conceive of infinity ; his mind cannot form the idea of infinity because it cannot coordinate anything with infinitude. The mind of man constructs its own world by coordinating elements from experiences but it cannot possibly form adequate ideas regarding things which lie beyond human experiences. Kant, to a great extent, depended unconsciously upon the process of coordination for explaining the process for the development of knowledge. The contents of the entire system of Kant's Transcendental Philosophy can be explained in a better way and more easily with the aid of the process of coordination of the mind of man ; even the antinomies of Kant admit of better solutions with the concept of this characteristic process of the mind.

Kant accepted the idea of the priority of feeling over pure reason from Rousseau ; and it was with this idea of the importance of feeling together with the notions and opinions of Berkeley and Hume that he proceeded to coordinate thoughts and concepts which promised to develop the usefulness and respectability of religion in the life of man. Kant was eager to prove the existence of those objects and entities which sustained the spirit of man for making life worth living and attractive for his love and admiration. But the presence of these objects and entities could not be established by pure reason ; Kant, therefore, developed his ideas of practical reason by depending upon the spirit of pragmatism. Objects and entities, the existence of which could not be proved by pure reason but could be indicated by practical reason, he asserted, constituted higher forms of truth. This was how Kant wanted to save religion. For religion he did not want to depend upon Theology because its basis was fundamentally insecure ; he depended upon human faith and feeling for it. But practically he made morality the basis of religion. He started with the notion that the sense of morality was innate in man. But the idea is not correct because the sense of morality in man originates and develops from social participation ; it is not *a priori*.

Yet the thoughts and ideas he developed in connection with practical reason were true because in an indirect way, they were based upon human faith and feeling, which were realities in the life of man. The respect for moral law in social man is a feeling which finds its satisfaction in religion. Kant also depended upon the feelings of aesthetic and teleological characters for the elaboration of his theory. Objects of beauty evoke feelings of unity, harmony and purposiveness in our minds. These feelings are impersonal and yet they can carry us far.

Kant coordinated beauty and design ; symmetry and unity of structure constituted the beautiful, he suggested. Beautiful designs in Nature containing symmetry and harmony lead us to the idea that they are created by supernatural intelligence. But there is also the consideration of internal design—the design of the parts and the whole in the life of an organism. Our teleological judgment furthermore, gives us the impression that the mechanical conception of life is absolutely inadequate ; it cannot explain the origin and the growth of even a blade of grass. In the living organism the whole is determined by its parts and every part by the whole. There is a sort of mutual purposiveness which can never be mechanical. All these and similar other arguments drove Kant to insinuate the idea that the whole universe was more like an organism than like a machine ; the world might be the production of an Infinite Artist, he continued. Directly or indirectly Kant depended upon human feelings for justifying the truth of certain objects and entities ; they were possibly true, he suggested. He did not go further perhaps because he was not convinced of the leading capacity of human feelings. Feelings derive their dynamic elements because of their association with intuition. Intuition to which human hopes, faiths and feelings are coordinated can reach regions and discover truths which lie beyond the scope and control of pure reason.

Although Kant erroneously considered certain social entities *a priori* in man his ideas concerning human society were profound. He understood the necessity of the presence of both the social and the unsocial tendencies of man. He precisely understood how a combination of coordination of these two tendencies could develop man's talents and capacities. He could even view the entire human race as one unit<sup>7</sup>. His ample sympathy for all, not excluding aboriginal inhabitants<sup>8</sup>, his practical suggestions for the establishment of social solidarity and peace, his sincere desire for the termination of war<sup>9</sup> and his strong plea for the development of public education<sup>10</sup> are the expressions of the spirit of coordination in him for effecting social consolidation.

<sup>7</sup> *Eternal Peace and other Essays* (Kant), p. 19.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 71, 76-77, etc.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.



Kant's contribution will always stand as a coordinated unity of complex truth belonging to a wide range of human thoughts and endeavours. A great critic once remarked that in Kant's work one felt as though one was in a country fair for everything could be found there. Probably Kant was conscious of the inclusion of a wide variety of intellectual materials in his works ; in the preface to the first edition of the *Critique of Pure Reason* he wrote that there was not a single metaphysical problem of which he had not either found a solution or its key.

Hegel wrote copiously but not all of what he wrote is now valuable and significant from the point of view of modern philosophical thinking. It is rather difficult to understand Hegel ; and this is not because his doctrines are recondite but because they are often definitely obscure.

Hegel at times was so very grossly inconsistent with his bewildering maze of words and expressions that he developed nothing but airs of intellectualized mysticism in these portions of his writing ; the introduction of his own terminology made confusions more confusing. But in spite of his weird fabrications producing cobwebs of complexity he rose at times to great heights in philosophic thinking. Hegel's contributions are highly interesting from the point of view of the concept of coordination. Although there is a general lack of the effect of coordination in his writing, which is responsible for making it disorganized and confusing, there are occasions when he shows great practical powers for effecting extreme forms of coordination for building up really far-reaching concepts. His concept of the organic whole of the world, which terminated in the consolidation of his idea of the Absolute, his imaginative capacity for synthesising the dialectic process and his insight for considering unity to be the final end of all such subjects as Ethics, Politics, Religion and the like argue the presence of a lurking but dominant spirit of coordination in his life. The function of the mind, he suggested, was to find out unity in diversity. The unification of individuals was the end of politics, while to achieve the unification of human conduct was the aim of ethics and the unification of all opposite ideas for pointing out the way for feeling and reaching the Absolute was the task of religion, according to him.

Hegel in his *Logic*, was more inclined to analyse the concepts, rather than the methods, of reasoning. He followed Kant's concepts of categories and of these he developed the item of *Relation* to a great extent. His concept of the organic whole or the Absolute, his devise of the dialectic and his idea of the application of the concept of unity in certain valuable branches of human knowledge grew out of his concept of *relationship*.

The concept of this relationship is extremely interesting from the point of view of the concept of coordination. Suppose I look at a fruit which I call an apple. Now this word 'apple' is significant to me because of its infinite number of *relations*. It has a colour, a taste, a feel, a shape, etc. which I perceive with my sense organs. I also remember of various



other fruits possessing similar or contrary qualities. All these relations and many more, which lie coordinated with the word 'apple' make the name lively to me. But if I continue to find out more and more relations it will appear that the apple is related to all other objects and entities of the universe. Again, if I consider the short period of the present moment it is significant to me because of its relations to other moments, that are now past and in fact, to all of my experiences. The moment then, is an organic part of my life. But as I am related to my family and as my family is related to human society which is ultimately related to the earth and the earth to the whole universe, the moment at my disposal becomes an integral part of the universe. A moment completely isolated from my conscious mind, i.e. a moment absolutely separated from its past and bereft of all possible experiential elements is unmeaning to me ; to me it has no existence at all. Stripped of all relations and qualities an object or an entity is reduced to nothingness. An idea is nothing but a group of relations.

In the living being every organ is related to the whole organism in a subtle way ; the organs are what the organism makes them to be and the organism is what its organs make it. This relation between a whole and its parts in the case of living objects is known as the organic relation. An organic whole is more than the addition of its parts. Inorganic and organic relations are entirely dissimilar. Hegel coordinated these two kinds of inorganic and organic relationships and extended the concept to conceive reality or the Absolute. The extension of the idea of the organic relation to the inorganic world is not unreasonable. A painting as a work of Art is not a collection of patches of colours ; it is an organic whole in the truest sense of the term. The Absolute is the universe in its unity with all its contents including objects, ideas, processes and manifestations unlimited by time and space. Parts and components in all conceivable forms, which make up the Absolute are as naively related to it as are organic parts to an organic whole. The Absolute is not an aggregation of its contents ; it is a coordinated whole of all its parts. Hegel's conception of the Absolute is a grand coordinated concept of unity. It comprises everything ; and nothing is left for further inclusion.

Hegel's concept of the dialectic is a conception of a particular process for establishing relationship. And as the method consists in synthesising an ultimate relation from the considerations of a thesis and its opposite, an antithesis, it depends fundamentally upon the process of coordination for its origin. "The knowledge of opposites is one" said Aristotle ; and "All determination is negative" said Spinoza. These along with Kant's ideas of antinomies which directly set Hegel to consider certain phases of relations led him ultimately to develop the concept of the 'Dialectical movement'. The concept which Hegel considered indispensable for knowing the Absolute was then the product of coordination of various elementary ideas that were already in the possession of man.

The extent to which Schopenhauer's personality found expression in his system of thought was amazing. The attitude of his parents during his adolescence, his training and education, his own basic inclinations of life and the circumstances which led him to lead an isolated and monotonous life were the most important factors for the development of a peculiar type of pessimism in his life. It seems that he enjoyed his pessimism from which he therefore never wanted to run away. Although he had his own limitations and drawbacks he was quite successful in intellectualizing his obsession of pessimism of human life. Yet the information and data upon which he depended for delineating a gloomy and melancholy picture of the chaotic march of life and Nature from disorder to more disorderly conditions seem to indicate the possibility and often the sureness of the existence of forces in Nature, which continuously move towards progress and harmony. According to Schopenhauer himself the sources of his influence were Plato, Kant and the Upanishads ; but it is difficult to see how he could become such a gross pessimist in spite of them. There are some who think that he imbibed the spirit of pessimism from the Upanishads ; but this can only be the opinion of those who have never studied these books. The Upanishads contain the highest forms of intellectual coordinations of truths, concepts and emotions, which proceed to develop hope and gladness in the mind of man by promising him the ultimate goal of bliss and happiness obtainable through the attainment of progressive stages of knowledge and enlightenment.

Schopenhauer was a methodical coordinator ; but he effected his coordinations in a particular way. He synthesised his thoughts and theories by selecting elements and ideas from others and coordinated them not only with his ideas and notions but also with his emotions and impulsive beliefs. Apart from the unique coordination of the concept of the Will in Nature, which represented a unity in the sense that it was universal not only in the living world but also in the inanimate world, Schopenhauer depended also upon his ability to achieve coordinations of thoughts for creating units of concepts of lesser importance. But all these concepts were highly coloured by his major concept of the will in Nature ; they were so coordinated to his major concept that they all appeared really to be broken parts of his concept of the will in Nature. Schopenhauer had only one basic doctrine ; it was his doctrine of the will.

In a subtle way all human knowledge depends upon the law of homogeneity and the law of specification because both of them serve to supply the basis for making effective classifications. Plato and many other philosophers after him understood the importance of the first law ; but although Kant felt the importance of the second he did not utilize it properly. When we coordinate these two laws we have the idea that nothing can exist without sufficient reason for its existence. A law which is of utmost importance in the fields of Philosophy and Science thus makes its appearance. It is important because both Philosophy and Science, after

all, seek to find out reason for everything. Schopenhauer elaborated his theory of relations which was embodied in his treatise 'Four-fold Root of the Sufficient reason'. Being a principle of relationship it is naturally related to the concept of coordination ; in an indirect way the theory is also related to the doctrine of the will. Schopenhauer himself strongly advised the perusal of his book—On the Four-fold Root of Sufficient Reason—before going to read his book 'The World as Will and Idea'. The universal will was once single and unitary, he suggested ; it subsequently individuated itself into individual persons, organisms and objects by following the basic principle of sufficient reason. There was nothing new in the concept of the world as an Idea ; it was an old idea put in a different way and renewed from a slightly different angle of vision. The nature of sensations as impressions was known to all ; Kant showed that man could know the world only through sensations and ideas created by objects which were, therefore, what they appeared to him to be. Objects to him were only names and images ; and it was in this sense that the world was a world of Ideas.

Schopenhauer was visionary when he conceived his concept of the will in Nature, which was supposed to be present either as potential or dynamic forms in all the objects, organisms, forces and phenomena of Nature. The universal will in its primal stage was only an urge for existence ; afterwards it differentiated itself into individuals and carried on its activities by creating more and more entities for its own use. It resided both in the unconscious and conscious minds of organisms. In the organism it was the creator of its body, mind and all its possessions ; it was the urge which effected all its growth, improvement and movement towards higher and higher levels. In man it was also the builder of his mind with all its organizational arrangements and attributions ; even the intellect and the memory of man worked for the will in him. The will, according to Schopenhauer, was the only permanent and unchangeable element which worked day and night, ceaselessly in the mind ; and the result of this work was the creation of misery for life. The will, as Schopenhauer conceived it, was the basic but supreme force in life ; it was his 'thing-in-itself'. But although metaphysically fundamental, it was an evil according to Schopenhauer. It was an evil because it signified desires for more and more of more and more objects. The thirst for desire could never be quenched, he suggested. The will was an evil because it encouraged vile and useless struggle in life ; and the intensity of its degree rose with the rise of higher forms of life. In the case of man even his knowledge and foresight were the additional causes of his sorrow. The will then was in general the cause of all suffering and misery of life ; it was the source of sorrow, suffering and unhappiness of man. Schopenhauer had his own interpretations of art, ethics and human behaviour ; he suggested his ideas as to how they could either temporarily relieve man from the workings of the will or could eradicate the will completely from life. Nothing short of running away

from the will, he opined, could save man from misery and unhappiness.

Schopenhauer unified the universe with his concept of the will. Details regarding this concept as conceived by him, have been incorporated in the discussion mainly because it is highly interesting from the point of view of the concept of vital coordination which only can bring all its defects into bold relief.

Schopenhauer conceived will as an urge which generated nothing but fruitless struggles in life. But are these struggles fruitless? Has not life progressed and gone up through struggles? And has not man come to possess everything laudable in him and everything that is valuable for his individual and social living through struggles? If the power of struggle has continuously developed in life it has been created for effecting more and more achievements. Such struggles are neither vile nor fruitless; they are struggles for coordinating achievements.

Schopenhauer's will was a drive for creating suffering in life. The aimless striving of the sub-animal world and the impulse for enjoyment in the animal world were the indications, he suggested, of this suffering. And in the case of man this suffering reached its highest limit because of the development of certain powers and capacities in him, he argued; pain, and not pleasure, was always in store for him. Being always under the pressure of a thirst for fresh possessions and being carried away by a feeling of boredom whenever there was nothing to desire man had practically no prospect of being happy. He was destined to feel, according to Schopenhauer, either the pain of being forced to want more and more or the pain of ennui. Such was the tragic destiny of life depicted by Schopenhauer.

The truth is that consciousness in life develops progressively along with the gradual progress of the biological elaboration of life through coordinations. And as consciousness is directly proportional to the stage of development of life it is only dimly present in lower organisms but highly developed in human beings. The capacity to feel pain, therefore, is seen to increase continuously as we go up the ladder of evolution. But as consciousness determines all feelings the capacity to feel pleasure also increases continuously along with the development of the ability to feel pain. It is not that Nature has made man unhappy by evolving a contrivance for his suffering. If man has been made susceptible to greater pain he has also been made susceptible to greater pleasure and happiness. Happiness is not a negative condition; it does not depend only upon the removal of pain. It is a positive entity which can be realized by effecting suitable environmental and worthy mental coordinations in his life. The power to make himself the happiest creature or the worst sufferer lies in him.

Schopenhauer's concept of the will gives us the impression that it is absolutely blind and is completely devoid of any biological purpose and usefulness; it gradually leads life vindictively only to conditions of greater and greater suffering. This is, however, not true to life. Life with the aid

of its vital coordination tends to move, and it does move in fact, to conditions of greater freedom. Life is creative ; and its basic urge is neither blind nor mechanical. It seeks to develop consciousness through its purposive activities.

There may be conflicting ideas in philosophy but the knowledge which it seeks to synthesize is primarily for the use of man for his happiness. Philosophy really is the philosophy of the things that concern human life ; it is not foreign to the life and experiences of man. Whenever one has thought methodically and completely with a view to solving any problem and integrating the resulting elements of thought into a united whole one has passed definitely into the domain of philosophy. And although philosophy comprises the highest form of intellectual materials it really represents a basic and universal form of human activity.

The prime function of Philosophy is to coordinate thoughts, ideas and experiences ; and as Philosophy is the most effective and perfect coordinating agent it may rightly be called the science of mental coordination. It is the natural process of Philosophy, which coordinates detached human experiences to develop units of ideas of emergent meanings and significance. Animals also have their experiences. But experiences in them live as stray experiences ; no rational coordination of the elements from these experiences are made for the development of their new meanings in the lives of animals.

Philosophy signifies an integrated system constructed out of fragments of all forms of knowledge and elements of experience. It is the spirit of the quest of unity which motivates and inspires Philosophy. And the peculiar condition of coordination of all active elements from all the different branches of human knowledge generates the spirit of wisdom in Philosophy.

Philosophy stands for wisdom. And it must, therefore, be reconstructed with the aid of the elements from the vast wealth of materials that have accumulated during recent years in the store of human knowledge ; this new coordination of Philosophy is vitally necessary for its enrichment. It is useless to depend entirely upon a system of Philosophy that was framed many centuries ago on the basis of the state of human knowledge at that time. Philosophy, after all, must teach man to be wise ; it must be able to tackle all his contemporary problems so that he may think and act wisely. For the development of his wisdom man must turn to Philosophy ; science certainly can increase his power but not his wisdom. Philosophy will never outgrow its utility in human society ; the opinion that Philosophy should go out of human use and culture is a perverted way of wishing the return of darker days for humanity.

Science and Philosophy have different functions to perform. Science supplies us with analytic descriptions ; but Philosophy gives us synthetic interpretations which are supremely important for the enrichment of the mind of man. What is necessary is a coordination of Science and Philosophy because both of them are necessary for man. Science without Philosophy

makes man mechanical and cruel ; and Philosophy without Science makes him dreamy and helpless in Nature and society. Only a coordination of these two can help him to develop all his human qualities and virtues.

The relation between Philosophy and civilization is intimate. Philosophy will always suggest and inspire our ways of life. It can suggest and develop man's vision because it can foresee things long before their actual appearance ; it can inspire us because it generates wisdom which enboldens human heart.

The general tendency of man to coordinate all his experiences finds expression in Philosophy where the coordination is effected in a highly effective way. In higher stages of human culture the adventure which man feels inclined to make is primarily in the mental field. But as thought is a kind of experience its coordination becomes highly significant to man. Philosophy which grows out of human experiences is, therefore, at once intellectual and pragmatic.

The result of bold and broad coordinations of thoughts and ideas led to their utmost possible limits with a view to establishing relationships for building up united units with all reasonably connected knowledge and experience is philosophy. Philosophy thus, is the highest form of human coordination effected in man's conscious life. It is the ambition of Philosophy to arrive at the last limit of all considerations regarding an entity, that has made it supreme in the field of human thought. And as the establishment of relationship for harmonizing a world of thoughts and experiences is its purpose it cannot limit itself to any particular branch of human knowledge ; it is interested in everything that exists ; it is interested in 'the nature of being as such'. And because of its coordination of knowledge from various sources Philosophy has developed a profundity and an outlook which have made philosophy admirably fit not only for tackling a wide range of problems that confront the life of man by way of explanations and interpretations of various objects and entities that perplexed him but also for becoming the fountain head of his inspirations of life. Philosophy has always become an integral part of the social life of man and as such it has always helped him to frame the pattern of his culture and to guide his destiny. Upon the nature of Philosophy that is prevalent in a community depends the type of civilization that is built up there. Forms of social organization, patterns of attitude of life, types of activities in which individuals in general take part, species of concepts that are considered valuable—all take their shapes by depending upon the inspirations derived from the particular system of Philosophy of a group of people. Philosophy, on the other hand, grew out of human inspirations. Love in the form of inspirational desire of man was indispensable for the development of all the various branches of Philosophy Russell's suggestion for classifying these branches into the broad groups of (1) philosophies of feeling (motivated by the love of happiness), (2) theoretical philosophies (inspired by the

love of knowledge) and (3) practical philosophies (accumulated by the love of action) is highly significant from this point of view.<sup>11</sup> Man philosophized then, in connection with just the things he loved. This is why philosophy contains the most precious thoughts regarding his life which to him is the most lovable possession. Although it is largely true that philosophy was created by man under the pressure of the considerations of his life and its needs for enrichment it has always been the basic urge of coordination which has motivated man to bring all related and interrelated thoughts, ideas, concepts and considerations into extensively broad and coordinated units which are the constituents of Philosophy.

To philosophize is a basic characteristic of man ; but the characteristic owes its existence to the urge of coordination of life. To philosophize, therefore, is to proceed to create certain patterns of bold and extensively wide mental coordinations. The attempt to classify all the entities of the world into groups only of matter and mind, the ambition to organize all ideas regarding the nature of the universe and the place of man in it, the aim of determining the nature of everything that is good for the life of man and his society, the effort to comprehend the processes of the gradual transformation of sensation, perception and conception along with the gradual development of the highest form of human thought, the struggle to arrive at the concepts of the highest and ultimate forms of truth, beauty and goodness and the inclination to speculate about the hidden and the unknowable belong together ; all of them owe their origin to the urge of coordination, the activities of which have led man to form such comprehensively coordinated units as now go to form the body and structure of our philosophy. The urge to form big units of ideas is so much a way of the mind of man that he is known to have seriously attempted to build up those astonishingly bold coordinations even in his primitive days, when his knowledge and experience were extremely fragmentary.

The reason why Philosophy has lost its pristine prestige and why it is considered unnecessary for modern man is that all astute philosophers after Kant, have taken interest in topics and concepts that had nothing to do with the problems of the practical life of man. And the consideration of material prosperity has led man to take to ways of thinking, which are necessary for the development of Science and Technology ; it has taken him away from speculations that have only intellectual values. But Philosophy as a pattern of thinking is useful wherever cogent and methodical thinking is needed for arriving at a conclusion or for evolving a system. The use of Philosophy will become more and more indispensable because every bit of new knowledge of scientific finding in the future, must be appraised from the point of view of the total perspective of the life of man. If the solution of problems with the aid of the spirit of coordination is the fundamental

<sup>11</sup> *Vide History of Western Philosophy*, p. 819.—Bertrand Russell.



characteristic of Philosophy why should it be utilized for solving only certain forms of speculative and highly theoretical problems of human life? Philosophy must be made to solve all human problems including the most practical ones. This will not only bring about a sort of rapprochement between man and his Philosophy but will also effect a form of renaissance of philosophy itself. True renaissance of Philosophy, however, will grow out of its coordination with traditionally unrelated subjects as well as with bodies of newly acquired knowledge from all the different subjects. This is how the reconstruction of Philosophy will take place.

Philosophers have never cared to depend much upon biological truths for their speculations. The tendency has been painfully unfortunate; Biology which positively suggests the presence of the bond of relationship amongst all the living creatures of the world and which tries to understand the genesis of the mind in the living world, should have attracted the notice of philosophers more fully because these are the ideas in which philosophers have always taken profound interest. Is not the idea of the bond of relationship in the living world a near approximation to the concept of unity in diversity, which philosophers throughout the ages have tried to uphold? And is not the consideration of the mind in all its phases supremely important to philosophers? Directly and indirectly they have always proceeded to comprehend the mind and its working processes. And as the use of the mind in its utmost capacity, in connection with speculations, is the professional technique of philosophers it is imperative that they follow the evolution of the mind in Nature. To understand a thing properly one must know its origin and its gradual growth. Again, life is the only force in Nature, which moves and changes systematically as if to attain a goal. It is true that the goal is not fixed; but it is true that life proceeds towards a particular direction. This unique characteristic of life in Nature should certainly capture the imagination of philosophers more boldly because philosophers start from what is natural in Nature.

Man has a place in Nature and to understand his position there is to get an idea of the limitations of his capacities and powers; and if Philosophy is to suggest methods for making man's happiness real and possible and if it is to speculate about his future regarding the creation, growth and development of various traits and abilities in him it must turn to Biology for gathering positive information about all these. To make speculations may be the business of Philosophy but to see that such speculations are only real and true is also its business. The flight of philosophy should begin after the frontiers of the realities of life; the dove cannot soar higher in vacuum. Man cannot be great by going against Nature; even the ideals of his life must be created by keeping an eye upon the ideal or *aim of life* in Nature. The chief merit of Bergson's writing consists of an indication of the fact that a particular form of enrichment may be effected in Philosophy by introducing biological ideas and concepts into philosophical thoughts.



Factors that led to the formation of Philosophy in human society are quite numerous. Man's curiosity to comprehend basically the objects and entities that confront him and his willingness to determine things that are good for his life and destiny are certainly important factors ; but man's speculative and contemplative attitude and his will to live are also responsible for the development of Philosophy. Philosophy, after all, is a way of social thinking. Social and political conditions have not only influenced systems of Philosophy but have also determined their characters. Despite the presence of certain eternal problems with their attempted solutions in Philosophy we find that the nature of Philosophy is different in different ages and in different countries ; and the diversity of forms is due entirely to the diversity of social conditions prevailing during the growth of these systems of Philosophy. But the drive that is at the root of all philosophical thinking is the urge of vital coordination which builds up all kinds of creative thinking by establishing various forms of mental relations through the coordination of ideas, concepts and thoughts. The basic vital force serves as the prime-mover even in the field of man's creative and speculative thoughts.

The concept of evolution has proved itself to be of profound importance in the history of human thought because it has not only started the development of various new ideas and notions but has also helped man to organize and systematize, and, in fact, to coordinate his accumulated knowledge in a more effective way. Religionists at first protested against the concept ; but they too subsequently accepted it for its usefulness in explaining religion in a better and more scientific way. There is hardly any field in the domain of human thoughts and actions in which the concept of evolution has not been found useful.

The concept of evolution has grown in stages through three successive waves of movements. The first movement ventilated the idea of the evolution of the body only ; the second added the idea of the evolution of the mind to the already formed concept of evolution. Pioneers of the concept of evolution were interested in the mechanical side of the changes of structures of species. They did not understand the evolution of the mind, much less its importance for causing structural evolution. Directly or indirectly it is the mind that is responsible for effecting all forms of changes that are associated with evolution. The third wave of movement began with the growth of the concept of the creative nature of evolutions. Bergson's *Evolution Creatrice* served as a great force in propagating the idea of the importance of the mind and its creativeness in precipitating evolution. Evolution, he suggests, is creative ; an attainment of security is not its goal.<sup>12</sup> But even then our knowledge regarding the nature of evolution remains desultory. Is evolution a vital tendency or is it the effect of some force or forces acting upon life ? Only the concept of *vital coordination* can make our idea regarding its nature quite clear.

<sup>12</sup> *Vide Creative Evolution*—Henri Bergson.

# LEONARD TRELAWNEY HOBHOUSE (1864-1929)

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If one had the occasion to study at the London School of Economics, one must have noticed what respect and reverence attaches the name of L. T. Hobhouse : And, those who were fortunate enough to see him at work, will have seen his passion for humanity and justice, his intense desire to serve mankind, and his ceaseless search for harmony in life and society. It was not, precisely, within the bounds of the London School of Economics or the University of London his interests and enthusiasms were limited. His arena of operation was the society itself ; he hated anything peripheral and palliative. By active participation in the social movements of his time—the extension of trade unionism among unskilled workers and agricultural labourers, the economic education of co-operators and so on, and by wide historical and comparative studies, he always tried to acquire an ever-widening grasp of social realities. This is how politics and sociology turned into something living and concrete with him ; he fused politics with sociology and sociology with politics. Since nothing human was alien to him, he fought ceaselessly and without rest for a just society at home and abroad. His was the voice of indignation against the imperialistic design of his government during the Boer War ; and it was he who urged, in no uncertain terms, for an equitable distribution of wealth and opportunities in society. His was a rare blend of intellectualism and humanitarianism, indeed ! 1964 is the birth centenary year of Hobhouse. As an ex-student of the London School of Economics, I am trying in this short paper, to pay my humble homage to his wise and tender humanity.

Leonard Trelawney Hobhouse was born on September 8, 1864 at St. Ives, Cornwall. He grew up in an age surcharged with evolutionism. It became, so to say, a dogma ; biological and sociological sciences all came to be weighed and assessed in terms of evolutionism. Darwin and Spencer became the by-words. Hobhouse could not escape from this all pervasive evolutionism. He was taken up by the philosophy current in the society, but evolutionism was not the only idea or philosophy he cared for. On the contrary, the formative influences upon his work were the synthetic view of philosophy and the evolutionary bias of Spencer, the positivism and humanitarianism

of Comte and the social philosophy of Mill and Green.' His attachment to the classical studies and his love for philosophy brought him to Oxford. With a classical scholarship he joined Corpus Christie in 1883. He had a career of distinction in recognition of which, he was appointed a teacher there: he became a Fellow in 1894 and continued teaching at Merton and Corpus Christie till 1897 when he felt compelled to leave. To him, the atmosphere at Oxford seemed to be heremetically sealed to the social realities around. England was then passing through a period of social stress and administrative change towards municipal socialism': As Trevelyan would have it,

"Baths and wash houses, museums, public libraries, parks, gardens, open spaces, allotments, lodging houses for the working classes were acquired, erected or maintained out of the rates. Tramways, gas, electricity and water in many places municipalized. It was also a great period of voluntary effort of settlements like Toynbee Hall, and of a very general awakening of all classes to the terrible consequences of 'environment' in the slums in the 'richest country of the world'—as England was then still accounted..... The period also witnessed "the scientifically guided Christian inspiration of Canon Barnett; the statistical investigation of Charles Booth and his helpers into the real facts of London life and his reasoned advocacy of Old Age Pensions; the social side of 'General' William Booth's work of redemption through the Salvation Army, and Church work on similar lines;.....the investigations and 'Fabian' tactics of the Sidney Webbs to manoeuvre instalments of socialism out of Liberal and Conservative governments and parties; the more militant life breathed into Socialism by Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* and by Hyndman's Social Democratic Federation; the extension of Trade Union activity from the highly skilled to the ill-paid and unskilled trades signalized by the Dockers' strike of 1899; the establishment of Ruskin College in Oxford, the same year;

Hobhouse could not extricate himself from the prevailing currents of events. In the milieu of ever-growing working class movements, it is no wonder that Hobhouse, with all his feeling of 'partisan', should write his first book on *Labour Movement* in 1893. The Fabian philosophers at Oxford did hardly take notice of the prevailing social situation and the growing awareness of the working class. On

the contrary T. H. Green and Bernard Bosanquet set their hands in re-interpreting political ideologies. They found in refinements of the idea of a 'general will' a method of harmonising, in theory, the 'real will' of the individual with the law and government of the state; and that reality is entirely spiritual. Hobhouse's own ideas ran counter to these; he had, in the mean time, become convinced that a philosophy that was to possess more than a speculative interest must rest on a synthesis of experience as interpreted by science, and that to such a synthesis the general conception of evolution offered a key. In his *Theory of Knowledge* (1896) he first tried to incorporate the foundations and presuppositions requisite for the construction of a valid system of thought. He laid stress upon mental development as the most vital aspect of the evolutionary process and he disclaimed any support of a spiritualistic monism. With his intellectual make-up, it is natural; that Hobhouse should feel a sort of constraint to continue in Oxford. He left Oxford in 1897. But, where to go?

Mr. C. P. Scott, the then editor of the *Manchester Guardian* came to his rescue; he was in need of an editorial assistant for the daily. When he came to Hobhouse with the offer, Hobhouse readily accepted it. He joined the *Guardian* the same year he left Oxford. A new life began; the assignment at the *Guardian* gave Hobhouse ample opportunities to study social problems, domestic and foreign at close quarters. In the columns of the *Guardian* he wrote extensively, and with a thorough grasp of facts, on the social issues of trade unionism, governmental control of industry, China, India, Russia, and also on the policy of the British government in the Boer War. But his pre-occupations with animal psychology, mind, evolution made him restive. In his earlier work, *Theory of Knowledge* he gave the first approximation of the problem of mind in evolution. Now he wanted to look into the process of evolution of animal consciousness and its transition to human mentality. His second treatise *Mind in Evolution* came out in 1901. 'This was the first in a series of studies in which he sought to trace the growth of mind in the animal world and in the collective achievements of mankind.' He felt a strong desire to make a re-assessment and re-examination of the social implications of his philosophical theories. This made him leave Manchester in 1902. But his was not the lot to carry on philosophic and scientific work undisturbed. Journalistic and political preoccupations led him elsewhere. The late eighties and nineties of the last century were periods of great strikes in industry, ranging from the famous London Dock Strike, led by Ben Tillett and Tom Mann to the Engineers'

strike of 1897. By 1900, trade union membership in Britain topped the two million mark, and it included a mass of skilled as well as of un-skilled labour. The Labour Representation Committee which was changed into the Labour Party also dates from 1900. With social situation 'on his side', Hobhouse joined the Free Trade Union in 1902. He became its secretary and continued till 1905. His association with the Free Trade Union gave him opportunities to look into the nature and preserve of the state more objectively. He could not accept the Hegelian spirit of adulation of the State as a mystic entity. He would rather accept the state as one of the many associations in society. This anti-Hegelian view-point came to be incorporated in his *Democracy and Reaction* (1904), one of the keenest indictments of imperialism and national egoism. In *Democracy and Reaction*, all his polemic was hurled against the Unionist party of Joseph Chamberlain, the party, which in Hobhouse's opinion, was jeopardising the national and social interests of England. Against the absolutistic character of the state Hobhouse wrote—

"The State is an association of human beings—with the exception of the great world churches the greatest of all associations. It has no mystic sanctity or authority rendering it superior to morality or emancipating it from the laws by which transgression brings its own retribution in the lowering of character. It is an association which has its own special constitution and circumstances, and in the concrete its duties and rights, like the duties and rights of every other association and every individual, must be judged in relation to its constitution and to these circumstances" (p. 207).

He relinquished his post of the secretary of the Free Trade Union in 1905. After that, for a year and a half, he was the political editor of the newly formed daily, *The Tribune*. His sociological pre-occupations, however, did not leave him. Various anti-humanitarian developments in the nineteenth century, the era of municipal socialism notwithstanding, made him bit of a sceptic about progress in society. But he was not one to "take 'no' as an answer." Progress, he came to believe, follows a path of evolution. In *Morals in Evolution* (1906), which 'marked an epoch in sociology', Hobhouse made an effort to prove that ethics, morals and social institutions have an evolutionary growth. To arrive at such a conclusion, Hobhouse had to derive his materials from diverse disciplines of history, archaeology, anthropology, comparative psychology and comparative religion.

Regarding the evolution of public justice, for example, he writes :  
 ".....we find that at the outset the community interferes mainly on what we may call supernatural grounds only with actions which are regarded as endangering its existence. Otherwise justice, as we know it, in the sense of an impartial upholding of rights and an impartial punishment of wrong-doing, is unknown. In the place of that we have at the outset purely private and personal relation. This develops into systematized blood-feuds of consolidated families and clans. At this stage, responsibility is collective, redress is collective, intention is ignored and there is no question of assessing punishment according to the merit of the individual. When retaliation is mitigated by the introduction of money payments no change in ethical principle occurs. It is only as social order evolves an independent organ for the adjustment of disputes and the prevention of crime that the ethical idea becomes separated from the husk and step by step the individual is separated from his family and his intentions are taken into account, his formal rectitude or want of rectitude is thrown into the background by the essential justice of the case, appeals to magical practices are abandoned and the law sets before itself the aim of discovering the facts and maintaining right or punishing wrong-doing."

In the field of paleo-anthropology *Morals in Evolution* was a unique contribution. *Golden Bough* by Frazer and *Origin and Development of Human Marriage* by Westermarck were there before *Morals in Evolution* came out. They also dealt with the question of the origin of social institutions of *Homo Sapiens*; but they could hardly equal in insight with Hobhouse's *magnum opus*. Indeed, in the vastness of canvass, *Morals in Evolution* remains, even to this day, "the most comprehensive and balanced comparative study of social institutions".

By the first decade of this century, Sociology was gradually making its way to the academic world in Britain. Sometime in 1902, a nucleus body was formed in England to consider the importance of sociology as an academic discipline. By 1907, a University Chair on Sociology (Martin White Professorship) was set up. Hobhouse was fretting in the *Tribune*, his ideas were far in advance than those of the authorities of the daily, he left the *Tribune* and it was no chance coincidence that he would be appointed Martin

White Professor in Sociology at the London School of Economics in the very year of its installation. Hobhouse had already become known as one of the front-rankers in sociology! Professorship at the London School of Economics opened a new vista of study and research before him. He was now able to delve deep in his sociological studies and to delineate the character of progress or 'society in development'. His journalistic and political pre-occupation, however, remained. His contributions in the *Manchester Guardian* continued.

In the British politics of the first decade of this century, protection for individual rights had a more powerful appeal than protection for national industries. The demand of social security was the uppermost in the society. The Liberal budget of 1908 earmarked a sum of £1200,000 for a scheme of old age pensions on a non-contributory basis, to start in 1909. In 1909, the Trade Boards Act was passed, to stop "sweated labour" in certain trades. The Act gave complete protection against judgements like the Taff-Vale decision. In a subsequent Act, political rights, which were denied to the trade union by the 'Osborne Judgment,' were restored. In 1911 the National Insurance Act was passed, thus, by positive means, by deliberate social organisation and collectivist measures instead of by optimistic trust in an 'invisible hand', the days of *laissez faire* became numbered. A prolonged and careful study of social and political institution made Hobhouse fully aware of the futility of *laissez faire* liberalism of Cobden and Bright brand, liberal policies of Asquith and Lloyd George appealed to him more. His book entitled *Liberalism* came out in 1911 and in this, he advocated a new philosophy of society the philosophy of Liberal Socialism or Democratic Socialism of modern parlance. In his Liberal Socialism he supported Asquith and Lloyd George type of 'welfare state'. It was an era of promoted progress, and Hobhouse believed in telic and not in an automatic development of society. That society could, by appropriate social actions, be led towards "desired direction" became the focal point of his book *Development and Purpose* published in 1913. In this, Hobhouse has thrown a most daring and bold challenge to the nineteenth-century ideas which culminated in the movement of Historicism. Historicism had it that each epoch, each society, is of equal value with every other. There are, therefore, no universal norms, accepted and accredited by the eighteenth century philosophers, with which to judge different cultures. On the contrary, the past, according to Historicism, consists of individuals, non-repeatable events, with their own unique values and meaning. In this,



historicism proved to be a major challenge to the doctrine of progress.

Hobhouse fought tooth and nail against these obscurantist ideas. With 'history on his side' he shook off all worn out concepts and accepted goal oriented development', as the only criterion of development in society. In *Development and Purpose* he writes :

"The distinguishing characteristics of our time are that civilization for the first time has the upperhand, that the physical conditions of life have come and are rapidly coming more and more within human control, and that at least, the foundations have been laid of a social order which would render possible a permanent and unbroken development." Development and social progress is the end-result of the principle of union, order, co-operation and harmony among human beings. "But harmony", as Hobhouse came to believe, "is something which does not come of itself, but is achieved in greater or less degree by effort, that is to say, by intelligence and will" . . . and that "growth of social mind and its control over conditions of life as the measure of progress".

In Hobhouse's ideas of progress we get a rather close resemblance of E. H. Carr's "Belief in progress means belief in the progressive development of human potentialities.". Humanity, in the view of Hobhouse, had not reached that stage of self direction necessary for perennial progress : but reviewing the state of the world in the 20's he felt like predicting, despite serious misgivings that it contained many essentials of such self-direction and these were sufficient to define the direction in which social development would proceed. In his ideas of progress, Hobhouse completely differed from his very able and erudite contemporary, Emile Durkheim. To Durkheim, collective conscience exists independently of individual conscience, supplying the very content of the ideas of individuals. Hobhouse rejected the implicit idealistic over-tone of Durkheimian logic. He aligned with Bergson in believing in the 'elan' of individual.

But barely a year had passed after the publication of Hobhouse's *Development and Purpose* when the First world War broke out. Hobhouse was profoundly disturbed by the social situation arising out of the internecine struggle. He saw how the predatory propensities got the upper hand in society, how justice was ridiculed and human values, debased. The optimist of *Morals in Evolution and Development and Purpose* now felt compelled to ask seriously "Is this humanity has lived for through ages? Are the humanistic tenets of the 19th century a mere veneer on the essentially anti-humanistic disposition of mankind"? Hobhouse's belief in progress, in humanism,



died hard. In a series of articles in the *Manchester Guardian* he wrote, to a considerable length, "exploring the possibilities of salvaging what could be salvaged of the fundamental decencies of civilisation". *The World in Conflict* (1915) is, possibly, the first sociological study into the causes of war. He found that a philosophy of force, developed out of a perversion of the biological formula of the survival of the fittest, was at the root of the world conflict. He wrote:

"The biological theory of evolution which was the crowning glory of nineteenth century science could be interpreted as a justification of force and self-assertion. It then became a theory of revolt against law and morals, and more particularly against the morals of Christianity" "... The idea of violence was in the air, then in the years before the war; and it was not merely the violence that comes naturally from despair of all legal remedy. There was a deliberate theory of force. Men were being taught not to look too far ahead, not to wait till they could see where they were going, not to follow deliberately a reasoned policy, but rather to throw themselves on instinct, to strike a blow which would smash something and make an echo in the world even if they did not quite know what they are breaking or what would follow".

In this milieu of force, only two alternatives were possible; either, mankind will make for "a continuance of militarism, preparedness, more wars, and the cumulative self-destruction of Western civilization" or provide for "some orderly mode of governing the intercourse of nations". Peace was the answer for Hobhouse. He sought for peace not through makeshift and temporary arrangements like the Hague Tribunal, but through the formation of an international organisation, controlling the activities of the nation states. In his *Questions of War and Peace* (1916) he

"looked forward to the conversion of the Alliance into a permanent League or Federation, with a regular constitution and definite functions, which should include some measure of control over the production of munitions of war".

He also contemplated on "the extension of the League by free entry of new members. This would at once transform it from an ordinary alliance into something approaching a world-federation".

Recent developments in history—the brinkmanship shown by different nations on various occasions—show what a pigish vision

Hobhouse had on the future development of the nation states of the world.

Hobhouse, however much he might have roamed in the alleys of politics and international relations, he was never forgetful of his first love 'sociology'. In *Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler People*, written with M. Ginsberg and G. C. Wheeler, he made a probe into ethnographic strata society. In it he tried to test his hypothesis that there is a "broad correlation between social development as estimated by the criteria of scale, efficiency, mutuality and freedom and the growth of mind, as seen in the advance of science, in the increasing control man gains over nature, in the ethico-religious sphere and art".

All his ideas about society, development, progress found their mature expression in *The Metaphysical Theory of State*, *The Rational Good*, *The Elements of Social Justice* and *Social Development*. The general over-tone of all these writings was social justice and social justice alone. His 'Metaphysical Theory of State' is definitely anti-metaphysical. He was all in protest against 'the rhapsodical utterances' about state by the metaphysical dreamers like Hegel and Bosanquet. He, on the contrary, believed that metaphysics of the state lies in its capacity for taking infinite pains of social justice. He was the pioneer of the ideas of modern democratic socialism. He was in favour of a right balance between the liberty of the individuals and the control of the state. He abhorred the idea of functionless wealth in society; to him, property has its justification in social functions alone. In this he was a fore runner of Harold J. Laski. Hobhouse supported Rignano and advocated that inheritance should be controlled by imposing extra taxation on each passage of property at death. As income was the reward of social service, his scheme of death duties aimed at making inherited wealth a diminishing asset for the individual and an increasing one for the community.

Hobhouse championed the cause of public ownership or management of industrial organizations. But this advocacy was not an unqualified one. Aware as he was of the plutocratic predilections in the concentration of power in the hands of the state, he favoured that the actual management would either be in the hands of joint boards of consumers and producers, municipalities, co-operative associations, or left to private enterprise according to the requirements of particular industries. He said that the general conditions of work and remuneration would be laid down by law, with the proviso that minor details would be worked out by appropriate boards, such as the

Trade Boards. In many of such boards, Hobhouse acted as chairman.

Hobhouse's contributions to sociology, politics, economics, anthropology and philosophy were extensive, indeed! No rapid summarization is possible. Nevertheless, his singular achievement lies in the fact that he wanted to follow an inter-disciplinary, a unified approach in the study of sociology. He was more than sure that an isolationist approach of the study of sociology would be baffling. He laid stress on the comparative studies of societies and in *Material Culture and the Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples* he proved the usefulness of the comparative approach.

After a period of twenty-two years of dedicated service to the London School of Economics as well as to the society at large, Hobhouse died in 1929. The driving force of his thought was an ardent humanitarianism, an intense desire to serve mankind, by bringing to bear upon the problems of human life the methods and principles of rational thought. No eulogium would be adequate enough for this mastermind; I can only subscribe to what my esteemed teacher M. Ginsberg said of Leonard Trelawney Hobhouse,—“He illustrates in his life work his own view of reason as a continuous and comprehensive effort towards harmony in experience, whether in the field of practice or speculation”.

## Reviews & Notices of Books

**Indian Epigraphy**—By Dr. D. C. Sircar, pp. xxii+475 and 36 Plates. Published by Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1965. Price Rs. 60.00.

Inscriptions may well be described as the most valuable source of information for the study of ancient Indian history and Dr. Sircar has placed all students of Indology under deep obligation by placing before them a comprehensive introduction and a guide-book for a proper scientific study of Indian epigraphy. It supplies copious information—authentic, well arranged and classified in a proper order—on all important topics connected with epigraphic studies and would save much time and trouble to the students of Indology, particularly the beginners. It gives a concise but precise account of the nature and value of inscriptions, the languages in which they are written, the writing materials, technological processes involved, general structure of the inscriptions, particularly the Copperplate Grants, meaning of technical terms, and also a general idea of inscriptions outside India, written in Indian languages and scripts.

An elaborate account of the methods of dating used in inscriptions is a special feature of the book. It includes a discussion of the origin of different eras used in India which is undoubtedly of great value. But it involves some controversial points on which the author in his characteristic manner makes some positive and definite statements which it is very difficult to accept. His acceptance of the view that the dates in Nepalese records which were hitherto referred to the so-called Harsha era, were really dates in Saka era with the omission of 500 is welcome, though probably in the hurry of making this last minute change he has forgotten to acknowledge his debt to one whose views about Harsha era he has systematically opposed. But this change should have warned him that it is not always safe to make definite pronouncements on the basis of insufficient data. The same attitude is responsible for his last ditch fight for maintaining his opposition to his opponents, interpretation of the dates referring to the *gata-rājya* or *atita-rājya* of a king, and the consequent self-contradiction in which he has involved himself, by opposing on p. 276 the theory of confusion which he has himself offered on p. 278.

But these are small blemishes that do not detract from the great merit of the work which is the product of life-long serious study of inscriptions such as no other living scholar, Indian or European, has made and which gives evidence of patient industry that is a remarkable, though unfortunately a very rare, virtue in Indian scholarship today. It is a magnificent work for which the author deserves the congratulation of all students of Indology.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

# **Ourselves**

## **SEMINAR ON HIMALAYAN GEOLOGY**

The Seminar on Himalayan Geology was held at Simla in June, 1963 which made certain recommendations to the University Grants Commission for approval by this body. The latter at its meeting held on 7th October, 1964, carefully considered these recommendations and agreed to provide necessary assistance to the Universities concerned to strengthen their research activities in Geology of the Himalayas in accordance with the suggestions made by the Seminar. The commission has been pleased to approve of the creation of fellowships and grants, both recurring and non-recurring, to enable the departments of Geology and Geography of all Universities in India as also ours to implement the research schemes submitted to the Seminar. The grants for this purpose will be payable by the University Grants Commission on 100% basis for the remaining portion of the Third Five-Year Plan period. The departments concerned are requested to take adequate steps for taking up the proposed research activities in the Himalayas in accordance with the suggestions made by the seminar as early as possible.



## **Notifications**

### **UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA**

**Notification No. C/517/134 (Aff.)**

It is hereby notified for general information that in extension of the affiliation already granted, the Vidyasagar College, 24-Parganas, has been affiliated in Elective Bengali, Commercial Geography and Commercial Arithmetic & Book Keeping to the Pre-University Arts standard and in Elective Bengali to the B. A. Pass standard with effect from the commencement of the session 1964-65, i.e., with permission to present candidates in the abovementioned subjects at the Pre-University Arts Examination in 1965, B.A. Pass Part I Examination in 1966 and B.A. Pass Part II Examination in 1967 and not earlier.

Senate House, Calcutta,  
The 17th August, 1964.

**G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,**  
*Registrar.*

### **UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA**

**Notification No. C/600/73 (Aff.)**

It is hereby notified for general information that in extension of the affiliation already granted, the Bagnan College, Howrah, has been affiliated in Bengali to the B.A. Honours standard with effect from the commencement of the session, i.e., with permission to present candidates in the abovementioned subject at the B.A. Honours Part I Examination in 1966 and B.A. Honours Part II Examination in 1967 and not earlier.

Senate House, Calcutta,  
The 19th August, 1964.

**G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,**  
*Registrar.*

### **UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA**

**Notification No. C/585/123 (Aff.)**

It is hereby notified for general information that in extension of the affiliation already granted, the Uluberia College, Howrah, has been affiliated in History to the B.A. Honours standard with effect from the commencement of the session 1964-65, i.e., with permission to present candidates in the abovementioned subject at the B.A. Honours Part I Examination in 1966 and B.A. Honours Part II Examination in 1967 and not earlier.

Senate House, Calcutta,  
The 20th August, 1964.

**G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,**  
*Registrar.*

### **UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA**

**Notification No. C/593/82 (Aff.)**

It is hereby notified for general information that in extension of the affiliation already granted, the Dinabandhu Andrews College, Baishnabghata, has been affiliated in Botany to the Pre-University Arts standard from the session 1964-65 and in Chemistry to the B.Sc. Honours standard from the session 1965-66, i.e., with permission to present candidates in the relevant subject at the Pre-University Examination in 1965, B.Sc. Honours Part I Examination in 1967 and B.Sc. Honours Part II Examination in 1968 and not earlier.

Senate House, Calcutta,  
The 28th August, 1964.

**G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,**  
*Registrar.*

## UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification No. C/734/113 (Aff.)

It is hereby notified for general information that in extension of the affiliation already granted, the Rishi Bankim Chandra College, Naihati, has been affiliated in Banking, Currency and Foreign Exchange, Law and Practice of Banking including Bank Accounts to the B.Com. Honours standard with effect from the commencement of the session 1964-65, i.e., with permission to present candidates in the above-mentioned subjects at the B.Com. Part I Examination in 1966 and B.Com. Part II Examination in 1967 and not earlier.

Senate House, Calcutta,  
The 28th August, 1964.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
Registrar.

## UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification No. C/750/90 (Aff.)

It is hereby notified for general information that in extension of the affiliation already granted, the Jangipur College, Jangipur, has been affiliated in Political Science to the B.A. Honours standard and in Mathematics to the B.A. and B.Sc. Honours standards with effect from the commencement of the session 1964-65, i.e., with permission to present candidates in the above mentioned subjects at the B.A. and B.Sc. Part I Examinations in 1966 and B.A. and B.Sc. Part II Examinations in 1967 and not earlier.

Senate House, Calcutta,  
The 7th September, 1964.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
Registrar.

## UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification No. C/775/107 (Aff.)

It is hereby notified for general information that in extension of the affiliation already granted, the Ramkrishna Mission Sikshan Mandira, Belur, has been affiliated in Physics, Chemistry and Biology as Method subjects and in Social Education and Education in Ancient and Modern India as special subject to the B.T. standard with effect from the commencement of the session 1964-65, i.e., with permission to present candidates in the abovementioned subjects at the B.T. Examination in 1965 and not earlier.

Senate House, Calcutta,  
The 10th September, 1964.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
Registrar.

## UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification No. C/803/118 (Aff.)

It is hereby notified for general information that in extension of the affiliation already granted, the Sripal Singh College, Jiaganj, has been affiliated in History to the B.A. Honours standard and in Mathematics to the B.A. and B.Sc. standards with effect from the commencement of the session 1964-65, i.e., with permission to present candidates in the abovementioned subjects at the B.A., B.Sc. Part I Examinations in 1966 and B.A., B.Sc. Part II Examinations in 1967 and not earlier.

Senate House, Calcutta,  
The 11th September, 1964.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
Registrar.

## UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification No. C/857/144 (Aff.)

It is hereby notified for general information that in extension of the affiliation already granted, the Lal Baba College, Bally, Howrah, has been affiliated in Sanskrit, Urdu, Arabic, Persian and Mathematics to the Pre-University Arts and B.A. Pass standards in the Day Shift; and in History, Logic, Sanskrit, Urdu, Arabic, Persian and Mathematics to the Pre-University Arts and in English, Bengali (Vernacular), History, Economics, Political Science, Philosophy, Sanskrit, Urdu, Arabic, Persian and Mathematics to the B.A. Pass standards in the Evening Shift with effect from commencement of the session 1964-65, i.e., with permission to present candidates in the abovementioned subjects at the Pre-University Examination in 1965, B.A. Part I Examination in 1966 and B.A. Part II Examination in 1967 and not earlier.

Senate House, Calcutta,  
The 19th September, 1964.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
Registrar.

## SRI VENKATESWARA UNIVERSITY

No. 3453-B/63

## Proceedings of the Syndicate

Sub : Misconduct at University Examinations March-June, 1963—Award of punishments Regarding.

Read : 1. Report from the Chief Superintendent of University Examinations.  
2. Explanation from the candidate.  
3. Recommendation of the Syndicate Committee.  
4. Syndicate Resolution No. 24 dated 17.11.63.

## ORDER :

It is hereby notified that the under mentioned candidate who is found guilty of having practised unfair means at the University Examination held during March-June, 1963 is declared to have failed in the respective Examination and is further debarred from appearing at any University Examination before the date mentioned against his name.

Registered Number	Name of the Examination	Name and address	College	Nature of the Punishment awarded.
986	B A. (Special) Three-Year Degree.	Sri P.V. Narayana Reddy, C/o. P. Venkata Reddy, Musal Reddy Palle Vill. & Post, (Via) Kondapuram. Cuddapah District.	Govt. Arts College. Cuddapah.	Result of the Examination he sat for is cancelled and not permitted to appear for September, 1963 and March, 1964 Examinations. Permitted to appear for September, 1964 Examination and thereafter.

Note : The candidate should acknowledge receipt of this letter.

University Office,  
Tirupati,  
Tne 3rd December, 1963.

By order  
Illegible  
Ag. Registrar.

## SRI VENKATESWARA UNIVERSITY

No. 3453-B/63

## Proceedings of the Syndicate

Sub : Misconduct at University Examinations September-October, 1963—Award of punishments Regarding.

Read : 1. Reports from the Chief Superintendents of University Examinations.  
2. Explanations from the candidates.  
3. Recommendations of the Syndicate Committee.  
4. Syndicate Resolution No. 25, dated 17.11.1963.

## ORDER :

It is hereby notified that the undermentioned candidates who are found guilty of having practised unfair means at the University Examinations held during September-October, 1963 are declared to have failed in the respective Examinations and are further debarred from appearing at any University Examination before the dates mentioned against their names.

S. No.	Register Number	Name and address	College	Nature of punishment awarded.
1. Pre-University Examination				
1.	779	Sri S. Narasimhamurthy, C/o. S. Subbarayudu. Medical Officer. L. F. Dispensary. Talla Proddatur, (Via) Kondapuram (R.S.)	Govt. Arts College, Cuddapah.	Result of the Examination he sat for is cancelled and not permitted to appear for March, 1964 and September, 1964 Examinations. Permitted to appear for March, 1965 Examination and thereafter.



- |    |      |   |                         |   |
|----|------|---|-------------------------|---|
| 2. | 824  | Sri S. B. Jayakumar, C/o. S. B. Aron B.A., B.Ed.. Headmaster, U.M. Basic Training School, Koduru (R.S.), Cuddapah District. | Do                      | Result of the Examination he sat for is cancelled and not permitted to appear for March, 1964 and September, 1964 Examinations. Permitted to appear for March, 1965 Examination and thereafter. |
| 3  | 1730 | Sri K. Sreedhara Hebbar, C/o. Dr. K. P. R. Hebbar. Trunk Road, Nellore.   | V. R. College. Nellore. | Result of the Examination he sat for is cancelled and not permitted to appear for March, 1964 and September, 1964 Examinations. Permitted to appear for March, 1965 Examination and thereafter. |

## 2. B.A. (Three-Year Degree) Examination.

- |    |      |  |                               |   |
|----|------|--|-------------------------------|---|
| 1. | 1359 | Sri K. Rajamohana Reddy, C/o. K. V. Subba Reddy, R. S. Road. Rajampet (Post). Cuddapah District. | V. R. College. Nellore.       | Result of the Examination he sat for is cancelled and not permitted to appear for March, 1964 and September, 1964 Examinations. Permitted to appear for March, 1965 Examination and thereafter. |
| 2. | 1485 | Sri R. S. Gnanaprakasam, 291, Konotikatta Street. Tirupati.                                      | University College, Tirupati. | Result of the Examination he sat for is cancelled and not permitted to appear for March, 1964 and September, 1964 Examinations. Permitted to appear for March, 1965 Examination and thereafter. |

## 3. B.Sc. (Three-Year Degree) Examination.

- |    |     |  |                           |  |
|----|-----|--|---------------------------|--|
| 1. | 828 | Sri Noor Ahmed Khan, 13/34, Fort, Kurnool. | Osmania College. Kurnool. | Result of the Examination he sat for is cancelled and not permitted to appear for March, 1964 Examination. Permitted to appear for September, 1964 Examination and thereafter. |
|----|-----|--|---------------------------|--|

Note : The candidates should acknowledge receipt of this letter.

University Office,  
Tirupati,  
The 3rd December, 1963.

By order  
Illegible  
Ag. Registrar.

## RANCHI UNIVERSITY

## Corrigendum

Subject-Correction in the list of candidates, debarred from appearing at any University Examination for using unfair means at the Annual Examination of this University held in 1963.

Sir,

Kindly delete the following from the list forwarded under our Memo No Ex/14497-865 dated 12.9.63.

30, Jan. 47 (c) B.Sc. Engineering  
8547/61 3rd year Civil

Sri Ram Nandan Singh, Debarred prior  
C/o. Sri Bachu Singh. to 1965 Annual  
Village-Neyamatpur, Examination.  
P.O. Belaganj (Gaya).

Ranchi,  
The 17th October, 1963.

Yours faithfully,  
SD/D. P. VARMA.  
Registrar.

## UNIVERSITY OF POONA

Notification No. Ex/BAR/159 of 1963-64.

It is hereby notified under the directions of the Executive Council that the results of the undermentioned candidates who have been found guilty of having practised unfair means at the University Examinations of March/April, 1963, have been cancelled and that they have been further debarred from appearing at any University Examination, and from joining any college or pursuing any course in any University before the expiry of the date mentioned against them :

Examination Seat No.	Name	College	Date upto which debarred
Pre-Degree (Science)			
4536	Shri Vakil, Md. Iqbal Ahmed Saheb	Dayanand College, Sholapur	1st January, 1965.
4557	Shri Dafedar, Md. Sayeed Ibrahim Saheb	Sangameshwar College, Sholapur	1st January, 1965.
5010	Shri Totane Premchand Godumal	M. J. College, Jalgaon	1st January, 1966.
Pre-Degree (Arts)			
14841	Shri Deshpande, Arvind Madhao	Pandharpur College, Pandharpur	1st January, 1966.
14842	Shri Fattapurkar, Chandra. kaleshvar Shiwappa	Pandharpur College, Pandharpur	1st January, 1966.
T. Y. B. A.			
671	Shri Mithari, Bhausaheb Nanasaheb	Rajaram College, Kolhapur	1st January, 1967.
S. Y. and T. Y. B. Sc.			
635	Shri Pawar, Pratapsingh Sakharan	Sangameshwar College, Sholapur	1st January, 1967.
4353	Shri Patankar, Madhab Shankar	Sangameshwar College, Sholapur	1st January, 1967.
Ganeshkhind, Poona-7. December 19, 1963.			W. H. GOLAY, Registrar,

## NAGPUR UNIVERSITY

## Order

In continuation to the Order, dated 8th July, 15th July and 9th September, 1963, it is notified that the undermentioned Examinees who appeared at the Examinations held in March-April and May 1963, are disqualified for admission to any University Examination for the period noted against their names :

Roll No.	Name in full	Examination	Period of disqualification.
Amolakchand Mahavidyalaya, Yeotmal.			
3194	Ramchandra Ramsamuji Mishra	Pre-University Arts	Excluded from Examination (1) March-April, 1963 (2) October-November, 1963
Ex-Students			
633	Jugalkishore Vallabhdas Rathi	Final LL.B.	Excluded from March-April, Examination of 1963 upto March-April Examination of 1965 inclusive.
635	Ramrao Gilirao Deshmukh	Final LL.B.	Excluded from March-April 1963 upto March-April 1964 inclusive.

Nagpur,  
The 15th October, 1963.

D. P. DESHPANDE,  
Asst. Registrar (Exams.).

## THE MAHARAJA SAYAJIRAO UNIVERSITY OF BARODA

Notification No. SR(EX) 63-XI-104

It is hereby notified under the direction of the Syndicate that the results of the following four candidates who have been found guilty of having practised unfair means at the University Examinations held by this University in October-November, 1963, mentioned against the name of each of them, are hereby cancelled, and they

are debarred from appearing at any University Examination till the 31st December, 1964. They be also not permitted to pursue any course in this University till the end of the first term of the year 1964-65.

Sr. No.	Examination	Exam. Seat No.	Name	Faculty
1.	Final Year B.Sc.	44	Shah Parmonand Chundilal	Science
2.	F. Y. Diploma	58	Pastik Bipinchandra Ratanlal	Polytechnic
3	S. Y. D. (Mech.)	13	Prajapati Parasotam Chhotalal	Do
4	S. Y. D. (Mech.)	14	Shah Navinchandra Shantilal	Do

Baroda,  
The 5th December, 1963.

By order  
Illegible  
For Registrar.

### KURUKSHETRA UNIVERSITY

#### Orders of the Vice-Chancellor

The Vice-Chancellor has been pleased to expel Shri Krishan Kumar Kapoor, a student whose antecedents are noted below from this University for the Academic Session 1963-64 for gross misconduct :

Enrol. No.	Name of the Student	Father's Name	Class	University Deptt.
62UD104	Sh. Krishna Kumar Kapoor	Sh. Ram Lubhaya Kapoor	M.Sc. (Chem.) Final class	Deptt. of Chemistry, Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra.

Kurukshetra,  
The 27th November, 1963.

Illegible  
Registrar.

### UNIVERSITY OF JODHPUR

#### Notification

The following candidates were found using unfair means at the supplementary Examinations held by the University in August, 1963. The Supplementary Examinations of 1963 of these candidates have, therefore, been cancelled and they have been further debarred from appearing at any Examination of the University to be held in the year(s) as noted against each.

Roll No.	Enrolment No.	Name of the Candidate.	Name of the Examination.	Period of dis-qualification.
7	Ju62/4351	Badan Singh Rajput	B.Sc. (Conv.)	Debarred from the Examination of 1964 and 1965.
6	Ju62/230	Jai Narain Purohit	B.Com. (Final)	Debarred from the Examination of 1964.
8	Ju62/4165	Pushp Raj Mohnot	J.D.C. (Part I)	Debarred from the Examination of 1964.

University of Jodhpur,  
The 15th October, 1963.

Sd/R. S. KAPUR,  
Special Officer.

### SHIVAJI UNIVERSITY, KOLHAPUR

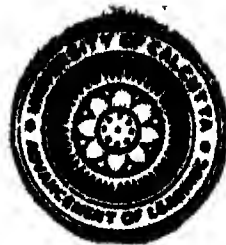
#### Notification

It is hereby notified under the directions of the Syndicate that the following candidates who have been found guilty of having practised unfair means at the University Examinations held in October, 1963, have been declared to have failed at the Examinations mentioned against each of them and that they have been debarred from appearing at any University Examination before the expiry of the date mentioned against them.

Exam. Seat No.	Examination	Name	College	Date upto which debarred
175	F.Y.S.Y.B.Sc.	Pawar, Harischandra Bhuja	Rajaram College, Kolhapur	1st January, 1965
259	F.Y.B.A.	Pangare, Abhimanyu Bandu	Dayanand College, Sholapur	1st January, 1965

Kolhapur-3  
The 24th March, 1964.

M. Y. VAIDYA,  
Registrar.



# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

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MARCH, 1965

[No. 3

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## SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

DR. PRITIBHUSHAN CHATTERJI,  
*University College of Arts, Calcutta*

The seventeenth century of the Christian era is essentially an age of science. This century can claim some of the greatest figures of the scientific world, and it is no wonder that Prof. Whitehead calls it 'the century of the genius'. Even a cursory glance at the long but awe-inspiring list of inventions and discoveries would easily convince one of the remarkable character of the 17th century achievements. Gilbert demonstrated that the earth is a magnet and he coined the term 'electricity'; Lippershey invented the first practical telescope; Kepler stated the laws governing the eclipses of the sun; Guntner invented the quadrant; Snell propounded the law of refraction of light; Harvey established his theory of circulation of blood; Toricelli invented the barometer; Glauber first prepared the spirit of salt, muriatic acid and hydrochloric acid; Huygens published his researches on gravity, the pendulum, centrifugal forces and centres of oscillation; Boyle formulated his new theory of chemical elements and he also discovered that the volume of a given quantity of air is inversely proportional to the pressure; Hooke propounded the law relating stress to strain in a body; Römer determined the velocity of light; Halley established the law of periodicity of comets; Newton made the famous discoveries of the law of gravitation, and later on, of the motion of bodies, and he also made notable

contributions in the field of optics. The greatest figure during the second half of the 17th century is undoubtedly Newton. He gave vent to the scientific spirit of the age when he declared: "I wish I could discover all phenomena of Nature by some kind of reasoning from mechanical principles." In fact, his conception of the material framework of the universe operating in a harmonious fashion was the generally accepted notion right up to the 19th century.

The scientific achievements of the 17th century bring out in bold relief a gradual disappearance of the medieval type of dogmatic reliance on Church Authority—there was greater and greater emphasis on independent experiments. Indeed, experiment gradually came to be accepted almost as a way of life. In the medieval scholastic period church dogmas held the field, and every theory, in order to gain recognition, had to be fitted into the fixed *a priori* pattern of the religious dogmas. It was thus an age of Faith (in the sense of dogmatic belief). But the modern age as it gradually emerged at the time of Renaissance was an age of Reason. The seventeenth century science bears witness to this slow but determined transition from Faith to Reason. And reason here does not mean any innate, *a priori*, intuitive reason; but it means discursive reason based on actual facts of experience.

## II

For a proper understanding of the scientific spirit of this age, it is necessary to note some of the major changes in the different branches of science during this period.

Mathematics came to the forefront. It was almost deified in the sense that the scientists and philosophers developed a passion for mathematical method. The practice of expressing scientific results in definite mathematical terms came to be universally followed. The concepts of motion and acceleration also assumed importance after Galileo.

Cosmology made rapid progress. Kepler made notable contributions in the field of planetary movements. The geocentric theory was totally rejected. Astrology of good old days was given a decent burial.

The progress in the domain of Chemistry was equally spectacular. The rapid growth of industrial technology gave a fillip to chemical researches, and a new view of matter and material elements gradually shaped itself. The growth of scientific chemistry in its turn meant the disappearance of alchemy.

Physics, too, made rapid strides. New theories of light, magnetism, and electricity were being framed and the old Aristotelian theory of substance and attributes had to yield place to the new science of matter and motion.

Physiology also did not lag behind. It was being patterned after the science of Physics. As pointed out before, the notable discovery in this field is Harvey's discovery of blood circulation. Van Helmont enquired into the chemical constitution of physiological processes.

Besides, Physiology, the biological sciences in general were being systematised. Hitherto the data of biological sciences were being collected from anecdotes and stories and they hardly knew any organization; but, thanks to the efforts of Joachim Jung and John Ray, the method of scientific classification of plants and animals was introduced in Biology.

Psychology, though it had not then earned the distinction of an independent science, was guided by the general empirical trend of the age, and it tried to confine itself to those aspects of human nature which are open to direct observation.

This, then, is the over-all picture of the 17th century science. Its chief appeal was to empirical observation and its principal technique of explanation was mechanistic.

### III

Under the impact of science the 17th century philosophy became scientific. In fact, some of the greatest philosophers of the age were already men of science. Bacon was a naturalist; Descartes and Leibnitz were first-rate mathematicians; Locke was trained as a physician; and Spinoza was taught 'new sciences' by his Dutch teacher.

But what is it that the 17th century Philosophy actually got from the science of the age?

The philosophical method of enquiry was no doubt highly influenced by the scientific outlook. Francis Bacon prescribed an empirical methodology and advised the philosophers to consult nature through experiments. Hobbes, too, inveighed against the Scholastics and insisted that the objects of philosophic enquiry should be *natural* objects. Philosophers like Descartes and Spinoza were impressed by the accuracy of the mathematical method and applied it to philosophy.

It was not simply the philosophical method which was influenced by the progress of science. Science influenced Epistemology and

**Metaphysics.** Physics of the age was responsible for the distinction between primary and secondary qualities, introduced by Descartes and developed by Locke. The Cartesian speculations about mind-body relation and about animal life bear distinct stamp of the mechanistic outlook of the then science. Locke's conception of the physical universe as consisting of very small insensible particles was also influenced by science.

The 17th century philosophers, though able to throw off the yoke of the Church dogmas and free to speculate in their own ways, were not necessarily anti-religious or atheistic. The theistic assumptions about the universe were not generally called in question by most of the philosophers. Metaphysics was not denied. The philosophers who interested themselves about the problems of deduction and induction did not usually take up any anti-metaphysical attitude. As a result, 17th century philosophers could not afford to be positivistic, even though oriented by empirical sciences. Moreover, both rational and empirical philosophies could flourish in this age. Since both rational and empirical propositions enter into the structure of science, philosophy could flow through the divergent channels of empiricism and rationalism.

If philosophy was influenced by science, science was also helped by philosophy. The 17th century philosophers often paid attention to the unsolved problems of mathematical and natural sciences. Descartes and Leibnitz undertook the task of finding out the real foundations of mathematical sciences and deductive principles. Bacon and Locke engaged themselves in the task of determining a correct empirical and inductive procedure. Thus in the 17th century both science and philosophy moved forward hand in hand.\*

\* A Radio Talk. Broadcast on the 18th November, 1963, from the Calcutta Station, A.I.R.

# PHILOSOPHICAL DISAGREEMENT

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It is a notorious fact that in philosophy one does not come across any question to which there is a definite answer. Philosophers disagree with one another—disagree, in fact, on whatever question they undertake to answer *qua* philosophers.

1. But how can this fact of disagreement which is so universal and common in philosophy, one may wonder, be any matter of concern to philosophers? Should it not be only too familiar to be capable of any effect on them? In a sense, this is not very untrue. True, the disagreement causes no disturbance to philosophers and may, therefore, be ignored by them, so long as they can manage to keep themselves confined strictly to their own point of view, to the kind of things they do and the kind of answers they arrive at. But this blissful state of immunity to disagreement is not meant, however, to be enjoyed by philosophers indefinitely. Much to their embarrassment and dismay, they are, at one time, awakened to realise its seriousness, we mean when urged by the tendency to be self-conscious inherent in every man, they begin to view their conflicting results through the eyes of inquisitive outsiders and, what is more, compare them with the definite answers given by the natural sciences to their questions.<sup>1</sup>

Thus the disagreement of answers is bound to impose itself as a problem on philosophers at one stage of their reflective life. And philosophers, so far as we can see, do not seem to have any very easy way out of it. They may, we imagine, try to seek recourse in such suppositions as that the disagreement of answers is of necessity inescapable in the case of philosophical questions, or that each one of the many conflicting answers to a philosophical question has equal right to truth. But all that would be totally useless: the suppositions do not, in any way, enable one to overcome the problem, on the contrary, only lead him from the frying pan of the problem to the fire of scepticism.

To suppose that answers to a philosophical question are destined to differ from, and conflict with one another is clearly being sceptical about the meaningfulness of philosophy as such, since it amounts to the denial of the most basic postulate of philosophy, namely that it is ultimately competent to lead us to truth which is definite. On the other hand, to

1. Cf. Morris Lezerowitz, *The Structure of Metaphysics*, p. 23.



suppose that all the answers to a particular philosophical question can be, at the same time and in the same degree, true—a supposition which tends, in a way, to repair the above damage to philosophy—is to inculcate a principle which will lead us straight to scepticism pure and simple by making truth itself impossible. What meaning does it make to call something true, if we are not entitled at the same time to call its contradictory false? In such circumstances, the most profitable and respectable course of action for philosophers in relation to the problem of the disagreement of their answers would obviously be, as it has been in reality, not to try to evade it but to face it with requisite boldness and to discover, if possible, its explanation which is indispensable as a step towards its solution.

2. But the question is: In what can this explanation be supposed to lie, or where should we look for its clue?

Someone, we suppose, will proceed *straight* to trace it in the *answers*. Someone else, again, may be of the opinion that it can be located *directly* in the *psychology of the philosophers* from whom the answers come.

Theoretically, both these methods are correct; for answers and the psychology of those who answer are, indeed, two very likely places wherein the cause of the disagreement of answers may lie. Yet, for certain practical difficulties, neither of these two methods can always be said to stand the chance of proving profitable.

Judged from the practical point of view, the prospect of getting at the cause of the disagreement *directly* through the analysis of the psychology of philosophers seems to be bleak in most cases of disagreement; for such analysis will not generally attain that degree of exhaustiveness by virtue of which it may be expected to yield conclusive results. Philosophers associated with the answers to almost all philosophical questions—at least the important ones—are quite many and belong to different times of history. Obviously, then, they cannot all be made to appear before us directly to subject their minds to our needed analysis. As a matter of fact, we cannot generally hope to get any access to their minds except through their possible reflection in the philosophical questions and their answers.

Difficulties of attempting to ascertain the cause of the disagreement of answers to a philosophical question through the analysis of the answers are also fundamentally of the same kind. The analysis of answers, like that of the psychology of philosophers, cannot also be carried out in all cases so exhaustively that its findings may appear absolutely reliable. As is known, in most cases, answers obtaining in regard to a philosophical question number unmanageably large, so that to assemble all of them together for the purpose of subjecting them to analysis would undoubtedly be a highly impracticable proposition. And it would become even absurd, if the answers are taken to include not merely those that are present but also those that may possibly be given in future.

But even if it be feasible somehow to collect these answers together, it would surely be an unimaginably cumbersome and complicated affair to undertake the analysis of each one of them. Hence, as a method of explaining the problem of the disagreement of answers to a philosophical question, it should always be abandoned in favour of a simpler method, if that be equally efficacious however.

But is there such a method, a method which is relatively simple and, at the same time, not also less efficacious? We think there is. It consists in *analysing the question* over which the disagreement arises. The cause of the disagreement in relation to a particular question may well lie in the question itself, just as it may often lie also in its answers or in the minds of those who happen to suggest these answers. Hence, by analysing the question we may quite reasonably hope to come across something in or around it which may prove effective for the purpose of explaining why philosophers differ from one another in their answers to it.

The kind of complications and the consequent inconvenience which threaten to beset the methods of arriving at the possible cause of the disagreement of answers through the analysis of the answers or the minds of those who answer cannot obviously arise also in connection with the analysis of the question. For, in undertaking to analyse the question we shall be required to concentrate *basically* on only one thing and not, as in undertaking to analyse its answers or the minds of those who answer, an endless and unmanageable number of things.

It is not, however, on consideration of its relative simplicity and convenience alone that we propose to recommend this method. To do so would surely be wrong. Simplicity and convenience, although they lend a lot of attraction to a method, are never by themselves enough to justify it; for, a method which is simple and easy to apply is not also necessarily the one which is efficacious. So, no method, however simple and convenient, can be justifiably recommended unless it is already known, in some way and to a certain extent, to be efficacious also. But in what sense and to what extent, if at all, can the method of arriving at the cause of the disagreement over a philosophical question through the analysis of the question be supposed to be efficacious?

To this we shall not be in a position here to give any categorical answer. The categorical answer is, in fact, not quite possible until we have actually applied the method to a particular instance of philosophical disagreement and seen the result; for, as would be readily admitted, the ultimate test of the efficacy of every method lies in the kind of results it leads to.

Notwithstanding all that, one thing, however, can perhaps be said here with reasonable degree of certainty. It is that, whatever may its absolute efficacy finally appear to be, judged comparatively, the method of *analysing a philosophical question* for the purpose of ascertaining the cause of the disagreement over it will not at least be less efficacious than either of the

two cumbersome alternatives of it, namely the one consisting in the analysis of answers and the other in the analysis of the minds of those who happen to suggest the answers. The reason for our saying so is this. In our opinion, the analysis of a question will, by its very nature, be in such a sense comprehensive that, in addition to the methodological merits that are strictly its own, there will inhere in it also some at least of the methodological merits that may possibly be possessed by the analysis of its answers or the minds of those who answer.

The analysis of a question, if it aspires to be *logically* thorough, can never afford to be a completely self-enclosed affair, that is to say absolutely devoid of reference to its answers and as having no bearing whatsoever on the minds of those who give the answers. In a way, it is bound to involve some reference to its answers and, thereby, also to say something towards the nature of the answering minds.

To explain this. A question, as also a statement that may happen to constitute the answer to a question, it is true, is sufficient unto itself to communicate its *literal* meaning<sup>1</sup> to us; but the concept of question and that of answer being logical correlatives, understanding of a question can never tend to become *logically* complete unless there is some understanding of its answer or answers, just as an answer also cannot be understood with tenable claim to *logical* completeness until one understands the question or the questions corresponding to them. Thus the understanding of a question, we can see, presupposes the understanding of its answers and *vice versa*. And the understanding of the question and its answers, we hope, will give us some understanding of the minds that ask the question or give its answers; for, it would not perhaps be wrong to suppose that, normally, the meaning of a particular question and the meaning of its answers reflect, though fragmentarily, the nature of the minds from which the question and the answers emanate. This, however, is the same thing as saying that the analysis of every question will, in some sense, comprehend also the analysis of its answers and will, thereby, become, in a way, further, the analysis of the minds of those who happen to answer. And it is precisely its comprehensiveness in this sense that goes to justify the degree of methodological superiority we ascribe to it.

<sup>1</sup> We use the term 'literal meaning' here in its most ordinary sense to mean only that meaning which a sentence can communicate to us, if we just know the dictionary meanings of its constituent words and the relevant rules of syntax.

# BENGALI LANGUAGE: AN INEXHAUSTIBLE FOUNTAIN OF VOCABLES

SEI DURLABHCHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

Word borrowings from the European stock in the Bengali language have varied characters at different phases. Originally 'on the Indian scene, from the most ancient period of the country's history' we find four distinct language groups, each with its own distinct and cultural *milieu* : (1) Austro-Asiatic, in its Munda or Kol branch ; (2) Sino-Tibetan, mainly in its Tibeto-Burman branch , (3) Dravidian ; and (4) Indo-European, in its Aryan branch. They " originally differed from each other in phonetic and morphological structure, in syntax and in vocabulary. But owing to mutual influences, which were being exercised upon each other for the last 3,000 years or more, by people speaking these languages living side by side and mixing with each other, these four speech families have on the soil of India tended to converge towards each other in sounds and forms and in words and word-order and to develop some common traits which may be described as pan-Indian" : And Bengali language has the proud heritage to adapt or borrow the quintessence of substance of all these groups to enrich its rich language. But the most prominent of all these in the modern era is the English words which have given an occidental force in the oriental sobriety.

Apart from borrowings which may be termed as Learned and Popular we also find other types which can be defined as cultural borrowings, intimate borrowings and dialect borrowings. Of course in Bengali we notice all these borrowings with various effects.

## CULTURAL BORROWINGS

In Cultural Borrowings " the speaker continues to adopt features from his fellows, and these adoptions though less fundamental, are very copious and come from all manner of sources. Some of them are incidents in large scale levellings that affect the whole community."<sup>1</sup> There is also a difference between dialect borrowing and cultural borrowing. According to Professor Bloomfield ' within the sphere of borrowings, we distinguish between *dialect* borrowing, where the borrowed features come from within the same speech area (as father), and *cultural borrowing*, where the borrowed features

<sup>1</sup> Chatterji, Dr. Suniti Kumar, Common Foreign Borrowings, published in the *Affinity of Indian Languages*, a publication of the Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1959.

<sup>2</sup> Bloomfield, Leonard, 1958. *Languages*, published by Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1958.

come from a different language.<sup>3</sup> We are mainly concerned with the cultural borrowings so far as European stock, specially English, is concerned. Though England is far away from this land we still feel some cultural affinity with the European nations. The modern age in the Bengali language has been mainly ushered in with the influence of English and other European nations. In a nutshell we may mention four distinct periods in the development of modern Bengali language. They mainly relate to : *1st period* : (a) writings of the European workers, both civilians and missionaries. (b) Dr. Carey and his Fort William colleagues ; Englishmen's Bengali works. *2nd period* : (a) The College of Fort William ; (b) The Pundits of the College—Mrityunjaya, Rama Rama Vasu, Chandi Charan Munshi and Rajiva Lochana : Their Bengali works. (c) The Rev. K. M. Banerjee and other authors who followed in the wake of European writers. *3rd period* : The old characteristics and the new age emanating in contrast with the earlier one, and the *4th period* : (a) Advent of Raja Rammohan Roy and his works ; (b) A comprehensive review of his life and work ; (c) and the writers that followed Raja Rammohan Roy, Devendranath Tagore, Aksayakumar Dutta and others.<sup>4</sup>

In the cultural borrowing we notice many French and other words entered through English like Chauffeur (গাফর), garage (গারাজ), etc., Bohemian aquarium (একোবোরিয়), French envelope (এনভেলোপ); Primitive Indo-European penalty (পেনাল্টি), old English Street (স্ট্রিট), old high German Silk (সিল্ক), chalk (চক), Tile—OE. (টাইল); from Russian Bolshevik (বলশেভিক), Pl. Bolsheviki, alongside bolsheviks. Sometimes the foreign forms preserve their own grammatical peculiarities. For example "due is a loan from French, but duty, duteous, dutiable were formed with French-borrowed suffixes."<sup>5</sup> The word 'duty' has become a common household word in the Bengali language. In English we notice that "when an affix occurs in enough foreign words, it may be extended to new formations with native material. Thus, the Latin-French suffix-ible, -able, as in agreeable, excusable, variable has been extended to forms like bearable, eatable, drinkable where the underlying verb is native."<sup>6</sup> But in Bengali we have no such prominent influence save and except some few words such as (ডাক্তারী), (সাঁতারগিরি), which have been formed out of the native suffix with the underlying word from English.

"Cultural loans show us what one nation has taught another." As the Indians have borrowed words from English language similarly they also have taken some of our word-stock into them. For example : Pundit, Thug, Curry, Calico, Baboo, etc. In the cultural borrowings we have directly

<sup>3</sup> See reference 2 in page 203.

<sup>4</sup> See, Dineschandra, *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, published by the Calcutta University, Calcutta, 1911.

<sup>5</sup> Bloomfield, Leonard, *Language*, published by Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1933.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

taken words of sports from English like match, golf, football, baseball, rugby, etc. Miscellaneous words like Coffee, algebra, smile, towel, flask, etc. have been borrowed without hesitation to enrich our language<sup>7</sup>.

#### INTIMATE BORROWINGS

"We can usually distinguish between ordinary cultural borrowing and the *intimate borrowing* which occurs when two languages are spoken in what is topographically and politically a single community. This situation arises for the most part by conquest, less often in the way of peaceful migration."<sup>8</sup> Actually English people came in Bengali first as traders, then they became rulers of the land. And in this background Bengali language has a considerable part in its vocabulary of the words which may be termed as *intimate borrowing*. Words like policeman, conductor, depot, road, saloon are instances at point. In comparison with our language English has taken a small number of loan-words from the Celtic language as will be found in place names of Britain. In our borrowings we have also preserved some English words in the various place and street names like জানবাজার, কাঁচিয়ার ইট, এসপ্লানেড, ইংলিশ বাজার (বালদা),<sup>9</sup> and many names occurring in Calcutta and districts of Bengal. In the intimate borrowing we have taken terms of Government like state, power, duke, duchess, court; of law: judge, jury, marry, prove: of warfare: war, soldier, officer navy, guard, march; of religion and morals: rule, order, nature, science; of hunting and sport: cards, partner; many terms of general cultural import: honour, fine, art, beauty, colour, figure, paint, tower, column, palace; and terms relating to the household: chair, table, furniture, soup, jelly, boil, fry, roast, toast, etc., and in all spheres of life ranging from political institutions, weapons, tools and garments, animals, parts of the body, plants, minerals, abstract relations and adjective qualities.<sup>10</sup>

In the sphere of intimate borrowing we also notice the influence of the Jargon and Pidgin English on the language. Though we have not enough words of Pidgin origin it was in vogue in the Hogg market (now New Market) when the Bengali traders used to say to the customers like 'Take take no take no take Akbar see'.<sup>11</sup> In English there are plenty of examples. Such as: 'You not like soup? He plenty good kai kai.' 'Don't you like the soup? It's very good.'<sup>12</sup> These kind of jargon words may be used for commercial purposes between persons of various nationality and can be called *lingua franca*.

<sup>7</sup> Bloomfield, Leonard, *Language*, published by Henry Holt and Company New York, 1958.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> Sen, Dr. Sukumar For details please see his article on the subject.

<sup>10</sup> Bloomfield, Leonard, *Language*, published by Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1958.

<sup>11</sup> Sen, Dr. Sukumar *Bhasar Itibritta*, published by the Sahitya Sabha, Burdwan, 1957.

<sup>12</sup> Bloomfield, Leonard, *Language*, published by Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1958.

## DIALECT BORROWINGS

Dialect borrowing is another example of borrowing of words. In Bengali it has also an importance in so far as the borrowing from European stock is concerned. It is natural in every human being to acquire a speech habit of the people who are near and dear ones. He takes some forms from other persons also. Thus 'within an age-group, an occupational group, or a neighbourhood group, a turn of speech will pass from person to person.'<sup>13</sup> In computing the words borrowed from the English we see that the dialect borrowing among the English-educated people is considerable. And it is true that 'every person belongs to more than one minor speech group,'<sup>14</sup> a group is influenced by the persons who, along some other line of division, belong to a dominant class. Among his occupational companions, a speaker will imitate those whom he believes to have the highest 'social' standing. Thus in the Bengali language we often come across words of English origin which have been moulded by a group of English-educated people holding position and social status. And "when a speaker comes in contact with persons who enjoy much greater prestige, he eagerly imitates not only their general conduct but also their speech." . . . "Every speaker is a mediator between various groups."<sup>15</sup> In Bengali the dialect borrowing from English has no such peculiarity and we have borrowed words heart, as in (হার্টকেন), varsity (ব্রুনিভার্সিটি), clerk (ক্লার্ক), in British pronunciation alongside with the words university, clerk, etc.

Like Sanskrit tatsama words we find purely graphic devices which are the fountain source of new speech form. We have adopted words like Professor (প্রফেসর), Laboratory (ল্যাবরেটরী), Economics (ইকনমিক্স), and also their abbreviated forms as Prof., Lab., Ec., Bachelor of Arts—B.A., Master of Arts—M.A., Bachelor of Medicine—M.B., D.Phil.—Doctor of Philosophy. The abbreviations are mainly 'in the word-order of the original Latin term'.<sup>16</sup> French has forms like *te es ef* for *telegraph sous fil*, 'wireless telegraphy,' radio. In Russian we see such graphic abbreviation such as Komsomol for *Kommunistickoy sogus molodozi*, 'communist union of young people'.

In the history of mankind it has been observed that man's superiority to other animals is recognized by the fact that man is a rational animal and he has clearly discovered his own medium "by which he communicates his thought and feelings to his fellow men, the two with which he conducts his business or the government of millions of people, the vehicle by which have been transmitted to him the science, the philosophy, the poetry of

<sup>13</sup> Bloomfield, Leonard. *Language*, published by Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1933.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*



the race,"<sup>17</sup> and which is generally called his mother tongue. It is undoubtedly true that the love which the Bengali people feels for their mother tongue is a rare quality which is found among the most advanced nations of the world. The development of Bengali language, which has been recognized by all the citizens of the world, is mainly due for this love of their mother tongue.

The great similarity between the history of the Bengali people and that of English has attracted first the Bengali people towards borrowing and adapting of everything English not because of the superiority of the English language and culture but owing to love and admiration for a great people with a rich language. The Norman Conquest made English for two centuries the language of a great population of England "while the nobles and those associated with them used French on almost all occasions."<sup>18</sup> In Bengal up till the 19th century the elite used Sanskrit instead of Bengali and Bengali was confined to only the common masses of people. We do not find anything foreign when we borrow through English words of different origin namely Dutch: brandy (ব্রান্ডি), cork (কর্ক), cargo (কার্গো), tornado (টর্ন্যাডো); Greek: barometer (বারোমিটার), magic (ম্যাজিক), tactics (ট্যাকটিক্স); Russian: Steppe (স্টেপ), ruble (রুবল), Persian: caravan (কারাভান), khaki (খাকী), mogul (মোগল), shawl (শাল), Persian: Jessamine (জেসমিন), check (চেক), "English has also borrowed from Hebrew, and Arabic, Hungarian, Bengali, Malay, Chinese, the languages of Java, Australia, Tahiti, Polynesia, West Africa, and from one of the aboriginal languages of Brazil."<sup>19</sup> Thus English has influenced us from many points owing to their grammatical peculiarities which have suited us to methodise the Bengali language for a better expression of the realism apart from the highly philosophical and religious tendencies. The grammatical simplicity, shunning of inflections, simplification of verbs, natural gender instead of grammatical gender as in vogue in the Hindi and other Indian languages are some of the examples. Owing to this and specially because of the minimum inflection, we have imported without hesitation many idioms and expressions from English and have naturalized as our household words.

The definition of speech is that it is the product of certain muscular movements. Prominent scholars of Bengali Language like Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji and Professor Sukumar Sen are of the opinion that the speech habits of Bengali people are completely different from others owing to some salient reasons: Foreign scholar like J. D. Anderson, has stated, "Bengali differs from other Indo-European languages in its

<sup>17</sup> Baugh, Albert C, *A History of the English Language*, published by Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., London, 1956.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*



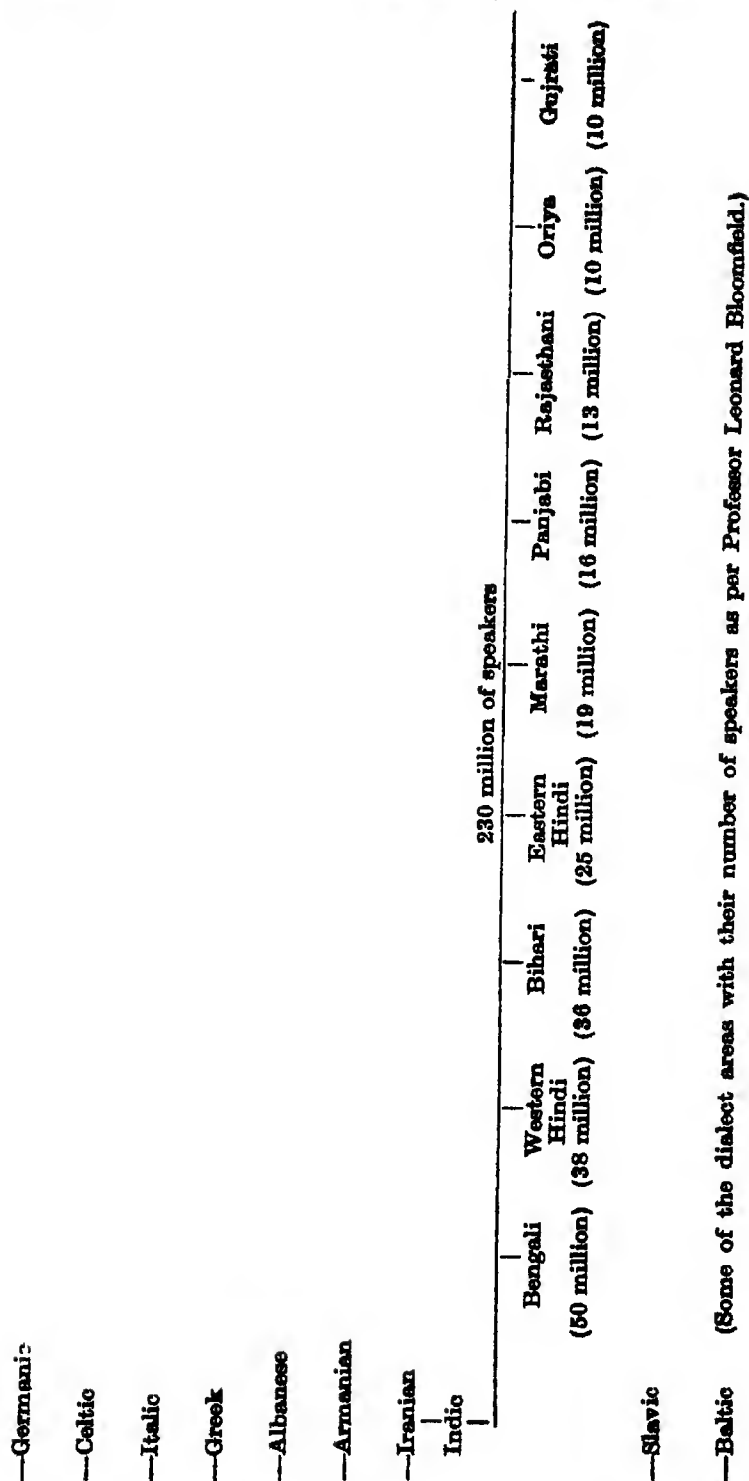


Fig. 1. According to Professor Leonard Bloomfield's scholastic book *Language*, published by Henry Holt and Company, New York. Oldest written records of Indic speech, the inscription of King Asoka, dating from the 3rd century B.C.

syntax, especially in its freer and highly idiomatic use of conjunctive participles, and above all in its initial phrasal accent, which has become so dominantly audible that it has practically destroyed the word accent which is so marked a feature of most Indo-European languages, and has become the basis of metre, as in French the final phrasal accent tends to supersede or at least to dominate over word accent.”<sup>20</sup> For example, when we pronounce ‘Judge’ we pronounce (জাজ) or (জাজ্জ) in case of Thomas. It is natural therefore that ‘it is an independent and characterised language and a distinct dialect group’<sup>21</sup> for several years. As a background to this present speech habit we may refer the Pre-Aryan speech ‘that prevailed in Bengal before the coming of the Aryan tongue. There is of course the presence of the Kol and Dravidian speakers (the Santals, the Malers, the Oraons) in the Western fringes of the Bengali area, and the Bodo and Mon Khmer speakers in the northern and eastern frontiers.”<sup>22</sup> Of course it is no doubt that the ‘Latin of Cicero or the French of Voltaire is the product of centuries of development’<sup>23</sup> whereas the Bengali language has only about 1000 years, history to its credit. The individual speech habits of the Bengali people which are distinct among the five dialects, namely, Radhii (Dialect of mid-western Bengal), Jharkhandi (Dialect of south-western Bengal), Barendri (Dialect of North Bengal), Bongali (Dialect of east and south-eastern Bengal), and Kanu rupi (Dialect of north-eastern Bengal).<sup>24</sup> But in course of time where constant communication takes place between the people speaking a language, individual differences become merged in the general speech of the community. But due to separation both politically and in point of distance the portion of Bengal which has gone to East Pakistan (the Dialect of east and south-eastern Bengal) considerable differences have cropped up between the standard speech of Gangetic Bengal which has been considered as the modern Bengali. And it is this dialect group which has been largely influenced by the English. The Indo-European family which consists of nine principal groups such as Indian, Iranian, Armenian, Hellenic, Albanian, Italic, Balto-Slavic, Teutonic, and Celtic, has some common characteristics which are also felt remotely in the Bengali language. The interchange of certain English words is easily naturalised into Bengali and people use them as their household words. So it can easily be said that ‘Bengali is a member of the Indic group of the Indo-European family of languages.’<sup>25</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Anderson, J. D., *A Manual of the Bengali Language*, published by the University Press, Cambridge, 1920

<sup>21</sup> Chatterji, Dr. Suniti Kumar *The Origin and Development of Bengali Language*, London.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> Baugh, Albert C., *A History of the English Language*, published by Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., London, 1956.

<sup>24</sup> Sen, Dr. Sukumar, *Bhasar Itihāsa*, published by the Sahitya Sabha, Burdwan, 1957.

<sup>25</sup> Chatterji, Dr. Suniti Kumar, *The Origin and Development of Bengali Language*, London.

In importing English words to Bengali language the part played by the Middle class is prominent. It is a fact that the language is the mirror of the life and standard of the people who speak it. In the 18th and 19th centuries when the borrowings were at its maximum the history of Bengal shows the tendency of the great people who spoke the language, their unstinted zeal for reformation in every aspect of life from land tenure to education, and as a matter of fact, the great demand of a rich language was filled up by English which supplied a variety of store to enrich a language. As a result of the influence of English on the Bengali language simplification of our speech habit, virile and clear-cut answering style, and various other indirect and direct results are observable. On the other hand English took some of our words as a rule of mutual interchange. Various French words which were borrowed by English were also borrowed by Bengali through English. Words on the Government and administration: Government (গভর্নমেন্ট), Court (কোর্ট), Council (কাউন্সিল), Parliament (পার্লিামেন্ট), Assembly (এসেম্বলি), Record (রেকর্ড), Tax (ট্যাক্স), Revenue (রেভিনিউ), Public (পাবলিক), Chancellor (চ্যান্সেলর), Treasurer (ট্রেজারার), Marshall (মার্শাল), Governor (গভর্নর), Councillor (কাউন্সিলর), Minister (মিনিষ্টার), Mayor (মেয়র), Constable (কনষ্টেবল), Coroner (করোনার), Lord (লর্ড), Lady (লেডী), Prince (প্রিন্স), Princess (প্রিন্সেস), Duke (ডিউক), Count (কাউন্ট), Baron (বারন), Madam (মাদাম); Ecclesiastical words: Censor (সেন্সর), Sanctuary (সানক্চুয়ারী), Saint (সেন্ট) (as in St. Paul), Charity (চারিটি); in law: Justice (জাস্টিস্), Suit (সুইট), Judge (জাজ), Advocate (অ্যাডভোকেট), Attorney (এটর্নি), Bill (বিল), Petition (পিটিশন), Complain (কম্পেইন), Summons (সমন) (we find even in the Poet Ramprasad's Padavali: Ramprasad Sen) Jury (জুরি), Proof (প্রুফ), Bail (বেল), Decree (ডিক্রী), (also in Sakta Padavali) Fine (ফাইন), Arrest (আরেস্ট), Warrant (ওয়ারেন্ট), Trespass (ট্রেসপাস), Fraud (ফ্রড), Estate (এস্টেট), Property (প্রপার্টি); in army and navy and air force: Soldier (সোল্জার), guard (গার্ড), spy (স্পাই), Captain (ক্যাপ্টেন), Lieutenant (লিকুটেনেন্ট), Sergeant (সার্জেন্ট), Surgeon (সার্জেন), Lens (লেন্স), Mail (মেল), defend (ডিফেন্ড); in fashion: meals and social life: habit (হাবিট) gown (গাউন), Coat (কোট), Frock (ফ্রক), Collar (কলার), Train (ট্রেন), Chemize (শেমিজ), Petticoat (পেটিকোট), Lace (লেস), Embroidery (এমব্রয়ডারি), Button (বোতাম), Boot (বুট), Sartin (সার্টিন), Fur (ফার), Ivory (আইভরি), Enamel (এনামেল), Ruby (রুবী), Diamond (ডায়মণ্ড), Dinner (ডিনার), Feast (ফিষ্ট), Mess (মেস), Taste (টেস্ট), Mutton (মটন), Poultry (পোলট্রি), Toast (টোস্ট), Biscuit (বিস্কুট), Cream (ক্রীম), Salad (সাল্যাড), Orange (অরেঞ্জ), Lemon (লেমন), Jelly (জেলী), Jam (জাম), Vinegar (ভিনিগার), Roast (রোস্ট), Boil (বাইল), Stew (স্টু), Fry (ফ্রাই), Plate (প্লেট), Coach (কোচ), Chair (চেয়ার), Cushion (কুশন), Screen (স্ক্রীন), Lamp (ল্যাম্প), Lantern (ল্যান্টার্ন), Towel (টোৱালে), Recreation (রিক্রিয়েশন), Jolly (জলি), Dance (ডান্স), Fool (ফুল), Music (মিউজিক), Chess (চেস), Curry (কারী), Forest (ফরেস্ট), Park (পার্ক), Pavilion

পাণ্ডিত্য) ; in art, learning and medicine ; Art ( আর্ট ) Painting ( পেইন্টিং ), Beauty ( বিউটি ), Palace ( প্যালেস ), Mansion ( ম্যানসন ), Chamber ( চেম্বার ), Chimney ( চিমনি ), Tower ( টাওয়ার ), Coir ( কোয়ার ), Romance ( রোমান্স ), Chronicle ( ক্রনিকল ), Tragedy ( ট্রাজেডি ), Title ( টাইটেল ), Volume ( ভলুম ), Chapter ( চাপ্টার ), Logic ( লজিক ), Grammar ( গ্রামার ), Copy ( কপি ), Medicine ( মেডিসিন ), Pain ( পেইন ), Plurisy ( প্লুরিসি ), Jaundice ( জাউন্ডি ), Paralysis ( প্যারালিসিস ), Stomach ( স্টোমাক ), Sulphur ( সালফার ), Alkali ( আলকালি ), etc. Apart from the words mentioned above there are miscellaneous words like Adventure ( এ্যাডভেঞ্চার ), Business ( বিজনেস ), Calendar ( ক্যালেন্ডার ), Carpenter ( কার্পেন্টার ), Dozen ( ডোজন ), Force ( ফোর্স ), Honour ( অনার ), Honorary ( অনারারী ), Labour ( লেবার ), Number ( নম্বর ), Order ( অর্ডার ), Pair ( পেয়ার ), Piece ( পিস ), Powder ( পাউডার ), Power ( পওয়ার ), Seal ( সীল ), Spirit ( স্পিরিট ), Tiller ( টিলার ), Use ( ইউজ ), Chief ( চীফ ), Clear ( ক্লিয়ার ), Common ( কমন ), Double ( ডবল ), Easy ( ইজি ), Faint ( ফেইন্ট ), Final ( ফাইনাল ), Liberal ( লিবারাল ), Nice ( নাইস ), Original ( অরিজিনাল ), Principal ( প্রিন্সিপাল ), Pure ( পিওর ), Real ( রিয়েল ), Second ( সেকেন্ড ), Sure ( সিওর ), Advance ( এ্যাডভান্স ), Advice ( এ্যাডভাইস ), Aim ( এম ), Change ( চেঞ্জ ), Close ( ক্লোজ ), Consider ( কনসিডার ), Count ( কাউন্ট ), Cover ( কভার ), Declare ( ডিক্লার ), Delay ( ডিল ), Grant ( গ্রান্ট ), Enquiry ( এনকোয়ারী ), Practice ( প্রাকটিস ), Pass ( পাস ), Pay ( পে ), Propose ( প্রপোজ ), Proof ( প্রুফ ), Push ( পুশ ), Save ( সেভ ), Tax ( টাক্স ), Wait ( ওয়েট ), Waste ( ওয়েস্ট ). The words the origin of which was either Anglo-Norman and central French were Hostel ( হোস্টেল ), Hotel ( হোটেল ), Chiffon ( শিফন ), Police ( পুলিশ ), Case ( কেস ), Reward ( রিওয়ার্ড ), Quarter ( কোয়ার্টার ). We borrowed English words mainly from the 18th and 19th centuries. Whereas English borrowed words from French since 14th century.

If we go through the history of English language we will find that ‘until well into the 14th century English borrowed French words pretty generally in the form which they had in the spoken French of England.’<sup>24</sup>

It is undoubtedly true that Bengali has absorbed several thousand words from different European and Asian sources but still it proved Bengali. This process may easily be compared with that of English which also borrowed several thousand from French, Latin, Greek and Norse words at different times. Words like Jupiter ( জুপিটার ), Nervous ( নার্ভাস ), Picture ( পিকচার ), Tincture ( টিন্চার ), Alcer ( অলসার ), etc., which are later borrowings in Middle English are the instances of foreign borrowings in English which have also been taken into Bengali without discarding the basic elements in grammar which can altogether be said Bengali.

Another important landmark in the English language is the abundance of synonym in English. To quote Baugh ‘The richness of English in synonyms is largely due to the happy mingling of Latin, French and native

<sup>24</sup> Baugh, Albert C., *A History of the English Language*, published by Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., London, 1956.

elements. It has been said that we have a synonym at each level—popular, literary and learned, . . . . . as in rise-mount-ascend ; ask-question-interrogate ; holy-sacred-consecrated.” In no whit less Bengali is proud of synonyms and which can be compared to all world languages existing. The large potentiality of synonyms in the Bengali language lies in the fact that Bengali inherits the largest word stock from Sanskrit and Sanskrit language is the richest language of the world to have a big storehouse of words.

In calculating the borrowings of English into Bengali the places which came as the most important centres are Calcutta and its suburbs, the throbbing centres of drama and novels, Burdwan and largely 24-parganas. Calcutta was the capital of India in the past and now it is the capital of truncated Bengal known as West Bengal under the Indian Union, was the political, commercial and cultural centres of India for a long time and at the same time the pivot of language study and culture. We know ‘French as the dialect of Paris, Spanish as that of Castile’.<sup>27</sup> Calcutta was the seat of Supreme Court of India, and later the High Court and other courts and the highest judicial tribunals of West Bengal. So from all points the influence of Calcutta style of Bengali language has influenced all other dialects. And in Calcutta the activities beginning from the Fort William College down to the British civilians in different spheres are the main sources of borrowings of European words specially English into Bengali language.

The problems which were faced by the Bengali language were similar to English on three great countries : (i) To bypass the influences of Sanskrit and Persian which were the leading influences on the Bengali language and were hampering the natural growth of Bengali ; (ii) to establish a uniform orthography and ; (iii) ‘the enrichment of the vocabulary so that it would be made upon it in its wider use.’<sup>28</sup> All honoured Sanskrit but the deep feeling for reorienting the Bengali language was the spontaneous call of the mother tongue. The saying may be cited here “I love Rome, but London better, I favor Italie, but England more, I honor the Latin, but I worship the English.”<sup>29</sup>

The impact of the English borrowings on the Bengali language is concomitant with the national history of India. The 19th century is an age of events, of political struggle and above all struggle for freedom from colonial rule and bondages. On the one hand the rapid pace of industrialisation, increased public interest in all the domains of life and on the other the struggle for uplifting the depressed nation from bondages in the political field and to give the deserving status to the regional languages

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., Ref. 26.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

which were neglected by the rulers of the land so far was the dominant feature. But the most notable aspect is the tremendous impact of science on the vocabularies. And as a need, came the demand for new terms, now coinages. Of course there are many words which were only largely used by the men of position but majority of the words were in frequent use and 'familiar to the layman and pass into general use.'<sup>30</sup> The following examples are instances in point: Anaemia (এনিমিয়া), Appendicitis (এপেন্ডিসাইটিস), Bronchitis (ব্রঙ্কাইটিস), Diphtheria (ডিপথিরিয়া), Homoeopathic (হোমিওপ্যাথিক), Bacteriology (ব্যাক্টেরিওলজি); the common words like clinic (ক্লিনিক), antitoxin (এন্টিটক্সিন), anesthetic (এনেস্থেটিক), vaccinate (ভ্যাক্সিনেট); the names of the new drugs like aspirin (এস্পিরিন), iodine (আয়োডিন), morphine (মর্ফিন). There are also words of common use like Gland (গ্রান্ড), Hormone (হরমোন), Stethoscope (ষ্টেথোস্কোপ), Metabolism (মেটাবলিজম), Protein (প্রোটিন), Carbohydrate (কার্বোহাইড্রেট), Enzyme (এনজাইম), Allergy (এলার্জি), Dynamo (ডাইনামো), Arc-light (আর্ক-লাইট), Caloric (কালোরি), Electron (ইলেকট্রন), Ultra (আলট্রা), Quantum theory (কোয়ান্টাম থিয়রী). In chemistry we find Alkali (আলকালি), Benzene (বেনজিন), Cyanide (সাইনাইড), Nitroglycerene (নাইট্রোগ্লিসারিন), Radium (রেডিয়াম), Radioactive (রেডিওঅ্যাকটিভ). The scientific words like Ozone (ওজোন), Stratosphere (ষ্ট্রাটোসফিয়ার), are nearly our familiar words. Words like inferiority and superiority complexes and psycho-analysis (সাইকে-অ্যানালিসিস), are almost our household words. So scientific words have played a prominent part in enriching our vocabulary.

Another problem has arisen whether the peculiarity of Bengali speech habit is due to the irregular spelling of the English words in Bengali. This has led to adopt English words in a peculiar way. But in most cases word coinings were easy as there was no conscious attempt to enrich the vocabulary by giving due stress on the native elements. On the other hand, what we have done is to simply take up vocabularies without giving any creative touch on the words. In this connection it may be said that "as Ben Jonson remarked in his *Discoveries* 'A man coins not a new word without some peril and less fruit,' for if it happens to be received, the praise is but moderate; if refused the scorn is assured."<sup>31</sup> But this has not been the case in regard to Bengali language. Here nothing is rejected and there is still a great concession to all writers and speakers as well as in regard to coining or borrowing new words. Many words like Auto-graph (অটোগ্রাফ), Capsule (ক্যাপসুল), Habit (হাবিট), Harass (হারাস), are words which have been naturalised and adapted without the least trying or intellect. Chaos (কোঅস), climax (ক্লাইমাক্স), Crisis (ক্রাইসিস), Critic (কিটিক), Parasite (প্যারাসাইট), Pneumonia (নিউমোনিয়া), Scheme (স্কীম), System (সিস্টেম), Tactics (ট্যাকটিক্স), Thermometer (থারমোমিটার), Tonic

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, Ref. 27.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

(উদাহরণ), are instances at point. In our everyday words we have already adapted French words through : English Bombast (বোম্বাস্ট), Chocolate (চকোলেট), Comrade (কমরেড), Entrance (এন্ট্রান্স), Essay (এসে), Progress (প্রগ্রেস), Shock (শক), Ticket (টিকেট), Tomato (টম্যাটো), Volunteer (ভলান্টিয়ার), Algebra (এলজেব্রা), Balcony (ব্যালকনি), Granite (গ্রানাইট).

In Bengali we have also adopted some Shakespearean words. Some of the most common words are Critic (ক্রিটিক), Armada (আর্মাদা), Barricade (ব্যারিকেড), Enlarge (এনলার্জ), specially for photographic work. Apart from Shakespearean words there are numerous words which have been borrowed from other sources. Among the miscellaneous words in trying to reform the vocabulary we find square as in College Square : (কলেজ কোয়ার), Annual (এন্নায়াল), as in annual examination, etc. Fall (ফল).

There is a school of thought in the presentday Bengal that English intrusion into the Bengali words is not at all beneficial and it is a fact that owing to large-scale word borrowings from English the energy for giving due stress on the native elements has been either ignored or failed. They in support of their theory quote the objection to foreign borrowings in the English language when in the 18th century "an Englishman has his mouth full of borrowed phrases.....he is always borrowing other man's language."<sup>22</sup> Defoe observed "I cannot but think the using and introducing foreign terms of art or foreign words into speech while our language labours under no penury or scarcity of words."<sup>23</sup> Among the many French taken into English and subsequently borrowed into Bengali through English there are some examples which "cannot be substituted by the ready-made native words."<sup>24</sup> Among the many the following can be quoted : Ballot (ব্যালট), Canteen (কান্টিন), Cartoon (কার্টুন), Champagne (শ্যাম্পেন), Dentist (ডেন্টিস্ট), Publicity (পাবলিসিটি), Patrol (পেট্রোল), Routine (রুটিন), Syndicate (সিন্ডিকেট). Among the many sources that have been responsible for the borrowing of English words are trade contacts and war influences. The Mexican words taken into English have been taken into Bengali also. They are Chocolate (চকোলেট), Tomato (টম্যাটো), Hurricane (হারিকেন), and from Peru words taken into English and subsequently borrowed into Bengali are Alpaca (আলপাকা), Llama (লামা), Quinine (কুইনাইন), and the Brazilian word through English Jaguar (জাগুয়ার). In English also we find many Indian words. To quote Baugh "From India come Bandana, bangle, bengal, brahman, calico, cashmere, ocheroot, china, chintz, coolie, cot, curry, dinghy, juggernaut, jungle, jute, loot, mandarin, nirvana, pariah, polo, punch (drink), pundit, rajah, rupee, sepoi, thog, toddy, verandah and the Bengali Baboo".

<sup>22</sup> Baugh, Albert C., *A History of the English Language*, published by Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., London, 1956.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*



The influence of war on the vocabulary is tremendous. The words are Air-raid (এয়ার-রেড), Battleplane (ব্যাটলপ্লেন), Anti-aircraft gun (অ্যান্টি-এয়ারক্রাফ্ট গান), Tank (টাক), Barrage (ব্যাবেজ), Machine-gun (মেশিনগান), Trench (ট্রেন্চ). Many words of aviation and other modern telecommunication have been adopted into Bengali. The words Airplane (এয়োপ্লেন), Aircraft (এয়ারক্রাফ্ট), Monoplane (মনোপ্লেন) and Air-conditioned (এয়ার কন্ডিশন্ড). We have also taken some French ready-made words naturalized in English: Bengaline (বেঙ্গলাইন), Chauffeur (সোকার), Chiffon (শিকন), Garage (গ্যারেজ), Vodka (ভদকা). There are also words from the self-explaining compounds Finger print (ফিঙ্গারপ্রিন্ট), Hitch-hike (হিচহাইক), Lipstick (লিপস্টিক), Newsprint (নিউসপ্রিন্ট), Piano (পিয়ানো), Search-light (সার্চলাইট), Skyline (স্কাইলাইন), Spotlight (স্পটলাইট), Steam-roller (ষ্টীমরোলার), Stream-line (ষ্ট্রীমলাইন). The words Stethoscope (ষ্টেথোস্কোপ), Bronchoscope (ব্রঙ্কোস্কোপ), Fluoroscope (ফ্লুরোস্কোপ), Telescope (টেলিস্কোপ), Television (টেলিভিশন), Automobile (অটোমোবাইল), Submarine (সাবমেরিন), Torpedo (টর্পেডো), are other miscellaneous words taken directly from English. Kodak (কোডাক), Camera (ক্যামেরা), Electric refrigerator (ইলেকট্রিক রেফ্রিজারেটর), Auto-graph (অটোগ্রাফ), Stenotype (ষ্টেনোটাইপ), Dictaphone (ডিকটাফোন), are some of the instances of word coinages from English borrowed into Bengali.

Journalism has provided another range of words into Bengali. The words like Cricket commentary (ক্রিকেট কমেন্টারি), Magazine (ম্যাগাজিন), Dean (ডীন), etc. are some of the examples.

The words which were used by the English at the time of quarrel or sharp exchange of words between them and slanderous remarks have been taken into Bengali to add some new indignation and force of voice and words. For example Stupid (ষ্টুপিড), Nonsense (নন্সেন্স), Braggart (ব্রেগার্ট), Bustard (বাস্টার্ড), Fool (ফুল), can be said in support of the view. The words borrowed in English can be divided into several periods. But in Bengali the borrowings are scattered in such a way that it is impossible at this stage to group them periodwise. But one point can be made clear that the European words specially English which were taken into Bengali have not undergone any great change since the British period. The speech habit of Bengali people has been changed considerably for a great many revolutionary tendency has crept in the history of Bengal. Bengalees are by nature peace loving but when clarion call comes to them for a better cause and sacrifice they are as revolutionary as the most advanced nations of the world. The general indiscipline, which is a common characteristic of this age among the masses who speak the Bengali language is only the outer surface, the inner spirit of which is an emotional and cultural character strongly disciplined by traditional virtues and humane appeal which have a clear impact on their language.



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# **SOME COGENT SUGGESTIONS FOR ULTIMATE SETTLEMENT OF THE LANGUAGE DISPUTE**

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1. Inhabitants of every State must learn English and their Mother tongue with equal emphasis.

2. English must be retained for ever as the lingua franca of India. If at any time English despite its immense usefulness be disliked on account of its foreign origin, Sanskrit must occupy its place.

3. The idea of imposition of a particular regional language as an all-India language must be discarded totally for the solidarity of the Union.

4. The Union Government must help all the fourteen languages as recognised by the Constitution, equally for their all-round development.

5. Roman script should be introduced in all these languages. This will obviate the waste of time and energy in learning different Indian alphabets and stimulate interest of the greater number of people of one State to learn the language of another leading to the promotion of good-will and mutual understanding—a factor indispensable for solidarity, unity and peaceful co-existence of the people of India. The Roman script will also bring in its train speed and economy in the printing of books and newspapers, besides facilitating private as well as business correspondence.

6. The insistence on making Hindi (a quite undeveloped language and much inferior to Bengali, Tamil, etc.) as an all-India language has violated the very first principle of Democracy. This is clearly demonstrated below in the case of languages to be learnt by the two groups—Hindi speaking and non-Hindi speaking population of India :

	<i>Non-Hindi speaking</i>	<i>Hindi speaking</i>
When English is in force along with Hindi.	English, Hindi and Mother tongue.	English and Hindi.
When no English will be there,	Mother tongue and Hindi.	Hindi.

In both cases we see that the non-Hindi speaking group will have to learn one more language than the Hindi speaking group. Does this dazzling disparity conform to the tenets of Democracy?

So long as this inequality prevails, it is a sheer folly to expect true fraternity to grow up between the two groups mentioned above.

Speaking the same language does not foster fraternity—it depends primarily on enjoying equal rights and privileges. To realise the truth of this, one need not cite the case of England and America; it is frequently experienced in joint families and amongst neighbours in every part of the country. Hence one nation, one tongue, one heart is a utopian dream of poet-politicians.

7. Mastery of a language is a tremendous task demanding huge amount of time, energy and concentration. And this is alarmingly aggravated in our country, where the number of students in a class is very high and about 80% of them are deprived of brain-forming food, milk and essential proteins; while the teachers are mostly ill-paid, discontented, having little or no scientific method of language-teaching at their command, and, worst of all, they are gradually losing idealism at the glaring inequalities prevailing in the present-day society.

Hindi as a language is much more difficult to master than English. The genders in Hindi engender dangerous aversion to it in the minds of the non-Hindi speaking people. On the other hand, English is admittedly the easiest language. A reputed American writer Mark Twain has said—‘by a mediocre student English may be learnt in 30 hours, French in 30 days and German in 30 years’.

At a time when progressive nations of the world are advancing in science and technology with lightning speed should we exhaust our time and energy in learning a lot of languages instead of acquiring quickly the requisite scientific knowledge through English to improve and raise our lamentably low standard of living to the optimum?

# WIT, SCEPTICISM AND RHETORIC IN THE RIGVEDIC HYMNS

NANIMADHAB CHAUDHURI

The Rigveda is the earliest literary document of the Aryan people. It is regarded as the holiest of the holy books by the Hindus. All the three other Vedas are based on it. The serious and elevated Brahmanas, the sublime Upanishads, the zealous and meticulous Sutras, all the noble systems of our philosophy, in short, all the vast mass of sacred literature of ancient India that evokes wonder and appreciation of the civilised world, traces its origin to the earliest of the Vedas. All approach to this ancient, august and sacred document should be tempered, it is naturally demanded, with seriousness and humility.

While fully conceding this demand one may yet try to bypass the vast pile of commentaries with a desire to have a look into the sacred text for signs of relaxation from the burden of sanctity constantly carried by the holy fathers, the composers of the Rigvedic hymns.

One has to move warily for this purpose through the impressive array of 1028 hymns with an alert ear for expression of individual opinion by the hymnists, that is, any rishi making a casual statement or remark in the course of a hymn that appears unusual or off the beat in the context and startles one, it may be, by its unexpectedness. Similarly, one may look out for expressions of poetic flavour illuminating for a while the sombre, cold world of religious poetry. Success, howsoever little, in this search may add to our knowledge of the Rigveda and its authors.

The authors of the hymns are, as a body, serious in temper, zealous, at times fanatical in the propagation of the glory of their favourite deities, bitter on their enemies, gracious to their liberal patrons, fervent in their prayers for benefits; their main themes are gods, goddesses, sacrificial rites and persons and things connected with the same. The sense of their high duty obsesses them. But they were human and had to ease the tension now and then. How this is done will be seen in the following lines.

Some instances of light-hearted excursions into the realm of wit may be given. A hymnist irreverently compares rival priests

loudly chanting mantras with frogs croaking vociferously before rains. Another hymnist humorously compares persons invited to a feast sitting rigidly and waiting eagerly for food with immovable hillocks. Impatient at lack of prompt response to his prayer for benefits a hymnist irritably asks Indra if he is hard of hearing so that his hymns loudly repeated have not reached his ears. Another rishi, seeming to be disgusted at favours bestowed on a rival, calls the great god Indra a *vanik*. The *vanik* and the money lender, described as counting the days, were thoroughly disliked by the authors of the hymns. Humour tinged with cynicism also finds expression in some of the hymns. The Vedic seers also knew, like Shakespeare, that frailty was the name of woman. A woman's love does not last; a woman's heart is like a wolf's heart. In another hymn it is said that the mind of a woman is hard to instruct and her intelligence is doubtful. The quiet humour in the instances given below will be appreciated. The translations are by Macdonell.

The thoughts of men are manifold,  
 Their callings are of diverse kinds.  
 The carpenter desires a rift,  
 The leech a fracture wants to cure.  
 A poet I; my dad's a leech.  
 Mama the upper millstone grinds;  
 With various minds we strive for wealth  
 As ever seeking after kine.

How many a maiden is an object of affection to her wooer for the sake of her admirable wealth.

Ye cows make the lean man fat, even the ugly man you make of good countenance.

The rishis are priests by profession, proud of *Arya vrata* or Aryan way of life and loyally devoted to their gods and goddesses; all the same, there are expressions of scepticism. Indra is the greatest of the Vedic gods and he shares the majority of the hymns with Agni. There are references to opposition to Indra-worship and temporary suspension of it. What is more striking, doubt is freely expressed about Indra's existence. Nema rishi says, "There is nobody called Indra. Who has seen him"? The well-known Bhṛadadvaja rishi asks, "To whom shall we offer hymns? ~~एतद्देवतां हि~~ ~~एतद्देवतां हि~~ Has Indra such might as is attributed to him? Can ~~हं~~ ~~हं~~ prove it"? From individual deities one passes on to the nature

of truth and human limitations. "Who knows the truth, asks a seer, "whos peaks the truth"? This reminds one of Pilate's famous question, what is truth? The same doubt finds expression again in the famous Song of Creation (Rv. x. 129) :

Who knows it truly? who can here declare it?  
 Whence was it born? whence issued this creation?  
 And did the gods appear with its production?  
 But then who knows from whence it has arisen?  
 This world-creation, whence it has arisen,  
 Or whether it has been produced or has not,  
 He who surveys it in the highest heaven,  
 He only knows, or even he does not know it.

(Macdonell)

In another famous hymn the author raises the question as to which god one should choose amidst the host as worthy of oblations. All the riks in the hymn repeat the refrain कस्मै देवाय हविषा विवेम, to which god is oblation to be offered?

A few instances may now be given illustrating another mode of relaxation provided by the figurative forms of expression they chose. The hymnists were poets and were fond of rhetoric. The form of rhetoric constantly used is metaphor or simile. Rigvedic similes are quite numerous. A favourite simile is the boat simile. A boat takes one over water. May Indra take the rishi over dangers like it. The heaven is like a boat ; it gives one the feeling of safety and joy. The sea strikes a boat with high waves, let not mischievous doings of enemies obstruct us in the same way. Liberality in making gifts is compared with a boat which the hymnist embarks to reach safety and happiness. Agni is prayed to take the hymnist over the dangers of the world by a boat as it were. A liar is called a thief of words. As unrelenting thirst torments one in a desert, so does Soma unrelentingly follows an enemy. Soma is eager for hymns like a mother who with her breasts filled with milk is eager for her baby. The rishi prays that his intellect may be made as sharp as a razor. A number of metaphors are found comparing deities with animals. Indra is several times compared with bull and boar. Indra, Agni and Soma are compared with Suparna (eagle). The clouds are compared with young cows. Aditi, Prithivi and Prishni are compared with the cow. A fine simile describes Varuna as wearing the apparel of rivers.

As poets the hymnists show partiality for feminine beauty which finds expression in many similes, some of them of great beauty. The sacrificial altar is likened to a young woman. The *juhvas* (wooden spoons for offering butter oblations) are compared with young women. Waters surround Apang Napat like a bevy of youthful girls. Aruna rishi says, "I am singing this quite new and beautiful hymn in honour of ancient Agni who desires hymns; may he listen to it. May I touch his heart like a young woman dressed in fine clothes lovingly surrendering herself on her husband's breast." The love story of Pururava and Urvashi is told in Rv. x. 95. When the king met Urvashi she beamed with radiance like lightning tearing through the sky, other apsaras ran away like frightened does, they sped off like sportive mares. The beautiful, young dawn-goddess Usas has evoked fine poetic descriptions. She exposes her charms like a danceuse, bares her breasts like a cow exposing its udders when it is milked. She is fair and lustrous, clad in white, ever youthful. She approaches Surya like a well-developed girl and going near him bares her breasts smilingly like a young woman. She exposes her youthful body shining like a girl's body after her mother has cleansed and rubbed it. She shows her teeth as a well-dressed young wife does, when filled with desire she smiles on meeting her husband. One rishi says that the gods run after *yajna* as men run after women.

The few references given above taken together with many prayers to the deities for handsome wife, strong-limbed sons, spacious house, broad fields, bumper crops, numerous herds of cattle, unending pastures, wealth that may be enjoyed for generations, frequent, ungracious vituperation poured on niggardly patrons and more successful rivals, allusions to illicit amours, a woman's liaison with more than one male in sojourn, mention of a number of prevailing social customs of not *comme il faut* character and frankness in mentioning sex matters go to prove that the sacred text is not only a collection of probably the earliest-written, superb religious poetry, but is also a document of great human interest.

# ART AND EXPERIENCE

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The life of an artist is an experience. And experience is a flow through time, a duration, a many-coloured episode in eternity. Experience may be simple as it is among babies and simple people ; it may be complex as it is in the case of a scientist or poet or man of affairs. It may range from the aimless movement of a baby's hands and the undisciplined distraction of its eyes to the controlled vision and deliberate movements of the champion marksman. It may move from the beholding and manipulation of physical things to the invention and organisation of ideas tenuous and abstract. But between birth and death, this much may be averred of life, it is the stimulation and response of a living body of " five little senses startling with delight," of muscle twitching to answer with action, of hands eager and restless, of a tongue moved to utterance and a mind provoked to thought. Portions or aspects of that experience may be remembered and recorded. Totally considered, it may be simple or purposeful. It may be merely the veil or revelation of something behind or beyond experience itself. It may be merely a systematic transient delusion. It may be a night-mare or a dream. Philosophers and poets have espoused at one time or another all these hypotheses.

But whatever experience may portend or signify, veil or reveal it is irretrievably there. It may be intensified and heightened or dulled and obscured. It may remain brutal and dim and chaotic ; it may become meaningful and clear and alive. For a moment in one aspect, for a lifetime in many, experience may achieve lucidity and vividness, intensity and depth. To effect such an intensification and clarification of experience is the province of art ; so far from having to do merely with statues, pictures, and symphonies, art is the name for that whole process of intelligence by which life, understanding its own conditions, turns them to the most interesting or exquisite account. An art, properly important, would be, as Aristotle pointed out, politics. Its theme would be the whole of experience ; its materials and its theatre the whole of life.

Such a comprehensive art is still the statesman's dream. The conditions of life, especially of life together, are as complex as they are precarious. We do not know enough about them to be sure of our touch, nor has any man enough powers to be sure his touch is translated into action. " An artist bent on turning the whole of life into an art have to be at once a universal despot and a universal genius, a Goethe, a Newton, and an Alexander rolled into one." The art of life is an aspiration and a prophecy, not a history or a fact.



The artist *de facto* has had to deal with segments of experience though he may suggest or imply it all. Experience, apart from art, and intelligence, is capricious and confused. It is matter without form, movement without direction. The passing sounds are a vague noise unattended or undesired; the colours and shapes about us are unnoticed or unpleasant. The words we hear are signals to action; if they are that. Now to a certain extent life has achieved form. As we shall try to point out in the succeeding chapter, civilisation itself is an art form highly successful and fortuitous but none the less an art.

To the extent that life has form, it is an art, and to the extent that the established disorder of civilisation has some coherence, it is a work of art. All that goes by the name of custom or technique or institution is the working of intelligence or its perhaps dilapidated heritage. The realm of art is identical with the realm of man's deliberate control of the world of materials and movements among which he must make his home, of that inner world of random impulses and automatic processes which constitute his inner being. The breaking of a stick, the building of a hut, a skyscraper, or a temple, the use of language for communication, the sowing or the harvesting of a crop, the nurture and education of children, the framing of a code of law or moral, the weaving of a garment, or the digging of a mine all these are alike examples of art no less than the moulding of a relief or the composition of a symphony.

It is for purely accidental reasons that the fine arts have been singled out to be almost identical with art. For in painting and sculpture, music and poetry, there is so nice and so explicit a utilisation of materials, intelligence has so clear and complete, a sway over materials at once so flexible and delightful, that we turn to examples of these arts for art and in them find our aesthetic experience most intense and pure. But whenever materials are given form, whenever movement has direction, whenever life has, as it were, line and composition, there we have intelligence and there we have that transformation of a given chaos into a desired and desirable order. That we call art experience, apart from art and intelligence, is wild and orderless. It is formless matter, aimless movement.

It is difficult to realise how much of our diurnal experience is big blooming buzzing confusion. It is hard to realise how much of it is a semistupor. Life has often enough been described as a waking dream. But not much of it has the vividness, though a great deal of it may have the incoherence or the horror of a dream, for most people most of the time it is a heavy lethargy. They have eyes, yet they do not, in any keen and clear sense, see. They have ears, yet they do not finely and variously hear. They have a thousand provocations to feeling and to thought, but out of their torpor comes no response, only the pressure of some animal excitement, instant and voluminous, rouses them for a moment to an impulsive clouded answer. Life is for most of us what someone described music to be for the uninitiated, "a drowsy reverie, interrupted by nervous thrills."

How is this dazed basking in the sun, or this hurried passage from an unwilld stimulus to an uncontrolled response, transformed? How does an artist remake experience into something at once peaceful and intense, domestic and strange? What does the artist do to the world to render it arresting? What part do the arts play in our experience that gives them a special seduction and delight?

Ordinary experience, that of practical or instinctive compulsion, is at once restless and dead. Our equipment of habits and impulses is such that we see and hear just so much of objects, partake imaginatively just so much in events as is necessary for the immediate satisfaction of impulses or the fulfilment of practical intentions. Our instincts and our necessities hasten us from object to object. From each we select just as much as is requisite to our desires or to our purposes, the bare minimum of all that to free and complete aesthetic apprehension would be there. Experience is a minimum and that minimum is bare. Only one aspect of its momentary practical or impulsive urgency is remembered; all else is forgotten or more precisely ignored.

It is one of the chief functions of the artist to render experience arresting by rendering it alive. The artist, be he a poet, painter, sculptor, or architect, does something to objects, the poet and novelist do something to events, that compel the eye to stop and find pleasure in the beholding the ear to hear for the sheer sake of listening, the mind to attend for the keen, impractical pleasure of discovery or suspense or surprise. The object ceases, to be a matter; it becomes a part and appoint in a composition, a focus of colour and form. It becomes in a painting pictorially significant; it is to be looked at; it is an object of pictorial interest, at once satisfying and exciting. It ceases to be an incident or an instrument; it is not a practical precipitate to action a signal to anger or to lust. It is a moment crowded with vitality and filled with order; it is knowledge for its own sweet sake of something living and composed; it is beautiful, as we say, to look at, and its beholding is a pleasure.

Painters sometimes speak of dead spots in a painting; areas where the colour is wan or uninteresting or the forms irrelevant and cold. Experience is full of dead spots. Art gives it life. A comprehensive art, as has been intimated, would render the whole of life alive. The daily detail of doing or undergoing would be delightful, both in its immediate quality and for the meaning that it held. Our relations with others would all have something of the quality of friendship and affection; what we did would be stimulating as it is stimulating to a writer to write or to a painter to paint. What we encountered would be like an encounter with music or with painting or poetry. To live would be a constant continuum of creative action and aesthetic appreciation. All that we did would be an art, and all that we experienced would be an appreciation and a delight. Living would be at once ordered and spontaneous, disciplined and free.

There are a dozen reasons why that perfect functioning which would be an art of life is the philosopher's blue print and the poet's dream rather than a fact. In the life of the individual, a thousand factors of health and fatigue, of external circumstance, of poverty and responsibility, combine to defeat the deployment of resilient energies with exquisite wisdom. Pure spirit must rely on poor matter, the clearest intelligence on a Body and world which are at once its matrix and its materials. The dead spots in experience are not avoidable. As life is constituted in a disorganized world, much that has to be done is incidental and instrumental. We work for leisure and we rush for peace. The work is not sweet nor the pursuit calm. A lowering of vitality clips the wings of youth and exuberance. The presence of dull people turns conversation into ennui. The ugliness of our streets, our houses, and our cities is a realistic interruption of what might, ideally speaking, be perpetual delight. That is one reason among a thousand others why the artist and the aesthete flee to the fine arts. It is one reason, too, why art is regarded, so often, and has so repeatedly been described as a flight from life. The fine arts are in two senses a flight from reality. For the artist they provide a realm where his intelligence can function freely over tractable materials. The technical problems of the poet or musician may be difficult, but they are solvable and their solving is itself a tantalizing kind of felicity. The musician, like the mathematician, lives in a complex but tractable realm. It is vast, airy and metaphysical, but in it his intelligence can freely function, and his faculties can find their peace.

It is often remarked that artists are helpless in practical life. Its problems are to them dull or baffling or both; in its helter skelter miscellany their intelligence, disciplined to one sphere, as fine as it is small, cannot feel at home. It is not to be wondered at that the world finds the artist often foolish in affairs, any more than that the artist should find the affairs of the world foolish. What is a mind fastidious and precious to do with the awkward grossness of things and events? What is a spirit to whom discord is an evil to make of the jangle of politics and morals? So many poets have been romanticists and visionaries because their sensibilities, quick and nervous, could not bear to live in the world of facts. Poets of the first water, it is true, have been prepared to look steadily upon all that existed under the sun, and celebrate things, as Andre Gide well said, by enumeration. Painters as different as Goya and Nandalal have learned to look at things in their immediacy ugly and distressing, a tired worker, an aged woman, and through some magic of line and light, turn them into a beautiful peace. But for artists, gifted in their power but restricted in their range and courage, the arts have been escaped from a reality they could not bear, to a section of colour and light, of sound, of imaginative space, which was not only bearable but beautiful.

Madhusudan turns from the cruelty and stupidity of eighteenth century Bengal to a utopia, Platonic in its spiritual beauty and classic in its marble-precision. Beethoven in his deafness and suffering listens, in the choral finale movement of the ninth symphony, to his own concluding peace to the world as pure fellowship and joy.

The impulses that go to the making of the romantic artist go to the formation, too, of romantic appreciation. For many lovers of the arts find in music, poetry, painting, and the novel escapes, as narcotic as they are delightful, from the pressures and exigencies in which we are involved by our health, our finances and our affections.

Aesthetic interest is itself detachment, though it is not the kind of detachment that it is commonly supposed to be. But any perusal of a painting by the eye is a kind of release from our normal habits. For that moment at least we are looking at things for, and only for themselves, not for their promise or their potent. It is the colour of the rose in a still life that engages us, it is something to be seen substituted vividly. The aesthetic is substituted for the practical vision; in Schopenhauer's language, knowledge, for the moment, comes to predominate our will. It is not able how in the late nineteenth century a romantic pessimism and a romantic aestheticism were allied. The hungry will might never find its satisfaction or its peace in a world that was doomed never to satisfy it. Life might be an eternity between two oblivions, a vast anacolutho, a sentence without a meaning. Be it so. In that brief interval one might, as Pater suggests in his famous conclusion to the Renaissance, be filled with light and colour and music. One could escape from the defeats of the intellect and the emotions to an exquisite Epicureanism. As far as possible, as far as one can live in the aesthetic experience itself, one can make life a continuum of roses and raptures. One can escape the times that are out of joint, like Richard II, in a harmonious music. In the still perfection of marble, in the fine modelling of a face in a painting, or of the shadows on a wall, one can escape into a realm of eternity. In music, too, emotions finer and subtler than any ever experienced can be enjoyed. And in literature, even pain and distress may be experienced at arms length and in the garb of beauty. For the Observer, one function of the fine arts is certainly to provide the peace of beauty and the escape of detachment. Broadly speaking it is not the practical function but the eternal essence of things that the arts provide. To behold an essence is to behold something in and for itself. The purely aesthetic observer has for the moment forgotten his own soul, and has gained the world, that is to say, the world of art.

This theory and ideal of aesthetic appreciation has a particular following among those in whom sensibility is combined with disillusion. The aesthetic is a melancholy exquisite loitering among the gleams in a fading world. There is no doubt that the arts must, for many, be nothing more than such a flight. The Saint flees to his desert, the aesthete to his tower

of ivory. One finds his peace in God, the other in form. The fact is, however, that his theory of art as escape fails to take into account much that is true of aesthetic experience, and is an insult to the more rich and positive aspect of aesthetic enjoyment and creation. It abstracts the aesthetic Man much as the early twentieth century abstracted the Economic Man. No one is ever, or ever for long, an aesthetic observer, and part of aesthetic enjoyment is the rendition, vivid and revealing, of the world we know and the nature we are. The eye of the beholder is the eye of a human being, with all the vast reverberation of human interests and emotions. The ear of a listener is the ear of one to whom sounds have associations and of one who has listened to words for their meaning as well as for their tintinnabulation.

The arts may be, in many instances and for many observers, flights into a compensatory dream or into a paradise of forms, lucid and satisfying, in which the apprehension is satisfied and the conflicts or experience are lulled.

There is a more melodramatic sense, too, in which the arts may be escaped. Nietzsche pointed out in *The Birth of Tragedy* the elements complementary and apparently contradictory, in Greek tragedy, and in all moving art. These he defined as the Apollonian, the element of repose and the Dionysian, the element of passion and vitality. The arts do more than bring or bestow peace; they communicate fire. In the high climaxes of the fine arts, the psycho, condemned in the ordinary circumstances of living to be diffident and constrained, finds a provocation, an outlet, and an excuse for those fires which are ordinarily banked. Nietzsche was for a time peculiarly seduced by Wagner because he felt in the urgency and flow of that romantic musician precisely the Dionysian element which was for him the life blood of the arts. "Literature," says Anatole France, "is the opium and hasheesh of the modern world." Rather it might be said to be music. One has but to gaze at the faces of a modern concrete audience to see how, in the swelling tide of some orchestral climax, passions are finding their release that have found no other utterance; music is saying unashamed what most of its listeners would be as ashamed as they would be unable to say in words.

Nor is it only the madder moments of passionate assertion that find their expression in the arts. Nuances of feeling, subtleties of thought that practical experience keeps us too gross or too busy to observe that words are too crude to express, and affairs too crude to exhaust, have in the arts their moment of being. For these reasons too, for the observer, they are absorbing flights from life. But they say—in major instances they do—clarify, intensify, and interpret life.

First, as to the intensification: our senses, we learn from the biologists, are adaptations to a changing and precarious environment. They were developed in the long animal history of the race, and instruments by which

a troubled animal might adjust itself to a constantly shifting experience. A pigmented spot sensitive to light becomes eventually the eye. That organ enables the animal to estimate at a distance the dangerous and desirable object too far removed for touch. The ear, similarly the product of a long evolutionary history, likewise originated as an instrument that rendered the animal advertent to the dangers and promises in a mysterious and uncertain environment. Smell, in its animal origin, was likewise a warning of the noxious, a signal of edible or otherwise promising things. Taste, too, developed as a rough guide to the poisonous and the nourishing. Touch began as that near and immediate sensitivity closely bound up with self-preserving and pro-creative lusts.

In their origin our senses are thus practical, not aesthetic; they remain in diurnal living, essentially practical still. There is, as it were, a myopia to which we are all subject to a blindness, instinctive and compulsive. We become an aesthetic to all phases of objects save those in which our immediate fortunes or actions are concerned.

The artist's function, the success of a work of art, are both partly measurable by the extent to which our senses become not signals to action but revelations of what is sensibly and tangibly there. Somewhere in one of his short stories Tagore writes—"They did not see the moon in the sky." So intent were they upon the possibilities of being saved that they had no time, interest, or impulse for seeing the moon in the sky above them. The chaos of impressions and impulses at any moment has for that moment some coherency and shape. Our habits and our institutions canalise life. Even insanity has its own, if irrelevant, kind of order. Except in drowsiness or semistupor and hardly even there, absolute chaos does not exist.

But in works of art sensations are more profoundly and richly clarified through some deliberate and explicit pattern; emotions are given a sequence and development such as the exigencies of practical life scarcely or rarely permit. Our reveries, amiable and wondering are disciplined to the pathway of some controlled logical sequence.

An illustration of each may be of importance. Others than painters have seen flower in a bowl on a table. But it requires a Nandalal Bose or Abanindranath Tagore to organise the disordered sensations of colour, form and beauty into something lucid and harmonious and whole. Everyone has experienced the blindness or human pride or the fatal possessiveness of love. But it requires a Rabindranath to show him the tragic meaning of the first in such a play as *Bisarjjan*, a Bankimchandra to exhibit to him the latter in such a novel as *Bisabriksa*. Even the most unreflective have at sometime or other harboured scattered and painful thoughts on the vanity of life or the essential beauty and purity of Nature. A few have formulated these scattered insights into a system. But a poet like Tagore can turn that vague intuition into a major and systematic insight; The kaleidoscope of our sensations falls into an eternal pattern; a mood

half articulate and half recognised in its confused recurrence becomes, as it were, clarified forever in a poem or a novel or a drama. A floating impression becomes fixed in the vivid system of music or letters.

The arts do more, however, than simply intensify sensations. In the routine of our lives, successively similar situations have produced successively similar emotional reactions. We become dulled emotionally as well as sensuously. In the clear and artful discipline of a novel or a drama our emotions become reinstated into a kind of pure intensity. It might appear on the surface that the actualities of life, the impingements of those so very real crises of birth and death and love, are more intense than any form of art provides. That is true. But we do not live always amid crises, and the ordinary run of our experiences gives us only emotions that are dull and thin. A tragic epic like *Meghnadbadh*, a novel like *Gora* clarify and depend for us emotional incidents of familiar human situations. For many people, it is literature rather than life that teaches them what their native emotions are. And ideas themselves which in the abstractions of formal reasoning may be thin and cold and external, in the passionate presentation of poetry and drama may become intimate and alive. Those would fall asleep over Godwin's *Political Justice* who might be inflamed to passion by the political Poetry of Shelley.

Our experience, through the pressure of impulses on the one hand, and the conditions of living on the other, is conventionalised into logical and practical patterns; we are likely to forget how diverse and miscellaneous experience in its immediacy is. It consists of patches of colour and fragments of form; it lives as a moment transient and confused in a vanishing flux. Our senses, our instincts, and our world give some form to the undiscriminated blur. Were there no pattern at all to follow we could not live. Every blur of vision forms itself into some kind of landscape, the chaos.

In the fine arts, then, the experience becomes intenseified by the arresting of sensations. We become aware with tingling pleasure of the colours and shapes on a canvas, of the sounds of a voice or a violin. The other senses too have their possible æsthetic exploitation, but touch, taste, and smell are not as finely manipulable, not as easily incorporated in objects or detached from practical biological interests as are sight and sound. The peculiar function of the fine arts lies therefore, chiefly in the realm of these two subtle and finely discriminated organs, the eye and the ear. Colour, which for practical purposes is usually the most negligible aspect of an object, is the painter's special material. Differences in rhythm and tone, negligible in practical communication, become for the musician the source of all his art, for the music-lover, the source of all his pleasure. The senses from being incitements to action are turned into avenues of delight.

It is in this respect that the basic and the ultimate appeal of all art is *sensuous*. We become engaged, as it were, by the amiable and intensified



surfaces of things. The charm of a still life is certainly in its composition, but it is the blues and greens and reds and yellows of the flower that arrest us; our body becomes alive to what the senses present. Those moralists who have regarded art as a sensuous distraction have sourly stated the truth. Eyes dulled and routinated become keen again in the observation of painting; the ear becomes a subtilized organ of praise and intense sensation. We move in painting and in music not among the abstract possibilities of action but among the concrete actualities of what is there to be seen and heard.

In a sense, therefore, all art is idealisation, even where it pretends to be realistic. For no experience could possibly have the permanent order, the pattern, the changeless integration of a work of art. The mere permanence of a painting as compared with the vision of a passing moment, the mere dramatic logic of a drama as compared with the incongruous juxtapositions of life are illustrations of the point. But the idealisation which is art has the benefit of holding a clarifying mirror up to Nature. It shows us by deliberate artifice what is potentially in Nature to be seen, in life to be felt, in speculation to be thought.

Now, to return to the interpretation of experience. Psychologists and logicians are found of pointing out, how much of what seems to be mere and sheer sensation is a matter of judgment and inference. Our intelligence and our habits are, in their way, artists. They enable us to respond to things not simply as sheer physical stimuli but as meanings. The fine arts simply accentuate the process or perhaps merely italicise the process which all intelligence exemplifies. Those separate spots of colour become significant items in the total pattern in a painting, the pattern itself is significant as well as vibrant: They tell with significant detail of some life, some experience, some destiny.

All the arts in one way or another, to some greater or lesser extent, interpret life. They may 'interpret' nothing more than the way in which a bowl of flower "appears" to the ordered imagination of a painter. They may "interpret" nothing more than sensation. Or they may interpret, as *Meghnadbadha* does, or *Saradamangal* or *Gora*, the confused intuitions of men and women, bringing to a focus an obscure burden of human emotion.

A poetry like the *Meghnadbadha* or a Tagore's *Balaka* may be a commentary upon the whole human scene, its nature, its movement, and its destiny. When Matthew Arnold defined poetry as a criticism of life, he might well have extended his definition to the whole of the fine arts. For criticism is a judgment upon, an interpretation of life. Explicit interpretation, of course, is to be found chiefly in literature. But a statue by Deviprasad, a piece of music by Bhismadeva, is by virtue of its comprehensive and basic quality, its mood, its tempo, and its essential timbre, an interpretation of experience. One hears more than an arrangement of



sounds in Alauddin Khan's setar. One hears the comment of a great spirit on the world in which it lives. These works are the language of men who not only saw and heard with the external eye and ear, but put into sound and hearing, into canvas a vision of what life essentially meant to them. These three functions—intensification, clarification and interpretation of experience, the arts fulfil in various degree. For many observers the arts are simply sensuous excitements and delights. For many they are the language in which the human spirit has clarified to itself the meanings of its world. For many the arts are the sensuously enticing and emotionally moving vehicles of great total vision of experience. The arts, in fragments, as it were, suggest the goal toward which all experience is moving; the outer world of things, the inner world of impulse mastered thoroughly by intelligence, so that whatever is done is itself delightful in the doing, delightful in the result. The Utopia of the philosopher of which Plato dreamed is foreshadowed in those moments of felicity which the fine arts at moments provide. A music in its perfection, a drama in its tragic logic, a poem in its sensuously moving grace is a foretaste of what ordered world might be. Art is another name for intelligence which in an ordered society would function over the whole of men's concerns, as it functions happily now in those scattered works we call beautiful, in those happy moments we call aesthetic pleasure.

## **"THE MAYOR'S COURT"— BRITISH INDIAN JUDICIARY**

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The history of judicial administration in all parts of India prior to the English assumed sovereign powers is a long, complicated and an interesting one. At the time of the establishment of the East India Company in India, the administration of revenue and civil justice was in the hands of the Indians. The Mughal empire was then on its last legs and it was found necessary even in the early days of the East India Company that the crown should grant to them judicial and legislative powers, to be exercised in their East Indian possessions. So, the first charter of the London East India Company was granted by Elizabeth on 31st December, 1600. Afterwards the Royal Charter was granted by James I of England in 1609, granting to the governor and the company some powers to make and ordain law, which were intended to be exercised over their English servants. The Royal Charter of Charles II in 1661 granted for the first time, the Governor of the East India Company the power to "hold general courts, make bye-laws and to judge all persons belonging to the said Governor and Company or that should hire under them, in all causes, whether civil or criminal—according to the laws of the kingdom and to execute justice accordingly."

Bombay was the first place in India where the British justice was administered to native inhabitants by a special court of judicature. Equal and impartial justice is one of the main foundations on which British rule in India rests, it brought new ideals and prospects of peace, and good government in a country where the administration of justice had hitherto been impeded by gross tyranny and corruption; and it affects the life and well-being of every villager and townman in India. While the Royal Charter of 1668 seeking for the establishment of courts on English lines at Bombay and the remarkable changes ushered in by the establishment of Courts of Admiralty in 1683, by the Letters Patent (August, 1683) of Charles II, were great landmarks in the introduction of regular courts of justice in Bombay; the town of Madras also did not lag behind. The amended charter granted by Charles II to the Company in 1683, empowered the Governor and Council to establish courts of judicature at such places as they might appoint, to consist of one person learned in the civil laws and two merchants, and to decide according to equity and good conscience, and according to law and customs of merchants. These provisions were continued in the charter granted by James II in 1686; and a similar power

was given to the new East India Company by the Charter of the 10th William III, granted in September, 1698.

In the year 1726 the Court of Directors represented by petition to King George the First—"That there was great want at Madras, Fort William and Bombay of a proper and competent power and authority for the more speedy and effectual administering of justice in civil causes, and for the trying and punishing of capital and other criminal offences and misdemeanours." The charter of 24th September, 1726, establishing civil and criminal courts that derived their authority from the king instead of the Company, marks a turning point in its policy. Accordingly the then existing courts were superseded, and the East Indian Company was empowered by Royal Charter, granted in 1726 the 13th year of King George I's reign, to establish at each of the three settlements a court, consisting of a Mayor and nine Aldermen, to be a court of Record, and to try, hear and determine all civil suits, actions and pleas between party and party.

In the legal and judicial administration of India, the uniform principle of British policy in respect of Territories acquired by conquest or cession, was adopted. In these courts the laws and system of jurisprudence, Muhammedan or Hindu were recognised as valid, until superseded by the supreme authority of the British government. In the territories of the East India Company, as in all British dependencies similarly acquired, and not possessing Representative Institutions, the dominant country exercised its legislative powers either by order in Council or by Act of Parliament. Both the Imperial Parliament and the Governor-General in Council had the power of legislating for India; but there were certain exceptions to the power of the latter authority, by one of which it was restrained from interfering with any Act of Parliament passed subsequently No. 3 and 4 Will IV. Chap. 85 and applying to India. All law passed by the Governor-General in Council extended unless specially limited in their application by the Acts themselves, to all inhabitants, whether British or Natives, of all territories within the Company's charter. The laws themselves, when they became acts, were published in Oordoo, a higher dialect of Hindustanee and in other native languages according to the part of India to which they might apply. But power was reserved to the Imperial Parliament to alter or repeat them.

However, no regular court of Justice was set up in Calcutta till the establishment of the Mayor's Court, simultaneously set up in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras by the Royal Charter of 1726. But the Court at Calcutta began functioning sometimes in December, 1727, when the charter along with the judges reached Calcutta. From a foot-note at page 119, Vol. I of C. R. Wilson's *Fort William in Bengal*, it is learnt that the Ambassador's House standing at the corner of Lal Bazar and Mission Row, was taken for the use of the Mayor's Court. But according to S. C. Hill, it stood on the south of Lal Bazar, just at the junction of Bentinck street.

But this building, being an old one, was soon sold on public auction in 1732. One Mr. Brouhier started a charity fund for the aid of his missionary school at Calcutta and had a gorgeous building out of the charity fund which he let out for holding the Mayor's Court. This house stood near the north-east corner of Dalhousie Square, and it was known as the "Old Court House." It is interesting to note that the judges of the Supreme Court held their sessions at this 'Old Court House' for some years and here it was that Nuncomer's trial for forgery took place.

The Royal Charter of September, 1726, provided for the establishment, at each of the three principal settlements of the Company, namely, Madras, Bombay and Calcutta, of a 'Body Politick and corporate, by the name of Mayor and Aldermen of' Madras, Bombay or Calcutta, as the case might be. This body was to consist of a Mayor and nine Aldermen, seven of which said Aldermen, at least, together with the Mayor for the time being, were to be 'natural born subject' of the Crown, and the other Two Aldermen might be 'subjects of any other Prince or State, in Amity' with the crown. Besides it could 'sue and be sued, in any courts and causes whatsoever.' Secondly, the charter ordained that the Mayor and Aldermen, shall forever hereafter be, and they are hereby constituted, a court of Record, by the name of the Mayor's Court. They or any three or more of them may, and they are hereby authorised to try, hear and determine, all civil suits actions and pleas between party and party. Appeals could be made within fourteen days from the decisions of the Mayor's Court to the Governor or President and council of the settlement concerned, who, or any three or more of them had been made by the charter "a court of Record." If the cause involving seems above the amount of 1000 pagodas, the aggrieved party could made again an appeal to the King in Council. Again the Charter provided that the President and 'the Five senior of the Council, according to their presidency' at each principal settlement of the Company 'shall be justices of the peace and have power to act as justices of the Peace in it and in the factories subordinate to it.....' Besides, the charter also provided that the President and the Five senior of the Council shall and may hold quarter sessions of the Peace for the trial of all offences, except High Treason. In the fifth place, the charter had granted to the Company 'full Power and Authority' to use and exercise in time of war or open hostility, Martial discipline and the Law Martial. Sixthly, the charter had empowered the Mayor's Courts to be set up under it to grant 'Probates of Wills and Letters of Administration.' And lastly, the charter appointed a sheriff for each of the three settlements of the company 'and for any space within ten miles of the same.'

The Mayor's court which had been established at Madras, was abolished on the capture of that place by the French in 1746. But the town having been restored to the English in 1749, the Director of the East India

Company represented to the King in Council that "it would be a great encouragement to persons to come and settle at that place, if a proper and competent judicial authority were established there;" and further, that it had been found by experience that justice gained little by the establishment of the Mayor's Courts, and that the justice they administered was bad and inefficient. Under the circumstances, George II granted a new Charter in 1753, re-establishing the Mayor's Courts at Madras, Bombay and Calcutta, with some not very material alterations. And on 11th October of the year, five of the members of the new Mayor's Court, having been as required by the new charter, 'Duly sworn in their Office' took, on that very day, 'their seats on the bench to proceed on the business of their function and office'.

By this charter these courts were limited in their civil jurisdiction to suit between persons not natives of the said several towns, and suits between Natives were directed not to be entertained by the Mayor's Courts, unless by consent of the parties. The jurisdiction of the Government Courts in criminal cases was also limited to offences committed within the several towns and the factories or places subordinate thereto, omitting the words, "or within ten miles of the same," contained in the previous charter. At the same time and the same charter, courts of Requests were established at Madras, Bombay and Fort William.

The seventh report of the Committee of secrecy, appointed to enquire into the state of the East India Company, after a detailed description of the Courts of judicature in Bengal, observes upon the constitution and defects of the Mayor's Court. It remarks, "that although it is bound to judge, at least where Europeans are concerned, according to the laws of England, yet the judges are not required to be, and in fact have never been, persons educated in the knowledge of these laws by which they must decide; and that the judges were justly sensible of their own deficiency, and that they had therefore frequently applied to the Court of Directors to lay particular points respecting their jurisdiction before counsel, and to transmit the opinion of such counsel to be the guide of their conduct." Upon this Report the 13th Geo. III C.63 was passed, the Bill was carried by an overwhelming majority in the House of Commons on the 10th of June, 1773, and on the 20th of June it passed the Lords without opposition and received the Royal assent on the following day. The 13th Section of this statute empowered His Majesty to erect and establish a Supreme Court of Judicature in Bengal, to consist of a Chief Justice and three other judges, being Barristers of England or Ireland of not less than five years' standing, to be named and appointed from time to time by His Majesty, his heirs and successors. The First Chief Justice of the Supreme Court was Sir Elijah Impey, and the first Puisne Judges were Robert Chambers, Stephen Caesar Lemaistre and John Hyde. It is interesting to note that the judges of the Supreme Court held their sessions at the 'Old Court

House'—the Mayor's Court's place—for some years (Bengal Past and Present, Vol. XVII).

So much of the charter of 1726 as related to the Mayor's Court at Madras, was cancelled by the Act 37 Geo. III. C.142, and by virtue of letters patent, a Court of Record was established. Again the Recorder's Court at Madras was abolished by the Act 40 Geo. III C.79, and by letters of patent, dated 26th December, 1800, the Supreme Court of Judicature at Madras is established. The Court had generally the same powers, and its jurisdictions were generally the same, within the settlement of Madras, as those of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William within the territories attached to the Presidency of Bengal and North West Provinces. The local jurisdiction of the Court was confined to the town of Madras, which for this purpose was held to be bounded by the sea on the east, the saint Thome River on the south, the banks of the Long Tank, with the villages of Kilpandum and Peramboor on the west and a line from the latter village to the sea on the north and to comprise all the lands included in the villages of Chettapet, Kilpankum, Peramboor and Tandear. The inhabitants of Madras within these limits were computed at about 720,000. The British subjects residing within the provinces attached to Madras and subject to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court were on 30th March, 1861 (according to Parliamentary Census Returns) 15,133.

So much of the Charter of 1726 as related to the Mayor's Court at Bombay, was cancelled by the Act 37 Geo. III C.142, and by virtue of letters patent, a court of Record was established within the settlement of Bombay, called the Court of the Recorder of Bombay. It continued till the 4th Geo. IV. C.71, when it was superseded by latters patent, bearing date the 8th of December, 1823, and issued in pursuance of the Act consituting the Supreme Court of Judicature at Bombay to be a Court of Record. The local jurisdiction of the Court was confined to the Island of Bombay, the inhabitants of which were computed at about 566,119. The British born subjects who resided within the limits were, on the 30th March, 1851 (according to Parliamentary Census Returns) 10, 704 exclusive of the Queen's troops. It is to be remembered that the Supreme Court at Madras and Bombay had generally the same powers, and their judisdictions were generally the same within the settlements of Madras and Bombay, as those of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William within the territories attached to the Presidency of Bengal and North-west provinces. (First report of the Commissioners appointed in 1853 to consider the reforms of the judicial establishment in India.)

The local jurisdiction of the Supreme Court at Fort William was limited to the town of Calcutta, which for this purpose was bounded on the west side by the river Hoogli, and on the other sides by what is called by Maratha Ditch. Within these limits the Court exercised all its jurisdictions, civil and criminal over the persons residing within them, with the exception

of its ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which had not been applied to Hindus and Muhammedans beyond the granting of probates of wills. The persons residing within these limits, and therefore subject to the local jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, were computed at about 413,182. The number of British born subjects subject to the jurisdiction of the Court, including the members of the conventioned services, civil and military, but exclusive of the Queen's troops and their families was on the 30th March, 1851, (according to the Parliamentary Census Return) a little over 22,887. Therefore the Court exercised all its jurisdictions over all the British born subjects, persons who had been born within the British islands, and their descendants, who were resident in any of the provinces which were comprehended within the Presidency of Bengal or the subordinate Government of Agra.

All persons resident at any places within the said provinces, who had a dwelling house and servants in Calcutta, or a place of business there where they carried on any trade, through their agents or servants were held to be constructing inhabitants of Calcutta for the purpose of liability to the common law and equity jurisdictions of the Court. Moreover natives of India, within the said provinces who had bound themselves upon any contract or agreement in writing with any British subjects, where the action exceeded the sum of 500 rupees, to submit to the jurisdiction of the said court, were subject to its jurisdiction in disputes relating to the said contract. In like manner, persons who availed themselves of the Court's jurisdiction for any purpose, were held liable to its jurisdiction in the same matter, even on other sides of the court than that of which they had availed themselves.

# VEDIC EVIDENCES REGARDING THE FEMALE INHERITANCE

SRI SANIRAN CH. CHAKRABARTI

Every man living within his society and leading a domestic life possesses some property, however small or grand it may be. One day he closes his eyes never to open again. As a matter of fact the property owned by him will go to the possession of somebody else, as the departing person is not carrying it with him to the life beyond death. Hence comes the question of inheritance. Ancient law-givers raised a debate whether a daughter should inherit her father's property. Many scholars of different views have contributed to the discussion of the problem which has been examined from different standpoints. In the scope of this short article we shall cite some vedic evidences which throw a light on the debated point.

Hinduism is based on the vedas and vedic decision stands final in any controversy, because the vedas are considered to be eternal and not of human authorship. So the vedas must be free from all mistakes and falsehood. That is why the vedic evidence can claim some supremacy in any matter Indian. But the vedic mantras are often interpreted differently by different authors and commentators so as to serve their particular purpose. In the present discussion we find three parties holding three views. Some scholars support indiscriminate inheritance for son and daughter while some others deny the same for a daughter. The third party, again, opines that only the brotherless girls should inherit and not they who have got any brother.

The first group of scholars lays stress on the point that essentially there is no difference between a son and a daughter ; both are alike to the father. So the law-giver Manu says :

अविशेषेण पुत्राणां दायो भवति धर्मतः ।

मित्रानां विसर्गादौ मनुः स्वायम्भुवोऽब्रवीत् ॥

Biologically speaking, they say, the birth of a son is exactly similar to that of a daughter both coming from the same seed and through same process. So there should not be any inherent difference



between a son and a daughter. They say, this scientific truth is supported by the vedic verse—

अज्ञादज्ञात् सम्भवसि हृदयादविजायसे ।

आत्मा वै पुत्रनामासि स जीव शरदः सतम् ॥<sup>1</sup>

It is also to be noted that the incantations used at the time of union for generation or the rites to be observed after the birth of a child are same in the case of a son or a daughter. So they think that a daughter has the right to inherit her father's property. In support of the opinion they adduce a vedic verse—

आसद्विदुः हितुर्नस्यकाद्विदुः अतस्त्व दीधितिं सपथ्यन् ।

पिता यत्तु दुहितुः सेकसृजन् संसाम्ये न मनसा वधन्वे ॥<sup>2</sup>

The verse is interpreted in their favour :—When a father gives his daughter in marriage to a bridegroom he takes mentally the son of his daughter as his own grandson.<sup>3</sup> Now the son of a son is called grandson. As the daughter's son is also a grandson the daughter must be as good as a son.<sup>4</sup> So she deserves the right of inheritance as does a son. This formal logic is the base of the opinion of the first group.

But the second, i.e. the opponent group says that the son only should be the legal heir to his father's property. They lay stress on the lowered condition of the women in India. Women are often said to be inferior in comparison with men. They cite vedic extracts like—

“तस्मात् पुमान् दायदः स्त्री अदायादा ।”<sup>5</sup>

“अथ यत् स्त्रीर्ली परास्यन्ति हवनकर्मणो न तथा दुहति न दास्यन्ति परास्यन्ति हवनकर्मणः दास्यन्तेनैव दुहति तस्मात् किं जातां परास्यन्ति परस्मै प्रयच्छन्ति न पुमांसम् ।”<sup>6</sup>

As women are essentially inferior to men so they cannot claim the right of inheritance. In addition women are found to be given

<sup>1</sup> श्रीवीरसि चारखण—IV/11

<sup>2</sup> Rgveda—III-81/1

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Nirukta 3/1/4—“प्रजासि वोदा सन्नामकर्मणे दुहितुः पुत्रभावम्...नतारमुपायमत् दीधितिं योजयति विद्वान्...।”

<sup>4</sup> Cf. दुर्गाचार्य—“नतारमुपायमत् उपानयति पितृणां । दीधितम् दुहितुपुत्रम् । योजयति स्त्री ममायमिति एवमुपाययति । नचापुत्रस्य पितुः स्यात्, उपानयति च दुहितुः पिता नमायमिति दीधितम् । तस्मात् दुहितुपुत्र एव यस्याः पुत्रः पौत्री ममायमित्येवं पितृणां उपपद्यते ।” on Nirukta 3/1/4.

<sup>5</sup> Meitrāyaṇya Samhitā—IV-6-4

<sup>6</sup> Meitrāyaṇya Samhitā—IV-6-4

away, sold and abandoned, but such is not the case with men. A bride is given away to her husband. That the daughter is sold in marriage is supported by the following extract from the Brāhmaṇa—

“प्रातुर्मास्तेष्वनृतं वा एवा करोति या पत्युः क्रीता सती अन्ययान्यैश्चरति ।”

A bride is abandoned in a स्वयंवर ceremony—whoever is strong may take you. These are absent in case of men who are naturally superior.

But an objection has been raised that men also may be given or sold or abandoned. For example the story of Hariścandra<sup>1</sup> may be considered. There we come across the selling of शुनःशेष by his father. Viśvāmitra, in the same story, abandons his sons like Madhucchandas etc. So these points are not exclusively applicable to women.

In this way these two diametrically opposite parties are at logger-heads with each other. As a conciliation between these two a third party arises and opines that only the brotherless women have got the right of inheritance and not all women in general. They argue that one who performs the ancestral rites (e.g. śrāddha) is the legal inheritor. In case of a man blessed with son, his son performs those rites after his death, and so the son should be the legal heir to his property. But when one has got no son, the daughter acts like a son. Her son is a grandson to her father. In this way the brotherless woman remains for the furtherance of her father's race. In such a case, she should be the inheritress. That a brotherless maiden continues in the family of her father and not of her husband is supported by the following vedic verse—

अमूर्या यन्ति जामयः सर्वा लोहितवाससः ।

अभ्रातर इव योषास्तिष्ठन्ति हतवर्त्मनः ॥<sup>2</sup>

In this verse it is implicitly told (by the 'upamā') that a brotherless maiden should not be married. There is also clearer evidence—

अभ्रात्रेव पुंस पति प्रतीची गर्तारुगिव सनये धनानाम् ।

जायेव पत्य उक्षती सुवासा उवा हक्त्रेव निरिणीते अपसः ॥<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Aitareya Brāhmaṇa—33/3.

<sup>2</sup> Atharva Samhitā—I/7-1.

<sup>3</sup> R̥gveda—I-124-7

Here Uṣas is compared to a brotherless woman. In his Nirukta Yaska says on it—

“अन्नादुक्ते पुंसः पितृनेत्यभिमुखी संस्तानकर्मणे पित्रदत्तानाय भवति ॥”

From this verse the commentators conclude that a brotherless daughter is as good as a son and a legal heir to the paternal property.<sup>1</sup>

An explicit statement exists—

“नाभासीमुपवच्छेत् लोकं ह्यस्य तन्नवति”—

—One should not marry a brotherless bride for she becomes a son to her father.

The verse—आसद्भिर्दुहितुः<sup>2</sup>—&c. (page-2) is also interpreted as to support this opinion. It tells that the daughter's son is taken to be a grandson—but why? Certainly when one has got a son such a contemplation cannot arise at all. So it must be understood that the verse refers to the case of a brotherless girl. This verse is translated in favour of this opinion by V. K. Rajavade in the following way—<sup>3</sup>

“Honouring the performance of the sacrifice of begetting children or honouring the act of discharging his semen into his wife's womb without any previous thought of begetting a son or a daughter, the man who marries a woman declares publicly that his daughter has the status of a son in his own eyes and that she would be equally instrumental like his sons in continuing the family and approaches his daughter's son with the conviction that the son is his own son ; when he procures a bridegroom who would instil his semen into the daughter's womb, a sonless father enters into a contract that the son born of such a marriage would be his son and not the bridegroom's and by doing so comforts himself as now his mind is free from anxiety on the score of the non-continuation of his family.”

Not only this, inheritance is restricted for a maiden having any brother. cf—

न जामये ताम्बो रिक्थमारैक् चकार गर्भं सनिपुर्निधानम् ।

यदी मातरो जनयन्त बह्विमन्वः कर्त्ता सुहृदोरन्वः प्रमन्व ॥<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nirukta - 3.1-5 :

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Durga—(on Nirukta 3.1.5) “एवमभाटका जन्वा यस्मिन्नेव वंशे उत्पन्ना भवति तमेव प्रजाययति वर्धयति, न भर्तुं वंशम् । इत्येकमुपमया नासौ बोद्धव्येतदुपदर्शितं भवति पुत्रार्थत्वादिवाच्यम् । तस्माद्-वर्धयित्वा भर्तुं वंशस्य वर्धयित्वा च पितृवंशस्य च भाटका पितृदायाद्यमर्हतीत्युपपद्यते ॥”

<sup>3</sup> Bṛveda—III 31-1.

Edition of Nirukta—V. K. Rajavade.

Bṛveda—III-32-1.

Thus the third view is a conciliation between the first two views. It agrees that in some case a daughter also inherits. It again says that if any son exists the daughter cannot inherit. It is practical too. By the vedic evidences quoted above it has been shown that a brotherless maiden should not be married. If so, how will she live? After the death of her father she may live on the property inherited. Otherwise there will be nobody to maintain her. To avoid this situation it is prudent to support female-inheritance in case of brotherless daughters. Those who have got brothers are given in marriage to their husbands who protect them. The brother remains in the paternal house, protects the same and performs the ancestral rites. So he is a just heir to the paternal property. In question of preference the son comes first and then the daughter. It is not desirable or justified to think that essentially a daughter is inferior to a son in all respects and to deny her the right to inherit the property of her dear father. The modern view is to accept the indiscriminate inheritance as no difference between a male and a female is believed to exist in the realm of rights. The idea of equality has wiped out the dark days for the women of India. Women are now accepting similar job and performing similar deeds with men. Necessarily her right to inheritance is asserted without any discrimination and it is a better step indeed.

# LYTTON'S INDIAN PROBLEMS IN 1876

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The seventies of the 19th Century may be regarded as a germinal period in the history of Indian politics and administration. After the revolution of 1857 the Government had set to the task of consolidating its gains and reorganizing the administration of the country. So far as the people were concerned, there was an atmosphere of gloom, disappointment, inaction and indifference. But the situation did not continue for long. The seeds of English education that had been sown now began to register progress and produce definite results of wide and comprehensive character. The English education intended by Macaulay to produce clerks... had certain good results as well. It brought the Indians into contact with the educational and institutional foundations of the Western Civilisation. They were brought into touch with the great minds of the West and were initiated into the cult of nationalism that was the guiding political ideal of the West during that period.

The Western education created a class of educated Indians whose interests were different from those of the native aristocracy. The new class was not to rest satisfied with the clerical and other minor posts in the Government, but was eager to get the higher jobs of the Government for which they considered themselves competent. This class of educated Indians was now fully conscious of its interests and a clash was bound to occur between their interests and the interests of those Englishmen who came to India for better prospects and prosperity. The Government had no intention to give any share to these Indians into the top administration of the country. Such a policy generated frustration and disappointment of a definite and positive character, for the motives of the Government were unmistakably clear to the persons affected.

Along with the new middle class of young educated Indians there was a simultaneous rise of a new class of small capitalists. It was roughly during the period that the industrial revolution began taking shape in India with the introduction of railway, telegraph, etc. and establishment of small cloth mills and the like. Into many such ventures Indian Capital was invested and such mills began to compete successfully with the cloth mills of Lancashire and Manchester owing to the cheap labour that was available to them and the reasonable profit that they charged. Once again the interest of this class was bound to clash with those of the British Capitalists who had been up till now getting high dividends out of their investments in the absence of any competition worth the name.

These two classes may roughly be named as the Indian Middle Class. In a sense the Government had helped in the rise of this class by providing for English education and by the introduction of industrialization in the country. The motive in such a move was to provide a check to nobility which in the pre-1857 days of annexation was directly on cross-purposes with the Government. Now that the phase was over the Government saw its interests in a realignment of forces. Now it was the new middle class whose interests were coming in clash with those of the government. Therefore, attempts may be discerned during the period on the part of the Government to create a united front with the native aristocracy as against the middle class which had now taken over the leadership of the Indian people from the hands of landed aristocracy.

The rise of these two Indian Middle Classes synchronized with the phenomenal upsurge of vernacular newspapers. It would not be presuming too much to suggest that most of these newspapers were of the nature of venture on the part of the two component damn elements of these classes, the capitalists investing the requisite money and the educated middle class putting in their brains. The Vernacular newspapers captured a very wide audience as the ordinary man also was getting conscious of his lot. These newspapers ventilated their problems such as Government's policy of discrimination in the matter of services and towards the native capitalists. At the same time they boldly discussed the economic misery and exploitation of the people and the cases of injustice and discrimination meted out to them in their daily life. Thus these newspapers combined the manifold interests of all the section of the Indian people. They stood for native interests as they saw them. It may, therefore, safely be asserted that for the first time these newspapers were successful in mobilizing what may be called an 'Indian public opinion.'

The most striking factor of Indian life which could not escape the notice of the Vernacular newspapers was the fact of racial discrimination practised consistently in all fields of life and supported by a definite philosophy. In order to justify the conquest and their tyranny over the Asiatics a fiction was created that natives were physically, intellectually, morally, and aesthetically inferior to Europeans. It was suggested that the mission of the colonists was not the attainment of its own mundane profits but to civilize the native. Seton Karr, a Foreign Secretary of the Government, explained it as "the cherished conviction of every Englishman in India from the highest to the lowest, by the planter's assistant in his lonely bungalow and by the editor in the full light of his presidency town from that to the Chief Commissioner in charge of an important province to the Viceroy on his throne—the conviction in every man that he belongs to a race whom God has destined to govern and subdue."<sup>1</sup> Lord Kitchner, a Commander-in-chief

<sup>1</sup> Thompson and Garret. *British Rule in India*, p. 536.

of India once declared to the same effect. "It is this consciousness of the inherent superiority of the Europeans which has won for us India. However, well educated and clever a native may be, and however brave he may have proved himself, I believe that no rank we can bestow on him would cause him to be considered an equal of the British Officer."<sup>2</sup> The most systematic formulation of this philosophy was to be found in the works of Kipling whose publications belong to the eighties.

Having calmed their conscience, the Britishers practised discrimination in all spheres of life. The discrimination was advocated and practised even in the field of famine-relief operation. It was suggested that "in coping with such a calamity as that of a famine, the Government should bear this peculiarity of the native character in mind and not go to work exactly they would do if the sufferers were Englishmen. They are dealing with a people whose overmastering desire is not simply to live, but rather to escape the ills of life."<sup>3</sup>

An equally nauseating instance of the practice of racial discrimination was evidenced in the sphere of judicial administration, wherein the actualities refuted all claims of the Government to have established equity and justice. There were two definite standards of justice—one for the native and the other for the whiteman. In the first place, the native judges were not to try the Europeans and the English judges practised grave miscarriage of justice where a native and an European were involved. For the same offence for which a native might get capital punishment, a European might escape unscathed by paying a paltry sum as fine.

In short, there was not one branch of life which was immune from the baneful effects of this policy of discrimination.

The picture of the Indian scene would remain incomplete unless it be discussed as to how it was viewed by the British. The Indian Empire was immensely important for Great Britain. In spite of disclaimers to the effect that the Indian Empire was being run in the interests of the Indians and that it was a dead weight to Britain, the fact could not be denied that they attached immense importance to it. In the first place, India was a veritable store-house for cheap raw materials. Its importance had increased during the period for a different reason as well. European countries like Russia, Germany, France and others had now started industrialization and joined the rank of Britain's competitors. They adopted protectionist policy and thereby the British market had considerably contracted. Thus the importance of India as a market for British manufacturers was incalculable. The Indian Empire was, likewise, a material factor in all calculations in the sphere of foreign policy for Great Britain as well as for the various other European Powers interested in the Eastern questions. In the determination of any Policy, Britain had in mind the

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in Pannikar's *Asia and the Western dominance*, p. 150.

<sup>3</sup> *The Friend of India*, dated the 23rd February, 1877.

security and integrity of the Indian Empire, and the other Powers as well kept into consideration the weight of India, its man power, raw materials etc., which would be mobilized against them in any possible conflict with Britain. Thus India provided a psychological anchorage to the British people giving them a sense of security and proved as a bugbear to all those natives who considered England as a prospective enemy.

In England the awareness of India's importance for Britain was general but, as pointed out above, there were certain persons who disclaimed that any advantage was accruing to Britain out of India or that India was in any way being exploited by England. Such advocates tried to let others believe that the two wars, the first Opium War and the Crimean war, were fought by England for the benefit of India and that England had no stake of her own. It was suggested that "no English labourer, no English taxpayer, derives a penny of direct advantage or pays a penny less towards the revenues of the country because we hold India."<sup>4</sup> It was however suggested by persons holding such views that though they had no interest in India, except the well-being of India itself, she must be held 'as a Capital demand upon the national honour,'<sup>5</sup> Such statements, that Britain ought to prepare grounds for her own abdication were not seriously intended.

As to what ought to be Britain's role in India might clearly be marked out. One section believed in playing in the role of a military conqueror—a role in which they had continued all these years. Accordingly, there was no question of reforms or the practice of liberalism. It was suggested that any such attitude would be mistaken as a symptom of weakness and would really weaken Britain's hold over the country. This line of approach, conservative though it was, had the advantage of being consistent. On the contrary, there were those who thought that the role of a military conqueror was now out of date and that it would defeat the very purpose for which it was adopted. It was asserted that unless the administration was liberalized, the Indians were associated with the administration and their reasonable aspirations were allowed, the result would be disastrous.

It is in this general context that the period of the present study (1876-1880) begins. It is the period of the Viceroyalty of Lord Lytton. According to the then system of Government, the Viceroy played a dominating role in administration. He was not only an instrument to carry out the policy of the Government, but was to a very large extent responsible for the shaping of the policy as well. Although there was the Viceroy's Executive Council to help him in determining policy, the Viceroy was equipped with veto power and its functions could be rendered as merely advisory if and whenever a determined Viceroy so liked. Similarly the sanc-

<sup>4</sup> *The Nineteenth Century*—'On the Imperial policy of Great Britain'—by John Lubbock, March, 1877.

<sup>5</sup> W. E. Gladstone in *the Nineteenth Century*, August, 1877.



tion of the Secretary of State was required for many of the decisions of the Government of India, but in many cases it was mostly formal as it was very natural for the Viceroy to influence the Secretary of State who naturally placed reliance on the views of the man-on-the spot. In the circumstances, any study of the politics and administration of India in a particular period is likely to converge with the study of the Viceroyalty of one or more Viceroys who were in office during the period.

Yet the two might not be treated as identical, as in some cases at least. The Viceroy had to drop his own ideas if the Secretary of State so insisted. For example, the scheme of a close native Civil Service as originated by Lytton had to be dropped at the instance of the Secretary of State. Similarly certain amendments were incorporated in the Vernacular Press Act on the initiative of the Secretary of State. Moreover, there is one more reason why the present study may not be taken identical with the study of Lytton's Viceroyalty. Some of the policies, such as the abolition of cotton duties were not initiated by Lytton, rather he simply carried on the policy already determined by the Secretary of State.

Having discussed the general Indian scene, it is essential to have an idea of the Indian politics and administration as they prevailed immediately on the eve of Lord Lytton's assuming charge of his office. There were varying reactions on Lytton's assuming the charge. The newspapers tried to acquaint him with the situation of the country as they saw it. His friends and well-wishers also tried to give him some idea of the situation and he too, in turn, intimated them with his own immediate reactions. There were persons in India who placed high hopes on Lytton and they expected a solution of urgent problems of administration—the problem of associating the natives with the higher Civil Service and ending the policy of racial discrimination practised in the administrative, social, religious and economic spheres. It was expected that the critical financial situation of the country would be set aright and that the local industries would be given impetus to prosper.<sup>6</sup> At the same time there were others who did not expect anything in the Indian interest of a Tory Viceroy who had already been committed to abolish cotton duties on British cotton goods in the selfish interest of the British manufacturers. They apprehended further aggravation of the situation.<sup>7</sup>

Stephen a law member of India from 1869 to 1872, who was intimately connected with Indian administration tried to made home to Lytton the

<sup>6</sup> *The Bihar Bandhu*, 19th January, 1876; *The Adip-i-Alam*, 21st January, 1880; *The Ashraf-ul-Akhbar*, 21st April, 1876, etc.

<sup>7</sup> *The Hindoo Hitoishini*, 16th April; *The Malwa Akhbar*, 12th January; *The Sakshi*, 22nd February; *The Bharat Mithir*, 9th February; *The Sahchar*, 10th January, 1876, and others.

magnitude of the Indian problem and expressed his apprehensions as follows :—

"My only fear about you is that you will do or undertake too much. You are the first Governor-General for many.....years who has had the imagination and sensibility necessary to form a sort of just conception of this magnitude of the work. Upon the whole I feel more afraid that with your cultivation and imagination and other things ending in 'ation.' You will be too busy, than that you will not do enough."

The magnitude of the problem as discussed above was because of the contrary interests that were involved. The people had their own problems and they expected liberal solution, while the Government was interested in the continuation of the status quo. The situation was rightly described as follows :—

"The Government and the people are in opposite camps."

Immediately on his arrival, Lytton also made his own estimate of the difficulties that confronted him. He was not satisfied with the tools with which he had to deal with—the Council and Civil Service. With regard to the Council he expressed his views as follows, "On the whole everything I have yet seen in India pleases and interests me greatly—with the exception.....of members of.....(the) Council who strike me as a most second rate set of men.....Hobhouse (is).....sharpest of them all but not a wise man, Muir (is).....treacherous.....meek.....(others) are amiable but not very strong..... By the next year I earnestly hope it may be in my power to get some better men on the Council. The only obstructive tyranny which the Viceroy has to bear is that of his own Council."<sup>8</sup>

On another occasion he wrote about the Council that it was 'infinitely more tyrannical than any Secretary of State for India with the additional defect of being considerably stupid.' Therefore he was determined to carry out his "own views on important questions with or without the support of.....the Council.....but as yet I have managed to drag them with me."<sup>9</sup>

He expressed his views about the Civil Service as follows :—..... the general ability of the Indian Civil Service seems to me to be overrated. They look at every step from a small, local often a purely personal point of view. I already find myself to my honour reading the local Indian newspapers with more interest than English ones."<sup>10</sup> He drew attention to another defect of the administration; "I am convinced that the main vice of our administrative system here is over centralization."<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> A letter, 28th September, 1876, from Stephen to Lytton (Stephen Papers Cambridge).

<sup>9</sup> A letter, 7th March, 1876, Mallet to Salisbury (Lytton Papers, London).

<sup>10</sup> A letter, dated the 13th April, 1876, from Lytton to John Morley (Lytton papers).

<sup>11</sup> A letter, dated the 26th June, 1876, from Lytton to Morley (Lytton papers).

<sup>12</sup> A letter, dated the 30th April, 1876, from Lytton to Morley.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

Above all, Lytton was all through conscious of the hampering effect of parliamentary democracy of Britain over the administration of the Indian Empire. He wrote, "I have long been convinced that the efficient Government of alien races by means of a System of parliamentary Civilization is an improbability."<sup>1</sup>

# WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE\*

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Others abide our question—Thou art free !  
We ask and ask—Thou smilest and art still,  
Out-topping knowledge !

—Matthew Arnold : *Shakespeare*.

The greatest paradox of the world is, perhaps, Shakespeare. Through his plays he is most known to the world, but of Shakespeare the man the world knows but little. It is this latter fact that has led from time to time some people to think and some even to try to prove, however futile the attempt may be, that there was no Shakespeare. Apart from the old Shakespeare-Bacon or, Shakespeare-Edward de Vere theory, in which the names of Francis Bacon, Anthony Bacon, and Edward de Vere were brought forward as the true authors of Shakespeare's plays, have we not in recent years heard an American scholar declare that the plays of Shakespeare were in fact written by Marlowe? He even made bold to open the grave of Marlowe's patron in the belief that the manuscripts of Shakespeare's plays might be found there. Finally, he was not, of course, permitted to do so. Why go a few years back? Even at a time when all the world over preparations are being made to celebrate the fourth centenary of the birth of Shakespeare, has not a Russian professor made a fantastic claim the other day that Shakespeare was a Russian? In spite of all such fantastic theories the whole world is joining to honour the memory of the world poet by celebrating the fourth centenary of his birthday. In future, too, discordant notes of the kind just mentioned will be struck by the sceptics, but that will not prevent the world a century hence from honouring the poet's memory in a similar or even more befitting manner. Even if in future it is proved that Shakespeare did not exist, the world will honour him none the less on that account through the centuries. For hero-worship, as Carlyle rightly suggested in his *Heroes and Hero-Worship*, is an eternal instinct in mankind. In the same book, it may be mentioned, Carlyle selected Shakespeare as a Hero as Poet. The other poet selected for that lecture is Dante.

In fact, Shakespeare has become a legendary figure like King Arthur, and like King Arthur he has gone down to history as a legendary figure. 'From the great deep to the great deep he goes'.

\*This paper was produced by the writer in 1964 on the occasion of the 400th birth anniversary of William Shakespeare and read by him at the Shakespeare's Quater-centenary Birth-Anniversary Celebrations held at the University of North Bengal from March 27 to 29 1964.

And if King Arthur had his Round Table and his Knights, so had Shakespeare his Globe Theatre and his actors who played different roles on the stage of that theatre and gave reality to his imaginative creations which we find immortalised in his plays. A legend Shakespeare has become. For three centuries of research work have not been able in the slightest degree to lift the veil of the mystery that has enveloped the world-poet's life. And, as time rolls on, the task of unravelling the mystery is likely to become more and more difficult.

But Shakespeare or no Shakespeare, the imaginative creations that have come down to us in the name of Shakespeare are the greatest reality of the man Shakespeare. We need no other proof of his existence. If there was no God, said a world famous man, it would be necessary for us to create or invent one. In the same vein we may say that even if it is proved that there was no Shakespeare it would be necessary for us to create his myth. For that alone can explain the surprisingly unifying spirit that underlies all the plays assigned to him and sustain the infinite inspiration and joy that they had been giving to generations of readers throughout the world for the last 370 years or so.

The shadowy reality behind the legend, the authentic history of Shakespeare the man can be given in a few words. William Shakespeare was born in Stratford-on-Avon in April, 1564, the exact date of his birth remains uncertain though the date usually given is April 23. He was educated at the Free Grammar School at Stratford and is said to have had 'small Latin and less Greek'. His father was a glover, dealer in hides, and perhaps a butcher. At eighteen he married a woman, Anne Hathaway, who was eight years older than himself. It is said that to escape punishment for stealing a deer from the garden of Sir Thomas Lucy, a Warwickshire squire, Shakespeare fled to London where he joined a theatre as an actor or a non-descript assistant adapting other men's plays besides creating plays for his own theatrical company. By sheer force of genius he rose to be the actor-manager of the theatre and produced plays which were performed on the stage of his own theatre for the entertainment and amusement of his audience. Soon his plays became extremely popular with the Elizabethan public which he enchanted for more than two decades by the magic he wove on the stage. The struggle in his case was, as in the case of every man of genius, hard indeed, but he came to the end of his journey.

safe. Before he was fifty, and at the height of his powers, he became a prosperous man and retired to his native town where he died, in his fifty second year, on April 23 (i.e., the day on which he is supposed to have been born), 1616. The rest is speculation and controversy.

On an average of nearly two plays a year Shakespeare wrote thirty-seven plays between 1591 and 1611. His poems consisting of three volumes, *Venus and Adonis*, *Lucrece* and *Sonnets*, are of secondary importance compared with his dramatic works. But it is his plays that made him supreme throughout the world. His poetic genius has revealed itself in his dramas. In fact, Shakespeare's is the most powerful poetic genius of the world that has ever expressed itself in a dramatic form.

His plays may be broadly divided into four categories: (i) Comedies, (ii) Histories or historical plays, (iii) Tragedies, and (iv) Romances or Tragicomedies. These different kinds of plays were written in different periods of his life, and are characterized, it is said, by the moods which prevailed in his mind at the periods during which they were written. Thus the comedies were written when Shakespeare was a gay, happy lover himself; tragedies were written round about 1600 when he was passing through a tragic phase in his life due, among other reasons, to the death of his son Hamnet which was quickly followed by the death of his father; the tragicomedies were written in the last period of his life, when the hard struggle of his life over, he became a rich and happy man and achieved a serene outlook of life. The profound tragic gloom and the revenge motive of his great tragedies are replaced in these plays by a spirit of forgiveness and reconciliation. There is no doubt that the mature experience of his life in all its fullness is brought to bear upon them. In the final phase of his dramatic career, Shakespeare must have realised that life is neither pure comedy nor pure tragedy, but an admixture of both, i.e., a tragicomedy. To convey this view of life, the result of his mature experience, Shakespeare must have turned, in his final phase, to 'Romances' or tragicomedies. This is a simple explanation of the change in his dramatic art in the last stage of his dramatic career, though there is a lot of controversy over the change.

It is interesting to note that with the probable exception of *The Tempest*, his last play, the plots of all Shakespeare's plays were borrowed from various sources, which have been more or less fully traced. From the point of view of the plots, Shakespeare was no doubt a plagiarist. Yet, in the Elizabethan times, due to the absence

of the copyright of the author's work, plagiarism was not looked upon by the people in the same way as we do to-day. Any writer was free to handle an old work, introduce into it certain changes of character and style and pass it for his own. In short, plagiarism in those days was in fashion. Probably, David Garrick had Shakespeare's extensive borrowing in his mind when in 1769 he lilted :

There never was seen such a creature ;

Of all she was worth, he robb'd Nature.

He took all her smiles, and he took all her grief—

And the thief of all thieves was a Warwickshire thief.

But extensive borrowing is not the last word on Shakespeare's plays. Had it been so, he would not have been the World-Poet that he is. Shakespeare's real greatness lies not in what he borrowed, but in what use he made of what he borrowed. His creative imagination transformed the uncouth material of his borrowing into things of beauty. The material of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, for instance, is said to have been borrowed either from a play of Kyd's on the same theme or from his *Spanish Tragedy*. It will be observed that Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* and Shakespeare's *Hamlet* are strikingly similar in respect of certain sensational elements, such as, madness, suicide, and murder. But whereas Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* has remained a melodrama, Shakespeare's *Hamlet* has become one of the greatest tragedies of the world. The reason is that the sensational elements of Kyd's play have undergone a wonderful transformation in the hands of Shakespeare. Similarly, out of Marlowe's *Barabbas*, the Jew of Malta, a typical stage caricature, Shakespeare has created his wonderfully complex and highly controversial figure of Shylock. At every step of his borrowing what we marvel at is the transformation. In regard to his borrowed material, it is no exaggeration to say that Shakespeare found charcoals and left diamonds.

There was much in the material Shakespeare dealt with in his plays that was intractable, that did not submit itself easily to the plastic stress of his creative imagination. But Shakespeare had to introduce it because his audience for whom he wrote the plays wanted it. Left as such this intractable material would have spoiled his art. But his genius came to his aid and transformed it into a thing of beauty. Here we may refer to the supernatural elements which play a dominant role in many of his plays, such as, *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *Julius Caesar*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and *The Tempest*. The Elizabethan people were highly superstitious and believed in the ghosts, witches, spirits, goblins, fairies etc., and wanted to see them

on the stage. Shakespeare had no other alternative than to cater to the taste of his audiences and presented them liberally even in their crude forms. But a great genius as he was, here too, he effected an artistic transmutation. For to supernaturalism in general he attached a symbolic significance by suggestions and subtle hints, such as,

There are more things in heaven and earth,  
Than are dreamt of in your philosophy.

Or,

There's a divinity that shapes our ends,  
Rough-hew them how we will.

The final impression of supernaturalism in Shakespeare's plays is that it stands as a symbol of a vast, unseen power that controls the human destiny.

Shakespeare's supreme achievement is his power of delineating men and women as they are in real life even to-day, not merely as they were in Elizabethan England. His creative genius reveals itself at its best in the infinite variety of characters he has portrayed in his plays. In drawing his characters he held the mirror up to Nature. Just as in the world we live in there are no two individuals who are exactly alike, so in the world which Shakespeare has created in his plays, no two characters will be found to be exactly alike. Each has an individuality of its own and can be sharply distinguished even from the rest of its own class. Hamlet, Othello, and King Lear are all tragic characters. Yet, how sharply we can distinguish Othello from King Lear and both from Hamlet. Similarly, very wide and very varied is the range of his comic characters. On the one end of the scale is the clown or the fool, and on the other, the critic or the comic philosopher. The range covers, Launcelot Gobbo, Gratiano, Feste, Andrew Aguecheek, Dogberry, Malvolio, Autolycus, Bully Bottom, Falstaff and Touchstone, to name only a few of the more prominent of Shakespeare's comic characters.

Shakespeare's comic spirit is essentially creative. For though in certain respects he was influenced by the Italian comedy, his best comic characters are his own creations. Shakespeare creates laughter for its own sake, for the sake of fun and joy with no motive of attacking something or somebody. The nature of his comic spirit stands out very prominently when it is compared with that of Ben Jonson, Shakespeare's contemporary playwright writing classical comedies. Ben Jonson's comedies are inspired by satire whereas Shakespeare's comedies are inspired by sympathy. Ben Jonson's comic characters



are mere types or stock characters, such as, the braggart, the gull, the bully, the shrew, and the cuckold, and as such have no significance outside the stage ; Shakespeare's comic characters are individuals and, therefore, have a life of their own even outside the stage. Shakespeare's comic characters, says Mr. John Palmer 'once created, exist in their own right'.<sup>1</sup> Ben Jonson as a satirist assumes the role of a judge and laughs at our foibles and follies. Occasionally, he creates laughter for us, but we can hardly laugh with him because he laughs at us, and when we realise his satiric motive, our laughter is hushed into silence by the sardonic grin of Ben Jonson the satirist. But this does never happen in the Shakespearean comic world which is instinct with broad human sympathy. 'Sympathy, then, and not satire,' says Mr. Palmer, 'is the inspiration of Shakespeare's comedy.'<sup>2</sup> Quite so. Shakespeare laughs with us, and never at us 'otherwise than genially'. Touchstone and Falstaff are two of his supreme comic creations. As a critic of life in Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, Touchstone satirises, amongst other things, the romantic love of the sentimental lovers in the play. Even his marriage with Audrey is a burlesque, an unromantic version of the romantic love of the different pairs of romantic lovers. If Orlando must have his Rosalind, Oliver his Celia, Silvius his Phebe, why not Touchstone his Audrey? Thus 'Touchstone puts all things and every person in the play, including himself, to the comic test'. Now, the important thing to be noted in Touchstone's satire is that there is no bitterness in it. Shakespeare never loses his sympathy with the objects of Touchstone's ridicule. The satire here is conceived in a genial and good-humoured fashion. Here, as in many places in his comedies, satire ceases to be satire and becomes a kind of gentle and loving admonition on the part of Shakespeare to mock his heroes and heroines and other personages in his comedies guilty of certain extravagances, follies, or absurdities into good sense. In his laughter there is always an element of emotional sympathy. Shakespeare makes us laugh at his fools. But what is interesting to note is that the more we laugh at them the more we love them, because in them we can discern certain comic aspects of our own selves, because they betray certain weaknesses from which we are not immune. In *As You Like It* Touchstone, no doubt, sees things as they are, but he does so without malice. The very fact that he marries Audrey shows that he does exactly what other couples in the Forest of Arden have done, with this difference that unlike the other pairs of romantic lovers he does not have any romantic illusions about love. He recognizes love as 'fact of existence, a call of nature

to which he frankly responds'. Touchstone's mockery is, in short, another name for laughter. Though herself in love and impatient of it, Rosalind does not fail to create laughter by mocking at love, showing thereby that she is not serious about her mocking at love :

'Love is merely a madness, and I tell you deserves as well a dark house and a whip as madmen do : and the reason why they are not so punished and cured is, that lunacy is so ordinary that the whippers are in love too.'

Shakespeare, then, is no satirist, but a humorist with genial and hearty laughter rippling over the whole of his moral nature, and the genial quality of his humour finds its most powerful exponent in his Falstaff, the prince of his comic characters. Laughter 'pours from him in floods'. He laughs with us, and never at us ; and if need be he creates laughter for us at his own expense. He laughs away everything serious and 'covers us with expulsions of laughter'. His character is not less complex than that of Hamlet and for this reason he has been called a comic Hamlet. Dowden says, 'Sir John Falstaff is a conception hardly less complex, hardly less wonderful than that of Hamlet.'<sup>3</sup> Commenting on the character of Falstaff, Maurice Morgann says, 'He is a man at once young and old, enterprising and fat, a dupe and a wit, harmless and wicked, weak in principle and resolute by constitution, cowardly in appearance and brave in reality, a knave without malice, a liar without deceit, a knight, a gentleman and a soldier, without either dignity, decency, or honour'.<sup>4</sup>

The comic characters of Shakespeare never lose the imaginative sympathy of their creator. The method of his comic spirit is at once objective and subjective ; objective in the sense that as a dramatist Shakespeare never appears in his own person, but speaks on behalf of his characters ; and, subjective in the sense that he completely identifies himself *in imagination* with the thoughts and sentiments of his characters. Mr. Palmer's observations in this connection are worthy of quotation here :

'He (Shakespeare) is entirely *objective* in that the personality of William Shakespeare avoids the stage and that the personal equation is never allowed to distort the independence and veracity of his portraiture. He is entirely *subjective* in the sense that he completely identifies himself in imagination with the ideas and sentiments portrayed. He loses himself in the thing he contemplates ; suppresses himself in the act of giving life to the creatures of his fancy.'<sup>5</sup>

jealousy and hatred in the first part of the play, is recreated in the second by the love of Perdita, his daughter, and Florizel. In Shakespeare's conception of love, sex is, as a matter of course, implied. But love, in Shakespeare's view, is something more than sex, passion, or, romance. Besides being a love of the earth all earthy, as we know it, feel it, and live it. Shakespearean conception of love also combines within itself the higher love of three traditions, as Mr. John Vyvyan has rightly pointed out, of (i) Medieval courtly love with its mystical associations, (ii) Platonic love of the Renaissance, and, finally, (iii) the redemptive love of the Gospels.\*

It is for plots and characters and not for history that Shakespeare turned to history. His approach to history was that of a poet and not of a historian. Long ago the difference between history and poetry was pointed out by Aristotle, who in his *Poetics* says that history deals with 'the thing that has been and poetry deals with the thing that may be being probable and necessary.' In his approach to history as a poet-dramatist, Shakespeare did not hesitate to alter or modify a historical fact or incident, if such alteration was essential for his dramatic art. He organized and moulded the chaotic mass of facts of history so as to make them available for the service of his art. 'The facts are there—, must be there.' What they needed was a spark from the creative genius of Shakespeare to make them vitalized, to give them a meaning, a significance in their relation to the history of man. The historical plays of Shakespeare, it is true, do not have the depth of spiritual significance of his great tragedies, but the want is compensated by their 'breadth and comprehensiveness'. Speaking of his historical plays Dowden says, 'The life of man, good or evil, is not seen in its infinite significance for the individual, but its consequences are shown in a definite series of events, as a sanative virtue in society, or as a spreading infection. The mystery of evil is not here an awful shadow, before which we stand appalled... Evil in the historical plays is wrong-doing, which is followed by inevitable retribution.'<sup>10</sup>

In dramatizing history Shakespeare laid great emphasis on the human aspects of the historical figures. In his historical plays the historical background is found to pale into insignificance before the human aspects of the actors who made the history. This is clearly seen in *Antony and Cleopatra*. And even in a historical play in which Shakespeare deals with a political problem or some aspect of the historical spirit, as in *Julius Caesar*, it is the human

characters and not the political problem or the historical spirit that stand out prominently. Even in his English historical plays, Shakespeare has given us half-a-dozen full-length portraits of kings of England in all their weaknesses and strength. They are King John, King Richard II, King Henry VI, King Henry IV, King Henry V, and King Richard III. In *Richard III* again, it is the character of King Richard III that dominates the historical facts. *Richard III*, like Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, is a one-man's play with King Richard III as the central figure. King Richard III is depicted as the human embodiment of an elemental power that sweeps everything before it. But the power is a malign one.

In his interpretation of history Shakespeare accomplished a great achievement. 'That he should have grasped in thought,' says Dowden, 'the national life of England during a century and upwards, in her periods of disaster and collapse, of civil embroilment, and of heroic union and exaltation, this is much.'<sup>11</sup>

In his emphasis on characterization in his treatment of history, it should never be thought that Shakespeare whistled history down the wind whenever he liked. Never so. In his historical plays Shakespeare has never failed to grasp the essential spirit of history. August Wilhelm Schlegel calls Shakespeare's Historical plays, *Henry V* and the others a 'mirror for kings', a kind of 'National Epic'. The Duke of Marlborough declared, Carlyle tells us, that 'he knew no English History but what he had learned from Shakespeare'.<sup>12</sup> 'There are really, if we look to it', continues Carlyle, 'few as memorable Histories. The great salient points are admirably seized . . . '<sup>13</sup> Nearly eighty years after Carlyle, has not T. S. Eliot in the present century said somewhat the same thing about Shakespeare's 'historical sense'? Here are Mr. Eliot's words: 'Shakespeare acquired more essential history from Plutarch than most men could from the whole British Museum'.<sup>14</sup> Be it noted here that Shakespeare's sense of history is the poet's, and not the historian's. In his historical plays, Shakespeare has created a world which represents the poet's imaginative view of the facts of history. And in his treatment of history both Roman and English, with a great poet's insight Shakespeare has more than fulfilled the poet's unique function in disengaging the universal truths from the particular facts of history. Perhaps, Mr. Louis Untermeyer has this poetic world of Shakespeare in his mind when he makes the following remark: 'It does not require an evening in the theater to transport us into Shakespeare's universe. A few lines from *Antony and Cleopatra* and we are in Egypt that never was. A vaster Nile, a richer pagantry,

a more voluptuous and yet more noble queen are immediately created by a few lines spoken by the dazzled Enorbarbus and the dying Cleopatra':<sup>15</sup>

The barge she sat in, like a burnish'd throne,  
 Burn'd on the water: the poop was beaten gold;  
 Purple the sails, and so perfumed that  
 The winds were love-sick with them; the oars were silver,  
 Which to the tune of flutes kept stroke, and made  
 The water which they beat to follow faster,  
 As amorous of their strokes. For her own person,  
 It beggar'd all description: she did lie  
 In her pavilion, —cloth-of-gold of tissue—  
 Ov'r-picturing that Venus where we see  
 The fancy out-work nature: on each side her  
 Stood pretty dimpled boys, like smiling Cupids,  
 With divers-colour'd fans, whose winds did seem  
 To glow the delicate cheeks which they did cool,  
 And what they undid did.

(Enorbarbus's speech in *Antony and Cleopatra*)

Give me my robe, put on my crown; I have  
 Immortal longings in me: now no more  
 The juice of Egypt's grape shall moist this lip:—  
 Yare, yare, good Iris quick.—Methinks I hear  
 Antony call: I see him rouse himself  
 To praise my noble act; I hear him mock  
 The luck of Caesar, which the gods give men  
 To excuse their after wrath. Husband, I come:  
 Now to that name my courage prove my title!  
 I am fire and air; my other elements  
 I give to baser life.—

(Cleopatra's speech in *Antony and Cleopatra*)

But what strikes us most in historical plays is that he brings the dead figures of history back on the stage and invests them with the life and vitality of living individuals. Before our eyes they pass across the stage with such vividness of reality that we cease to disbelieve them as illusions, so supreme is the power of his creative genius to make the illusion seem a reality!

Shakespeare's greatest tragedies, such as, *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *Othello*, and *Lea*r, are his most outstanding contributions to the world literature and fit to be ranked with the greatest tragedies of the world, with those of Euripides, Sophocles, and Aeschylus, the greatest

tragedians of ancient Greece. His tragedies appeal to us most because they deal with the problems of our very existence, with the evil that shakes the human soul to its profoundest depths and wringing out of man's heart its most agonizing cry leads him to his most tragic end. Some personal tragedy or crisis in Shakespeare's life may have, as is held, provided inspiration of his great tragedies, but the personal sufferings however great and painful they might have been, cannot fully explain the mystery and greatness of his tragedies or their universal appeal. In the ultimate analysis the secret must lie in the supremely creative quality of his genius which could transmute the personal sufferings into universal sufferings. Shakespeare's personal sufferings, if there were any at all behind his great tragedies, must have been of a particular kind or of a specific nature, but the sufferings which are recorded in his tragedies are very varied and, therefore, could not form part of the experience of any single individual in the world. We can never say that Shakespeare in his life suffered in the same way as his tragic characters, such as, Hamlet, Macbeth, Romeo, King Lear, Brutus, and Othello severally do. The only postulate is that Shakespeare must have come out of his narrow world of personal sufferings and looked at the wide world where men 'sit and hear each other groan'. He must have realized that the sorrows were not his alone, but of the whole human kind. In the sufferings of others Shakespeare must have forgotten his own, must have in imagination identified his own sufferings with those of the men and women of the world outside his own narrow and personal self and transmuted the same into material for his great tragedies. In other words, he transmuted his personal emotion into the impersonal emotion of art. Yes, it is precisely because he depersonalized himself (to quote a well-known phrase of Eliot's) in his plays, because he rose above himself and disengaged the universal from the personal and the particular that his plays have achieved greatness and universality. Carlyle says that Shakespeare is the voice of Nature.<sup>18</sup> To this we may add that he is also the voice of humanity, of man's love and pain, of his song and suffering. But in his tragedies in particular the most agonizing cry of suffering humanity has found its most powerful and exquisite voice. The tragedy of Hamlet, one of Shakespeare's supreme tragic creations, appeals to all of us because the tragedy of the prince of Denmark in a sense symbolizes our own. We are all Hamlets. It is perhaps Dover Wilson who once very aptly remarked that the tragedy of Hamlet is our own tragedy intensified by rank and station.

The secret of all great poetry is its wide and universal appeal, its capacity to evoke varied and sympathetic response in the minds of all classes of readers. In this respect Shakespeare's poetry is supremely great. For it evokes very varied and rich response in the minds of all classes of people in all ages and of all countries. It appeals in different ways at different levels of our consciousness and at different stages of our experience of life.

We cannot pass without a word on the interpretations of Shakespearean tragedy. Generations of critics including the critics of to-day have been interpreting the tragedies of Shakespeare in the light of Aristotle's theory of tragedy. Shakespeare's tragedies are, no doubt, found to strikingly conform to Aristotle's theory. But the question is: Did Shakespeare have Aristotle in his mind when he wrote his great tragedies or did he have a theory of his own? It is true that he has not given us any theory of tragedy as he has not given any theory about anything else. But certainly he had a tragic conception of his own on the basis of: Which he created his great tragedies, instead of slavishly following Aristotle's theory or the examples of his predecessors in the type, no matter how great those examples might be. And that tragic conception has to be deduced from his own plays in the same way as Aristotle deduced his theory from the extant Greek tragedies he had before him. If Shakespeare's tragedies are found to satisfy Aristotelean theory it might be an accidental coincidence or that both Aristotle and Shakespeare independently caught the essence of tragedy, the one from his study of the extant plays and the other partly from the examples before him, partly from his varied experiences of life, and partly through the intuition of his creative genius. In short, the question before a modern critic of Shakespeare should be: What is the conception of tragedy which is essentially Shakespearean? To answer this question a reconsideration, a fresh thinking of his tragedies is necessary. In short, Shakespeare's tragedies should be reinterpreted not with reference to any external theory however sanctified by a great authority, but in Shakespeare's own terms, in terms of the tragic world he has created in them.

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Why Shakespeare turned to 'Romances' or tragicomedies as they are now called, in the last phase of his dramatic career, is another problem which has provoked diversity of opinions among the critics, ranging from the view that after the hard struggle of his life was over, Shakespeare became a rich and happy man and achieved a serene outlook of life which finds expression in his last plays, to the view



that Shakespeare was completely disillusioned and bored in his last years and that 'the technique of verse was all that remained in life to interest him'. Of the above extreme views, the first was given long ago by Dowden and had been popular for a long time till 1905, when to counteract it Strachey gave the other extreme view :

'It is difficult to resist the conclusion that Shakespeare was getting bored himself. Bored with people, bored with real life, bored with drama, bored, in fact, with everything except poetry and poetical dreams.'<sup>17</sup>

There are many other views as well. Granville-Barker, for instance, echoes Strachey when he says that when Shakespeare was 'exhausted with hammering great tragic themes into shape', it was a relief to him 'to find a subject' he 'could play with'.

'This art that displays art is a thing very likely to be to the taste of the mature and rather wearied artist. When you are exhausted with hammering great tragic themes into shape it is relief to find a subject you can play with.'<sup>18</sup>

The school of critics that 'regards Shakespeare as the great dramatic time-server of the Elizabethan and Jacobean age', holds that at about the time Shakespeare began writing his last plays there was a shift of literary taste initiated by the great success of *Philaster*, a tragi-comedy or romance written by Beaumont and Fletcher between 1608 and 1610, and that Shakespeare simply conformed to the *zeit-geist* by imitating the fashion started by Beaumont and Fletcher. To this view other critics retort that the exact date of *Philaster* being uncertain it is difficult to say who started the fashion, Beaumont and Fletcher or Shakespeare.

The fact remains that 'about 1608 or 1609 a change comes over the art and temper of Shakespeare... We pass from tragedy to romance, that is to say from plays that end in disaster to those the final act of which is given up to happy reconciliations and forgiveness, and from a mood which looks like pessimism to one'<sup>19</sup> of "confident optimism". Dover Wilson from whose *The Essential Shakespeare* this remark is quoted continues, 'With the new themes and the new mood has come too, as ever with Shakespeare, a new poetic style and a new dramatic structure.'<sup>20</sup>

E. K. Chambers attributes the change to Shakespeare's illness, religious conversion or nervous breakdown between the tragedies and the romances :

'The profound cleavage in Shakespeare's mental history about 1607-1608 must have been due to some spiritual crisis the nature of



which it is only possible dimly to conjecture ; some such process as that which in the psychology of religion bears the name of conversion ; or perhaps some sickness of the brain which left him an old man, freed at last from the fever of speculation and well disposed to spend the afternoon of life in unexacting and agreeable dreams."<sup>21</sup>

It is precisely the opposite notion that is developed by E. M. W. Tillyard in his *Shakespeare's Last Plays*. On Dr. Tillyard's thesis we shall have more to say later.

E. K. Chambers seeks to explain the new themes the new mood, and the new style in Shakespeare's last plays by his crisis-cum-conversion theory. Dover Wilson takes the cue from Chambers and contends that the conversion was not a religious but poetic one. He finds the close analogy to Shakespeare's conversion in that of Wordsworth "who experienced it at the beginning not near the end of his career, who had nevertheless, like Shakespeare, passed through a spiritual crisis".<sup>22</sup> Wordsworth recovered from his spiritual crisis through the instrumentality of his sister Dorothy, Shakespeare, through that of his younger daughter.<sup>23</sup>

"Many writers" says Dover Wilson, "assume that Shakespeare was more or less of a convalescent in his last years, that his grip was loosening and his brain softening. I can see no evidence whatever for this in the plays themselves."<sup>24</sup> This charge of the critics is another form of the charge of 'boredom' and 'weariness' imputed by Strachey to the whole group of Shakespeare's last plays. Like Dover Wilson, Tillyard also holds that 'there is no lack of vitality' in Shakespeare's last plays. He gets further confirmation of his view from Middleton Muir's remark that even in the least congenial of the three plays, *Cymbeline*, "the verse is sinewy from first to last . manifestly the work of a poet in whom the faculty was at height."<sup>25</sup>

In fact, a close study of Shakespeare's last plays shows that there is no reason for us to think that in his last years Shakespeare was 'bored' with life or that his creative vitality declined. Shakespeare was as much interested in life in his last plays as in his other plays including the tragedies. The critics who observe a marked change of style and of dramatic purpose in Shakespeare's last plays invariably have Shakespeare's great tragedies of the preceding period in their minds when they go to evaluate his last plays. Shakespeare's last plays, certainly, neither are, nor claim to be, of the same high merit as his great tragedies. In fact, tragicomedies or 'romances', however successful they may be

can never rise to the level of great tragedies, for the simple reason that tragedy deals with the profound struggle of the soul caught in the meshes of evil, whereas, 'romance' or tragi-comedy deals with the superficial aspects of life. Their conception also must needs be fundamentally different. A tragic hero, for instance, can never replace a tragi-comic hero except with *tour de force*. We can never for instance imagine Othello in the place of Leontes and *The Winter's Tale* to remain *The Winter's Tale* still. The very conception of Othello is such that he can have only one end, namely, tragedy, and never a tragi-comic end. Moreover, all will agree that the art and creative energy required for the creation of a tragedy can never be the same as those required for the creation of a tragi-comedy or a 'romance'. "The concentration of effort", says Dover Wilson in the chapter 'The Razor Edge' of his *The Essential Shakespeare*, "required for the composition of an *Othello*, a *King Lear*, a *Macbeth*, or an *Antony and Cleopatra* may well have cost Shakespeare as much expenditure of spirit as any three histories or comedies. An almost superhuman intensity is indeed the most striking feature of all these four colossal plays...And once the play is finished something like exhaustion surely follows. There are limits to human nature, and it is not to be supposed that even a Shakespeare, having just completed *King Lear*, washed his hands and cried 'Fie upon this quiet life! I want work'."<sup>26</sup>

These comments which Dover Wilson makes in regard to Shakespeare's histories and comedies compared with his tragedies, can be equally made in respect of his tragi-comedies when similarly compared with his tragedies. It follows, therefore, that in his last plays, Shakespeare's creative imagination worked at a lower level of art and expended a lesser degree of energy than what it did in his great tragedies. But that does never mean either the deterioration of his art or the diminution of his powers, poetic or dramatic. It is wrong, therefore, to compare his last plays with his great tragedies and judge the former as much inferior to the latter, and then to bring all kinds of charges of 'boredom', 'exhaustion', 'crisis', 'conversion', 'loosening of grip and softening of brain' etc. against Shakespeare in his last years.

It is to be clearly understood that in the last phase of his dramatic career Shakespeare wrote tragi comedies and not tragedies. In them his ends were obviously different from those in his tragedies or other forms of his earlier dramas. With the new ends in view he experimented in the new form of drama, which is said

to have been then in fashion. The success of his last plays should, therefore, be judged, if they are judged at all, not by comparing them with his great tragedies, but in terms of the ends he had in view as also in terms of the best plays of the same kind, say, the tragicomedies of Beaumont and Fletcher. And when judged by this standard, Shakespeare's achievement in the new type of drama is also found, as many critics including Dover Wilson and Tillyard have shown, to be supreme.<sup>27</sup> And it detracts nothing from the merit of his last plays or from his genius even when we grant that Shakespeare wrote his last plays inspired by the success of *Philaster* by Beaumont and Fletcher or *The Faithful Shepherdess* by Fletcher. In his last plays too, as in his other plays not excluding his great tragedies, it is Shakespeare's transformation of the borrowed material that we marvel at. Is not the whole tale of Shakespeare's genius throughout his dramatic career, a tale of his transforming the rough and uncouth material borrowed from others into shapes of beauty ?

Referring to certain resemblances between Fletcher's *The Faithful Shepherdess* and Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* and *The Winters Tale*, Tillyard says, 'That Shakespeare followed Fletcher does not in the least mean that he resembled Fletcher in final poetic effect. Here, as ever, Shakespeare transformed an alien suggestion into something entirely his own. The general process can be illustrated by the way he adapts a single passage. Bellario in *Philaster*, a stray in the forest, favours the flowers with a confidential soliloquy'.<sup>28</sup> Comparing this soliloquy with Perdita's speech to her guests and to Florizel after her description of the spring flowers, Tillyard remarks : 'The verbal echoes are too close to be fortuitous ; if, and as is likely, Shakespeare was writing after Fletcher, he has transformed something thin and sweet into something so rich as to be scarcely comparable with its original'.<sup>29</sup>

The same transformation of the original can also be seen in *The Winter's Tale*. The source of the drama is Greene's novel *Pandosto*. In this novel towards its close Pandosto is shown as falling in love with his own daughter. But when all is explained he commits suicide. But Shakespeare, to whom the dramatic treatment of incestuous passion was repugnant, rejects the incestuous episode altogether and 'substitutes', to quote Boas, 'Pandosto's (Leontes's) reunion with Bellario (Hermione) who, in the play, does not die, but lives concealed for sixteen years. Such an ending is far more satisfactory to our moral sense, and the scene where the living statue steps down from the pedestal into her husband's arms is one of the

most beautiful in the dramatist's writings'.<sup>30</sup> Miss Ellis-Fermor's remark on the general process is interesting: 'The fairy-tale with him becomes charged with those implications which the more immediate types of story could not present, becomes the vehicle of imaginative experience and interprets the real world more truly than do the records of actuality'.<sup>31</sup>

In answer to the charges against Shakespeare's last plays by such critics as Lytton Strachey and E. K. Chambers, Dr. Tillyard puts forward his own thesis which is: 'the romances supplement the tragedies'.<sup>32</sup> In his view (and here also he takes the cue from Miss Bodkin's conception of tragedy as outlined in her *Archetypal Patterns in Poetry*), tragedy symbolises 'the most elementary life processes'. 'All growth' he says, 'implies destruction and recreation. Any important mental growth implies them very markedly; . . . Tragedy symbolises this process'.<sup>33</sup> This complete tragic pattern is to be found in the Greek tragedies, particularly in the Aeschylean trilogy. Shakespeare, he holds, was aware of this complete tragic pattern. In his tragedies he worked out fully the destructive aspect of the tragic pattern with mere hints at a rebirth at the end. 'Thus *Othello* is typical of Shakespearean tragedy in merely hinting at a rebirth'. Dr. Tillyard then plainly puts: 'The first part of my argument is, that one of Shakespeare's main concerns in his last plays, whether deliberately taken up or fortuitously driven into, was to develop the final phase of the tragic pattern . . . similar to what Milton did when he supplemented *Paradise Lost* with *Samson Agonistes*'.<sup>34</sup> Referring to *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Coriolanus*, Shakespeare's transitional plays between the full tragic period and the romances, A. C. Bradley in his *Shakespearean Tragedy* remarked that these plays mark 'the transition to the latest works, in which the powers of repentance and forgiveness charm to rest the tempest raised by error and guilt'.<sup>35</sup> Here again, taking the cue from Bradley, Dr. Tillyard suggests that in these plays Shakespeare 'was indeed beginning his process of transition to the romances' and that his 'latest plays aim at a complete regeneration'.<sup>36</sup>

Shakespeare found the complex material of the prose romance in some ways congenial to his needs. Yet, *Cymbeline*, his first attempt, was not a satisfactory achievement in respect of representing the final phase of the tragic pattern. This is because he was unable to adjust his methods to the new wealth of content he discovered in the complex material of the prose romance. The result is that in *Cymbeline* 'his main concern becomes blurred and remote'. But it

is in his second play, *The Winter's Tale*, that Shakespeare was successful in working out with equal justice the destructive and the regenerative aspects of the tragic pattern. The first half of the play renders worthily the destructive portion of the tragic pattern and the second half its regenerative phase. The world destroyed by Leontes's jealousy in the first half is recreated in the second by the love of Florizel and Perdita, and the country setting where Florizel and Perdita meet stand out as the 'most elegant symbol of the new life into which the old horrors are to be transmuted'. Shakespeare has made Perdita the 'main symbol of the powers of creation' just 'as Leontes was the sole agent of destruction'.<sup>37</sup>

But in his last play, *The Tempest*, Shakespeare deals mainly with regeneration by keeping the destructive portion largely in the background. Having made the theme of destruction vivid in *The Winter's Tale*, says Dr. Tillyard, 'Shakespeare was probably well content to put the stress on the theme of re-creation'<sup>38</sup> in *The Tempest*; and Ferdinand and Miranda represent the new order of things, the regenerative process, that has evolved out of destruction.

Dr. Tillyard's theory is, no doubt, 'attractive and brilliantly argued'. It satisfies our instinctive search for a pattern in a welter of confusion. Some of his remarks on the last plays of Shakespeare are really very valuable and show his profound critical insight. But the theory is, as a whole, open to a serious objection which he himself has anticipated in his Preface. To quote his own words: "It is difficult, in guessing at Shakespeare's intentions when he wrote his plays, to avoid the error of describing those intentions as if they were deliberate, as if he had planned everything out in careful abstract beforehand."<sup>39</sup> Yes, he has fallen into the error of supposing that 'Shakespeare had planned everything out in careful abstract beforehand'. Such a supposition unfortunately neglects or overlooks certain vital factors governing Shakespeare's writing of his plays.

As a playwright writing plays for the stage, Shakespeare could ill afford to lag behind the fashion of the time. There seems to be more truth in the view that the popularity of Beaumont and Fletcher's tragicomedies encouraged him to turn to the new kind of plays in the last years of his life. In any study of Shakespeare's plays the theatrical conditions of the time in which they were produced can hardly be overlooked. Modern researches in the sociology of literary taste have convincingly proved that in any creative work the sociology of literary taste works as a

very potent force. In studying Shakespeare's plays, can we, in all fairness to the playwright, overlook the history of the plays and isolate them from the stage and the audiences for which he primarily wrote them? That does not mean that Shakespeare sacrificed his artistic instincts at the altar of the taste of his audiences, that also does not mean that a supreme artist as he was, Shakespeare whistled the public taste down the wind and gave his artistic instincts a free play. He had to make some sort of compromise and this he did by expressing his art in the best possible manner through the taste of the public and in the process of doing so he made every effort to mould the new material in the romances to the requirement of his art. The method he followed in transforming the intractable material of the romances is somewhat similar to what he followed while he transformed the sensational elements of Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* into material for great art in his *Hamlet*. The history of Shakespeare's dramatic career is nothing if it is not the history of this process of transformation wrought by his creation imagination on whatever material it happened to touch.

Again, the exhibition of a pattern is possible in a single play or group of plays closely following one another. But in plays which are written at irregular intervals and over a number of years, the pattern-consciousness of an artist is not likely to work neatly even when he is completely free to follow his art unhampered by public taste, and it is still more unlikely to work in the plays of a playwright who has at times to hurriedly produce them under great pressure both from the public and the theatre manager and whose artistic sense was constantly pulled by the gravitational force of the uncontrollable and veering taste of the public. It is common knowledge that even at the time when Shakespeare was producing his plays, they had brilliant stage success, which led to the piracy of his plays resulting in the corruption of the texts of some of his plays. It is most unlikely that Shakespeare would, in the last period of his dramatic career, allow his popularity to suffer by his disregard of the taste of the public.

Dr. Tillyard also admits the influence of Beaumont and Fletcher on the last plays of Shakespeare, but concludes that Shakespeare 'turned the borrowed material to his own ends'. And these ends of Shakespeare's in his last plays are what constitute the main thesis of Dr. Tillyard's *Shakespeare's Last Plays*. But what Shakespeare's ends were nobody knows. In the matter of his ends

the critics and scholars can only speculate. And since Dowden's time a bewildering variety of speculations as to the ends of Shakespeare in his last plays had been forthcoming. In the confusing welter of speculations—some of them contradictory—the common reader cannot help getting perplexed. The fact remains that we have no means of knowing what Shakespeare's 'ends' or motives were in turning to the romances in the last period of his life. In the absence of that knowledge, speculations must always be treated as speculations and valued as such. But beyond certain reasonable limits, such speculations, however, satisfying they may be to our curious minds searching for patterns, are more likely to lose their connection with the subject that provoked them and to obscure it than to throw light on it. With all its merits, Dr. Tillyard's theory is guilty of this charge of transcending the reasonable limits of speculation inasmuch as it makes a large assumption that Shakespeare 'planned everything out in careful abstract before-hand', even before his tragic period—an assumption which is improbable and untenable for reasons stated above.

We have discussed at length some of the most outstanding speculations regarding why Shakespeare turned to the romances in the last years of his life. Some of them—Tillyard's for instance—are very interesting, delightful, and even fascinating as they catch the reader's fancy and even satisfy his instinctive search for a pattern in things apparently unintelligible. But is there any need, one has reasons to ask, to build such elaborate theories on very insufficient data which even are not beyond doubt?

Is it then not possible to find a simple answer to the vexed question? The history of Shakespeare's dramatic career, if it tells us anything at all, is the history of his experimentation in the dramatic technique in the different kinds of dramas. From the point of view of the audience, no particular kind of drama, however successful it may be, can satisfy it for long. It wants variety, it wants something new. And with the Elizabethan audience in view, it was natural that Shakespeare should have turned to some other kind of drama after having achieved success in a number of plays of a particular kind. That he did so will be clear from any table of Shakespeare's plays giving the dates of their composition. "The first efforts of a creative artist in any form of art are not always successful: he makes a number of attempts in a particular kind till success is achieved. This would explain why Shakespeare is found to write a number of plays of a particular kind in a particular period. But



instances are also there that amidst a group of plays of one kind, Shakespeare had written a play of an entirely different kind. Thus in the period (1594-95) when he wrote such of his early comedies as *The Comedy of Errors*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, he also wrote such a tragedy as *Romeo and Juliet*. Again, *Hamlet*, one of his greatest tragedies and *Twelfth Night*, one of his best comedies, were both written in the same year, 1601. Similarly, *Measure for Measure* and *Othello* were written in the year 1604. Such instances would refute the view that in one particular period of his life Shakespeare was dominated by a tragic mood and in another by a comic one. The dominance of a mood may be found when the period considered is a long one. It is also customary to group his plays into sets such as the early comedies, the English histories, the mature comedies, the sombre plays, the great tragedies, the Roman plays and the last plays. Such a classification is a rough one and is followed in the study of Shakespeare's works for the sake of convenience. The classification of the plays into groups or sets dominated by particular moods should not necessarily lead us to think, as Dowden thought, that those moods, necessarily correspond to the moods Shakespeare had in those periods, for the simple reason that we have not material enough of the poet's life to warrant any such clear-cut hypothesis. It is futile to relate his work to his life and draw conclusions from that relation, when the poet's life, the term of reference itself, escapes us being enveloped in mystery. To interpret Shakespeare's plays in terms of his personal moods is to read too much of the man Shakespeare in his plays.

Shakespeare might have had his own moods. But we have no reason to suppose that those are necessarily the moods he was free to project into plays the material of which was mostly borrowed. The moods which emerge ultimately from the plays were primarily governed by the spirit of the borrowed material according as its nature was tragic or comic. But it is not unlikely that as the creative process was in progress, the spirit of the material induced in his mind such of his moods as tuned with it. These induced moods tended only to heighten the dominant spirit of the plays, that is to say, the spirit which sprang from the nature of the borrowed material. Viewed from this point, therefore, we should speak of the moods of the plays and give up talking of Shakespearean moods altogether. Again, as a dramatist Shakespeare was bound by his art to create the moods of his characters rather than project into them his own.



To express the personal moods and thoughts is the business of a lyric poet and not certainly of a dramatist whose business is to express the moods of his characters rather than his own. This is because in a drama, the dramatist speaks not in his own person but on behalf of his characters. If his characters, therefore, are not to be his mouth-pieces but individual creations, he has to suppress his own personality, in other words, he has to be impersonal. It is on the degree of impersonality achieved by a dramatist in his plays that his success and greatness as a dramatist depend. Shakespeare was neither a Marlowe, nor a Ben Jonson, nor even a Bernard Shaw to create his characters after his own image or to make them the mouth-pieces of his own thoughts and sentiments. The infinite variety of characters which Shakespeare has created in his plays is strongly indicative of his supreme impersonality. "Poetry is not" says Eliot, 'the expression of emotions but an escape from emotions, not the expression of personality but an escape from personality'.<sup>40</sup> These observations of Eliot are all the more applicable to dramatic poetry. Shakespeare might have had his own moods and views, and it is not unlikely that at times he might have projected into his plays some of them, but we have no means of distinguishing them in the absence of a fuller knowledge of the history of the life and thought of the poet, which is for us practically enveloped in mystery. Even if we grant that Shakespeare had different moods in different periods of his life, such as comic, tragic, tragicomic, etc., it is difficult to believe that he could successfully render those moods into the borrowed material of his plays, unless we presume that he selected such plays as would fit in with his own personal moods. Such an assumption would imply the absurd proposition that Shakespeare was quite indifferent to his audience and was primarily concerned with his own art. Dowden's theory that Shakespeare was 'on the heights' in his last plays is obviously guilty of this kind of absurdity. The essential Shakespeare in relation to his plays is an impersonal Shakespeare. Unfortunately, this truism is often forgotten by the critics.

Now, from the point of view of the artist, it is natural that after some preliminary efforts when he becomes successful in a work of a particular type, the artist should try his hand in a few works of the same kind so as to firmly establish his reputation in that kind of art, and when that is done, it is also natural for him to turn to fresh fields and pastures new, not only for the sake of diversion, but also to see how the technique he has mastered can work in them

as well. This explains why in Shakespeare's work we have a number of plays in a particular kind and how among them some unsuccessful or less successful efforts are followed by some highly successful achievements. It is commonplace in Shakespearean criticism that Shakespeare's first efforts in any kind of plays were not very satisfactory. Shakespeare's art in any kind always shows a development. For instance, Mr. H. B. Charlton, in his *Shakespearian Comedy* has traced in Shakespeare's comedies the growth of his comic idea and remarked: "And even he did not make the discovery by sudden and plenary inspiration. He grew from *Love's Labour's Lost* to *Twelfth Night* and *As You Like It*."<sup>41</sup> The same growth of Shakespeare's art (i.e. experiments leading to the final success) can also be observed in the other types of his plays, tragedies or tragicomedies. "It is common notion," says Dr. Tillyard, "that *Cymbeline* and *The Winter's Tale* are experiments leading to the final success of *The Tempest*. I think it quite untrue of *The Winter's Tale*."<sup>42</sup>

Now we can see why in the last years of his life Shakespeare turned to the tragicomedies. It is not because in those years he was, as Dowden held, 'on the heights' and sought to express in his plays his god-like serenity of those years, nor even because he tried to express, as Dr. Tillyard thinks, the hitherto unachieved ends he had in view, viz., 'to develop the final phase of the tragic pattern', but because tragicomedy is the only major kind of plays that he had hitherto left untried as also the kind which was growing into popularity in the hands of his juniors, Beaumont and Fletcher. If the long history of Shakespeare's dramatic career has told us anything, we should expect him naturally to turn his attention to this new type of plays, make some experiment in one or two plays, and finally achieve supreme success in the last, just as well to show to the world that even in the new type he could excel others.

The pre-conceived design rarely works successfully in a creative work of even a conscious artist, not to speak of its success in the work of an unconscious genius like Shakespeare. "Even so conscious an artist as Mr. Shaw admits somewhere that whilst he always knows what sort of a play he means to write and what intellectual proposition it is meant to support, once the making of a play begins, the direction of it is taken over from his reason by some other force, and he is never certain how it will work out. His dramatic genius, not his sociological reason, determines that."<sup>43</sup> We know that Spenser started writing his masterpiece, *The Faerie Queene*, with a pre-conceived design, but it failed to work out after

two or three books.<sup>44</sup> Even if we grant, as Dr. Tillyard would have us do, that Shakespeare had a pre-conceived design to work out in his last plays, his unconscious dramatic instinct or genius would have taken over the control from his reason and given it an unanticipated direction. Certainly we cannot believe that the design would have worked out not in one but in three plays and in so neat a form as Dr. Tillyard outlined. It is equally difficult to believe that in his last plays Shakespeare was 'fortuitously driven into' the pattern of Tillyard's conception, for the simple reason that chance does not play so methodically.

It would be easy to see now how the view of life—and a view of life can certainly be deduced from the last plays of Shakespeare—conveyed in the last plays, may have been determined by the nature of their material rather than by the poet's moods or by the preconceived design of representing the final phase of the tragic pattern, though it cannot be denied that the view may have been modified and finally shaped by the dramatic genius of the poet at the direction of his creative imagination. It is not necessary, however, to identify the view of life as presented in the last plays with the view of life which Shakespeare's mature experience might have given him in the last years of his life during which he was writing the plays, though his personal view of life too may have had a share in it, but to what extent we cannot be sure.

Now, the view of life conveyed through the last plays of Shakespeare, is the kind of life which most of Shakespeare's Elizabethan audiences, and which, even today, most of us would like to have as an ideal—a life which is neither purely tragic nor purely comic, but tragicomic in the sense that it is an admixture of tragic and comic elements but rounded off with a happy ending. Such a view of life cannot but awaken in the mind the spirit of forgiveness and reconciliation which in fact breathes through all the plays which Shakespeare wrote in the last years of his life.

In his plays Shakespeare has expressed many profound truths of human life in lines of poetry which by their beauty and haunting melody get themselves firmly imprinted in our minds. We may refer to such lines as, 'Tomorrow, and tomorrow, etc.' in *Macbeth*, where life is compared to a candle, a walking shadow, a poor player, and an idiot's tale; or, 'There's a divinity that shapes our ends' in *Hamlet*; or 'We are such stuff/As dreams are made on, and our little life/Is rounded with a sleep', in Shakespeare's last play, *The Tempest*. Shakespeare's plays are the epitome of the human life as we know it,

feel it, and live it. Shakespeare has, in all his plays, painted this life in all its infinite aspects—its drab uniformity as well as its most protean diversities, its sordid realities as well as its most glorious idealisms, its hideous deformities and ugliness as well as its most splendid beauties. If Nature were to sing the profound truths of human life through human tongue, Shakespeare's would have been the language of her choice.

\* \* \*

Shakespeare never theorised about poetry, never wrote his *Poetics*, yet, how beautifully he caught in poetry the soul of poetry in that speech in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, where Theseus, the duke of Athens, describes love and poetry as types of madness. In this speech there is, no doubt, a distant echo of Plato. But Shakespeare goes beyond Plato in regarding poetry as a product of creative imagination. Without the least pretension to define poetry, Shakespeare has unconsciously and incidentally, in the memorable lines of this speech, defined poetry in a manner which has hardly been improved upon by the innumerable theories and definitions of poetry with which the critical field has been flooded since Shakespeare's time. In the context, the speech is a comment on love as a type of madness and through this common factor of madness, on the nature of poetry itself, and, finally, should we not add, a comment on his own work—a product of a creative imagination of the highest order? These lines of Shakespeare's should open the eyes of the critics and scholars and instill into their minds an awareness of the vital truth—which so often they forget—that the best critic of Shakespeare is Shakespeare himself:

The lunatic, the lover, and the poet  
Are of imagination all compact:  
One sees more devils than vast hell can hold;  
That is the mad man, the lover all as frantic,  
Sees Helen's beauty in a brow of Egypt:  
The poet's eye in a fine frenzy rolling,  
Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth  
to heaven,

And as imagination bodies forth  
The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen  
Truns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothing  
A local habitation and a name.

(*A Midsummer Night's Dream*, V. i.)

\* \* \*

A word has to be said in favour of the common readers' enjoyment of Shakespeare in their own ways. The Elizabethan audiences of Shakespeare understood and enjoyed his plays if not thoroughly, at least fairly well. Shakespeare's audiences certainly never wasted their money for nothing if they did not understand and enjoy his plays on the stage. And this fact is certain that between Shakespeare and his audiences there were no commentators and scholars to act as barriers to the latter's enjoyment. But it seems that the modern scholars and critics have proved more a hindrance than a help to the common readers' understanding and enjoyment of Shakespeare : The interpretations of different critics and scholars of certain things in Shakespeare are so varied, conflicting, and widely different that the common readers get puzzled as to which to accept and which to reject. In their bewilderment and despair they may give up reading Shakespeare as being caviare to the general. But why should they ? They may rather let the babel of voices in the world of criticism alone and try to understand and enjoy Shakespeare by themselves. What does it matter if they cannot follow a phrase here or an expression there ? Do such petty details as the omission or commission of a punctuation or a word,—over which innumerable critical voices, many of which are supposed to be authoritative, have created a storm of controversy with all sorts of conflicting conjectures and wild speculations,—in any way affect their general enjoyment of Shakespeare ? We enjoy poetry better when we understand it generally and not perfectly. Perfect understanding tends to destroy our enjoyment of it. This view of Coleridge may be regarded as a very sound principle even when applied to our enjoyment of Shakespeare. And the common readers may, and, in fact, they certainly do, unconsciously though, follow Coleridge's valuable principle in enjoying *their* Shakespeare. I want to emphasize the word *their*. The reality of Shakespeare, in fact, the reality of any great work of art, is something which transcends all interpretations. Interpretations are merely approaches to the reality. If innumerable critics and scholars, through their innumerable interpretations, present innumerable pictures of Shakespeare, why should not the common readers be left free to make their own interpretations of him ? In his *The Idea of Great Poetry*, Lascelles Abercrombie has very aptly observed that a poem 'exists as species' in the multiplicity of individual existences in the minds of different readers. These existences, however, through their common relation to the poem

possess 'in their variation a consistent and characteristic uniformity'.<sup>4</sup>

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# SCIENTIFIC METHOD IN PHILOSOPHY

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The age, we are living in, is marked by an eminently scientific character. Inspired by the civilisation built upon an unfettered freedom of science, man is ready to scatter away to the winds all values of morality, religion and metaphysics—only to be governed by the objective facts, by the perception of necessity and expediency. It appears to him, what the famous poet had described, referring either to the innermost life of man or to some super-terrestrial region, as “the light which is never seen either on land or on sea” is but a latent property of land and sea, like adolescence in baby, waiting to emerge from the natural environments through man’s scientific reactions to them.

However, the present manifestation of the scientific impulse in man is not entirely a novel phenomenon. It is only the climax of a gradual development. The development can be traced back to the ancient Greece which saw an outburst of man’s scientific curiosity to know the physical universe, to explain things in terms of natural events, to learn the better sources of adjustment of life to the natural environments.

The scientific movement, which fell into abeyance in the mediaeval period under pressures of Christianity, was revived in the days of renaissance and continued since towards achieving its exuberant results that surround us to-day. However, the investigations of science lacked dependable principles and method for a long time. They were carried on along trial and error-processes till the dawn of the modern age marked by the appearance of the famous book of Bacon—*Novum Organum*. Bacon deserves the honour of being called a trumpeter not only of his own time but all the time to come, for having provided the scientific impulse with a right channel of expression. He laid down and enunciated, in the book, the regulative principles of scientific investigation. The procedure of science has four distinct stages : first, the collecting and recording of accurate and unbiased observations in sufficient number to provide reliable and unbiased answers to theoretical and practical questions ; second, formation of hypotheses from these facts ; third, deductive reasoning based on hypotheses and fourth, experimental testing to confirm or confute the theoretical deductions.”

The age of science would inevitably affect all the synchronizing fields of culture—theories and practices with its own trends and characteristics. It is therefore natural to see, in the realm of philosophy, such movements



as Empiricism, Naturalism, Positivism, Pluralism, Realism and Materialism initiated and carried on by scientific impulse, principle and method.

The early Greek tradition had already regarded philosophy as but a natural science. The tradition was continued, though not without break, through the writings of Democritus, the Epicureans, Kepler, Bacon, Hobbs and others. Bacon announced explicitly that philosophy, being an attempt to know the universe, should not deviate from the principles governing the other branches of knowledge. The method employed by science should also find its use in the domain of philosophy.

Descartes stimulated the scientific impulse of philosophy by voicing his spirit of revolt against all forms of dogmatism. His preference of reasoned conviction to blind faith signals an advance of scientific philosophy. Leibnitz started with a scientific analysis of the sense-perceived world into its minutest components. However his hasty transition from the physical facts to psychic entities (monads) indicates a fall from the basic principle of physical science. (Leibnitz began with an analysis of matter into its minutest parts and finally conceived those atoms as spiritual in nature). In spite of this deviation, he can be said to have contributed to philosophy many valuable concepts (such as Energism, Mathematical points, point-instants, the concept of space as order among events, the unconscious experience etc.).

We find in the Empiricism of Hume "the scientific impulse reigning unchecked." But on the other hand, his skepticism may be regarded as a misery not only of philosophy but also of science. It is rooted in his belief that the sense-data are devoid of unity and connections among themselves. What we perceive, according to him, are unrelated facts either in bundles (giving rise to the notion of substance) or in order of succession yielding the ideas of change and causality). However, the hope of science lost in the Humian Empiricism came to its restoration in the New Empiricism of James and Bergson who regarded the objects of sense-experience as inter-penetrated with one another merging themselves in a continuum.

Kant suggested, on the other hand, that our perception itself is organised so that the objects lying within its field appear to be interrelated. Humian skepticism seemed to have been avoided, in the theory of Kant, by the concept of causality regarded as an indispensable condition of objective empirical knowledge. But the fact about him which is viewed with disdain by the scientific thinkers is the continuance of the idealistic influence inducing him to subjectivise the objects of knowledge. Kant, however, allowed objectivity only to some unknowable things-in-themselves. He conceived the connections among the sense-data not as matters of sense-discovery but as the subjective conditions (notions) imputed by the mind into the objects perceived. Consequently what we know are but phenomena emerging through the interaction of the knowing mind with the realities outside. Possibility of revelation of the realities to the mind is

thus precluded by the subjective conditions such as space, time, cause, substance to which the mind is bound once for all.

The scientific thinkers, however, found in Kant's contention of objectivity of things-in-themselves an implicit agreement with their own view that the things for scientific considerations are independent of and unaffected by the mind and its properties. Kant seemed to them to have provided philosophy with an objective attitude to things. They would not however, share with Kant the other aspect of his view regarding what have been termed as phenomena. For them, the scientific facts themselves are objective and real and the distinction between Noumena and phenomena should not remain. They suggested that philosophy should remain within the bounds of science and abandon all metaphysical and theological endeavour to know any transempirical reality. "Herbert Spencer went so far as to equate philosophy with the sum-total of scientific knowledge, without however the admission of a first principle supposed to underlie and explain all scientific knowledge. Philosophy was then thought to be similar to science in its method and result, with this qualification that what philosophy seeks to arrive at is only wider than the widest generalisations of the sciences" The emphasis on the scientific treatment of philosophy so initiated by Spencer was re-inforced by the contemporary realistic developments.

William James regarded experience and the objects experienced as identical at bottom so that we need not refer the ideal of philosophy to the unknowable 'X' of Kant. The Neo-realists pointed out that the sense-data are but aspects of the objective world and their relations as studied by logic are not subjective but are objective entities subsisting independently in the extramental world. Their conception of logic as the science of Being differs fundamentally from the old conception of logic as the science of correct thinking. "In studying classes and their relations, or propositions and their relations we are studying certain aspects of the objective world, just as the physicist studies light or gravitation." Kant's invalidation of the mechanism of knowledge was not admitted by the Neo-realists. In our scientific investigations (based on observation and logical analysis) we are said to be dealing with the real world and not with a subjective or phenomenal world. They would therefore regard philosophy as only extension of scientific knowledge, since both science and philosophy are concerned with the real. "Philosophy", according to Bertrand Russel, "is concerned with the relations of different sciences. It should, however, be comprehensive and bold in suggesting hypotheses as to the universe which science is not yet in a position to confirm or confute. But these should always be presented as hypotheses and not as immutable certainties like the dogmas of religion." Since the American Realists and Russel have borrowed their philosophical method from the natural sciences where specialisation has contributed immensely to their far-reaching and

speedy progress, they are as a rule averse to all kinds of system-building in philosophy. The present state of our knowledge does not give any warrant for holding that reality is a single unitary system. It is, in their opinion, our ethical or religious bias which is mainly responsible for the view that the reality is a perfectly unified whole.

The scientific movement in philosophy reached its highest acceleration in the logical positivism with its conviction that synthetic propositions can only be empirical and non-synthetic propositions can only be analytic. Any system regarding the transempirical reality carries no meaning since it is neither analytic (where the predicate of the proposition is obtained by a mere explication or analysis of the connotation of its subject) nor synthetic. The metaphysical propositions purport to assert the existence of the absolute and infinite which transcends all empirical evidence. The statement "Reality is non-contingent or necessary" cannot be said to be analytic, since the predicate 'Non-contingent' is not necessarily contained in the subject 'Reality'. Nor is it synthetic (empirical) as no experiment can show that there is or is not anything absolute, necessary or perfect. All existential statements are empirical and all empirical objects belong to the domain of science. "Yet philosophy has a function of its own within the empirical sphere. It is not, however, to synthesise the different sciences into a single world view. It is to analyse the statements asserted by scientists, study their kinds and relations." The new role of philosophy may therefore be understood as the logic of science.

Both the Logical Positivism and Realism (excluding the Alexander's view) are explicitly sceptical on the question of world's unity. Both of them are free from all ethical and religious bias. All ethical precepts, commands, and expressions containing different kinds of apprehension of values are held as inadmissible in philosophy.

There is, however, no reason why philosophy should overlook the data furnished by religious and ethical experience of man—if it has the obligation to take cognizance of and interpret all kinds of experience. Whitehead once told his students that "as physics is the interpretation of our external perceptual experiences, so metaphysics is the interpretation of our religious experiences." (Quoted from the memory of Charles Hartshorn expressed in his essay "Whitehead and Contemporary Philosophy.") Philosophy should flourish by assimilating the newer concepts furnished by sciences and also satisfying the ethical and theological interests of man. The scientific spirit of this age and its method have rendered a great service to philosophy by liberating it from all fetters of the dogmas. In the scientific movements which followed the Renaissance we find a sort of compensatory reactions to the age of faith. This was really very necessary. But such reactions should not jeopardise the interest of philosophy itself. The extreme movements like Realism, Logical Positivism forget the fact that knowledge is a system of which science is only an element.

Besides, the sciences themselves are based upon a sort of philosophic insight into the pervasive characters over and above the variable features of things. There is a kind of going beyond the given. A scientist, while formulating hypotheses regarding the general laws governing the things under investigation, makes use of such (*a priori*) concepts as are not furnished by his experience. The scientific and philosophical (metaempirical) methods are, therefore, bound up inseparably with one another. Judged in this light, the attempt of philosophy to unify the results of the sciences by means of *a priori* ideas of reason, to orient knowledge from the standpoint of the whole is highly justifiable. Philosophy thus can retain its own distinct individuality without at the same time being anti-scientific.

A reference may be made, in this context, to the new scientific movement, in the domain of Psychology, known as Gestaltism which emphasises the importance of the wholeness of experience and suggests that Analysis should not destroy the meaning and value of experience which is constituted by its wholeness. Even the minutest element of our perception, the smallest part of our environment is a meaningful whole. We should recognise the whole first, and then determine the significance of the analysed parts by referring them to the whole context to which they belong as its constituent elements. Thus the Gestaltists encourage adoption of the philosophical method (synthesis) together with the method of analysis (which is strictly scientific) in every branch of knowledge.

Alexander, perhaps the greatest realist of the day, came nearer the truth when he defined philosophy as "the experimental study of the non-empirical, or *a priori*—of such questions as arise out of the relations of the empirical to the *a priori*." His preference for an irreducible minimum of the *a priori* and rational elements in our knowledge of the world discloses a meta-empiric tendency underlying his scientific attitude to philosophy. Among the more recent philosophers, C. D. Broad has indicated how philosophic consciousness is moving once more in the right direction by his explicit recognition of the spirit of even-balance between the claims of science and philosophy. The objects of philosophy, according to him, is to take over the concepts of science and every-day life, after having put them to severe tests, to add to them the religious and ethical experience of mankind, and then to reflect upon them to get a view of the reality as a whole.

Whitehead's 'philosophy of organism' seems to be 'true to the kindred points of heaven and home'. While maintaining closest contact with the physical universe and employing the most rigorous methods of observation and experiment in analysing it, his philosophy remains anchored to the higher regions of ethical and religious values. It brings to bear the speculative lights upon the findings of the sense and supersense,—"shows a fusion of philosophic and religious thinking—though of a very unique sort."

## Reviews & Notices of Books

**Reward is Secondary**—By James N. M. Maclean, published by Hodder and Stoughton, Limited. Price Rs. 68-net.

The author's strenuous researches have thrown light on the life of a great political adventurer of the 18th century. The author happens to be a member of the clan which this notorious person belonged to. This coincidence is not a mere accident. It seems to us that only the real tenacity and intelligence of this clan have enabled him to uplift the veil of mystery in which the great adventurer shrouded his identity.

He successfully played in cognito the various roles on the spacious stage of this earth during the period of the twenty years from 1757 to 1777. He became successively a classic scholar, medical practitioner, surgeon of a regiment, army contractor, customs officer, land speculator, Lt.-Governor of a colony, political pamphleteer, stock-market gambler, Under-Secretary of State, scout agent, a great figure in the political underworld, superintendent of harems, Commissary General of the Army in Bengal, Colonel in the service of the Nabab of Arcot, and representative in England of Warren Hastings. He was corrupt to the back-bone and extremely ruthless. His nerves were very strong and he knew well how to charm a person and to enjoy his confidence. He was successful in his attempt to be the confidant of the great leaders of his time.

The above feats of Maclean will sink into insignificance if he is proved to be the author of the letters of Junius. These letters had a great influence on the contemporary events and subsequent history. The author has tried his best to unveil the mystery of the identity of the author of these letters.

It is for the readers to decide whether or not the author of this book has been successful in his laborious task.

Indian readers will find much interest in this book since it reveals some scenes of the political underworld in India in the beginning of the British rule.

J. B.

## **Ourselves**

### **SYMPOSIUM ON IMPACT OF MENDELISM ON AGRICULTURE, BIOLOGY AND MEDICINE AT NEW DELHI**

A symposium on the "Impact of Mendelism on Agriculture, Biology and Medicine" was held at New Delhi on and from 15th February to 20th February, 1965. It was held under the auspices of the Indian Society of Genetics of Plant Breeding. The Society invited the University to send delegates to the symposium.

Professor P. K. Sen, Head of the Department of Agriculture, University of Calcutta was appointed our delegate at the Symposium.

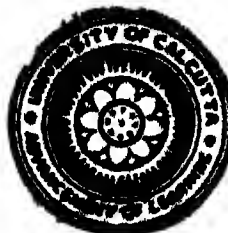
### **13TH INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS AT VIENNA**

The Thirteenth International Association of University Professors and Lecturers will be held at Vienna on and from 6th September to 12th September, 1965.

The University of Calcutta decided to send a message of good wishes to the International Association of University Professors and Lecturers on the occasion.

### **DR. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE LECTURES**

Sri Nirmalkumar Bose, a staunch disciple of Gandhiji, was appointed Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee Lecturer for 1964. He will deliver a course of lectures on "Hindu culture and its workings to improve better relations between India and Pakistan". This appointment was made by the Syndicate. The award is biennial and is of the value of five hundred rupees only. A sum of Rs. 7000, was donated by Sri Jnanendranath Banerjee to commemorate the name of the late Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee. Generally two lectures are delivered. The following Lecturers were appointed since 1956 : Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, M.A., D.Lit., Prof. Niharanjan Ray, M.A., D.Litt. & Phil. (Leyden), Dip. Lib. (Lond), F.L.A., M.P., Dr. Gourinath Sastri, D.Litt. and Prof. S. B. Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D. (now deceased).



## Notifications

### CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. CSR/3/FR/64.

It is notified for general information that in modification of the previous circular No. CSR/2FR/63, dated 24.12.63 regarding the Compulsory NCC training in Colleges the Vice-Chancellor, in exercise of the power conferred on him by Section 10 (4) of the Calcutta University Act, 1951, has been pleased to approve of the following changes in the Regulations for the compulsory NCC training with immediate effect :

"That Sec. 12 (1) of the NCC/NCCR Regulations be replaced by the following :

'12 (1) Notwithstanding anything contained herein before or anywhere else in the Regulations all male students in the colleges teaching up to the first degree standard in any Faculty of the University and in the University Colleges prosecuting their studies in Arts, Science, Commerce, Technology, Education and Law courses of studies must undertake compulsory NCC or NCCR training with effect from the session 1963-64 necessary facilities being provided by the NCC Directorate in collaboration with the authorities of the Institutions concerned in accordance with the syllabus hereinafter provided subject to such notifications as may be made from time to time by the Academic Council on the recommendation of the NCC Directorate.

Provided that the following categories of students may be exempted from the operation of the above rule :

( i ) Students who are in the 6th or 7th year of the post-graduate classes of the University and students of diploma and certificate course.

( ii ) Students who are found by the District Medical Officer or Officers or the Board of Health of the University to be physically unfit for such training or any Medical Officer or Officers approved for the purpose by the Vice-Chancellor on the recommendation of the Principal of the College concerned.

( iii ) Students who are otherwise ineligible under NCC regulations.

( iv ) Students who are in the final year of the Medical, Engineering, Architecture courses of studies.

( v ) Students offering Honours in the Second and Third year of the B.A., B.Sc., and B.Com. courses.

( vi ) Students who are reading in a special course in one or two or three subjects only and for all diploma course of less than one year duration.

( vii ) Students who have been admitted to a college to attend special Honours classes under the three year degree courses.

( viii ) Students who have previously taken full three years course of NCC Senior Division training while studying in lower courses of study.

( ix ) Students who after completing the full course of study either could not appear at the University Examination or appeared but got plucked at the examination and are again attending classes.

( x ) Students of foreign nationality and all overseas students of Indian origin.

( xi ) Students who are bonafide employees and are unable to join the NCC on account of employment.

Provided also that students of Industrial Training Institute who join colleges under the University may be given the benefit for any training that they might have received while they were in the NCC attached to the Industrial Training Institutes.

Provided further that NCC parades should cease for the students examinees at a time sufficiently in advance of the commencement of their respective examination.

Provided further that where for special reason the attendance has fallen short of the prescribed 75%, the Vice-Chancellor may for sufficient reasons, condone the shortage to any extent.

The cases of students not covered by the above provisions shall be dealt with by the Syndicate.



A. Enrolment : All preliminaries for enrolment shall continue by the 15th of July each session.

B. Students representing the college, University or the State at Athletics Tournament, Sports and at the Youth Festival, Labour and Social Service Camp, etc., shall be deemed to be present in the NCC parades during the period of their absence on these accounts.

C. No one shall be enrolled who is above the age of 26 on the 15th July, on the 1st date of enrolment'."

This cancels the previous Notification No. CSR/2/FR/63, dated 24.12.63 on the subject.

Senate House, Calcutta,  
The 23rd September, 1964.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
Registrar.

#### CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. CSR/24/64.

It is notified for general information that the Vice-Chancellor, under Section 10(4) of the Calcutta University Act, 1951, has been pleased to pass the following Transitory Regulations with immediate effect, for the students of the Old Three Year Degree Courses :

Notwithstanding anything contained to the contrary in the old Regulations for the Three-Year Degree Course Examinations it is hereby provided that :

- (1) If a candidate (Pass and Honours) under the old 3-year Degree Course Regulations appears in all the subjects at the Part I Examination and fails to secure qualifying marks in one subject only compulsory, elective or subsidiary, or having secured qualifying marks in other subjects, fails to appear in one subject only, compulsory, elective, or subsidiary, he will have the option to appear at Part I Examination in the subject in which he has failed to secure qualifying marks, in the same year in which he appears at Part II Examination, provided he does so at any one of the two annual examinations succeeding the Part I Examination in which he failed to secure qualifying marks, but not at both.
- (2) If such a candidate fails to appear at or to secure qualifying marks in the Part I Examination and passes the Part II Examination he will have to appear at both Part I and Part II Examinations as a whole in the immediately following year.
- (3) If such a candidate secures qualifying marks in the Part I Examination only but fails to pass the Part II Examination he will be required to appear at the next Part II Examination only as a whole.

The privileges given in the above transitory provisions will not be extended beyond the Examinations of 1966."

Senate House :  
The 29th September, 1964.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
Registrar.

#### CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. CSR/25/64

It is notified for general information that the Vice-Chancellor, in exercise of the power conferred on him by Section 10(4) of the Calcutta University Act 1951, has been pleased to approve of the following changes in the Methods and Contents papers of the B.T. Examination (Chapter XL of the Regulations) as well as in the detailed syllabus for Contents portion of certain B.T. Subjects :

- (i) That 60 marks be allotted to 'Methods' and 40 marks to 'Contents' in each of the subjects mentioned under Papers V & VI of the Revised B.T. Regulations.
- (ii) That the following lines be inserted within bracket under 'Methods' in each subject  
(including one compulsory question on lesson-notes carrying 20 marks)."
- (iii) That the following detailed syllabus be added under 'English' of the B.T. syllabus :

1. A Brief study in the History of English literature.

A general idea of the development of English literature with reference to (A) Romanticism in English Poetry in the early 19th century : A general study of : (a) William Wordsworth ; (b) John Keats ; (c) Percy Bysshe Shelley, (B) Victorian age : A general study of (a) Lord Alfred Tennyson, (b) Robert Browning, (C) Modern Trends.



## 2. Advanced English Grammar :

Difficult Phrases &amp; Idioms : Analysis and Synthesis ; Common Errors.

## 3. Rhetoric &amp; Prosody :

Up to the previous Intermediate Standard of the University of Calcutta.

## 4. Study of the . . . . . State of West Bengal.

Questions on Lesson Notes may be set from the prescribed courses in English in the High and Higher Secondary Schools of West Bengal.

(iv) That the following lines be added within bracket under Section 1 of Bengali and Sanskrit syllabus :

(Questions on History of Bengali literature and language will be set from the text-books on this subject prescribed for the B.T. Examination).

(v) That the following detailed syllabus in Hindi be inserted after the syllabus in Bengali of the Revised B.T. Regulation :

The following Poets and Authors :

(i) Tulsidas ; (ii) Surdas ; (iii) Jaishankar Prasad ; (iv) Maithili Saran Gupta ; Munshi Premchand, And,

Hindi Rasa, Alamkar &amp; Ohanda."

The above changes in the B.T. Syllabus as recommended by the Faculty of Education on 26.9.64 have been given immediate effect. The changes are, however subject to the approval by the Academic Council and the Senate.

Senate House, Calcutta,  
The 7th October, 1964.G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
Registrar.

## CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. CSR/26/64

It is notified for general information that the following changes in the Chapter XLIX-G and XLIX-Q, relating to the regulations for the D.M.R.D. and D.M.R.T. Examinations respectively were adopted by the Academic Council on 1.8.64, and accepted by the Senate on 19.9.64 :

"That the following be added after section 7 of the regulation Chapter XLIX-G-D.M.R.D. as section 7 (A).

'A candidate who has passed in Part I Examination of the Diploma in Medical Radiology—Therapeutic, shall be exempted from appearing in Part I Examination of Diploma in Medical Radiology—Diagnostic.'

B. That the following be added after section '7' of the regulation in Chapter XLIX-Q—D.M.R.T. as section 7(A).

'A candidate who has passed in Part I Examination of the Diploma in Medical Radiology—Diagnostic, shall be exempted from appearing in Part I Examination of the Diploma in Medical Radiology—Therapeutic.''

The Academic Council decided to give effect to the above changes from the next regular Examination.

Senate House, Calcutta-12,  
The 9th October, 1964G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
Registrar.

## CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. CSR/27/64.

It is notified for general information that the following changes in Chapter XL-F of the Regulations relating to the Diploma Course in Librarianship were adopted by the Academic Council on 5.2.64 and accepted by the Senate on 19.9.64 :

"1. Clause 8 to be deleted and the following be substituted in its place.

'No minimum pass mark shall be required in each paper but if in any paper a candidate obtains less than 25% of the marks, these marks shall not be included in his aggregate. In order to pass a candidate must obtain 360 marks in the aggregate. Candidates obtaining 360 marks shall be placed in the Second Class and those obtaining 480 marks in the First Class.'

2. The following to be added after a 'comma' to the first sentence of clause 9.

'arranged in two classes and in order of merit.'

The remaining portion of clause 9 to be deleted."

The Academic Council on 5.2.64, decided that the above changes would take effect from the Examination of 1965.

Senate House, Calcutta-12,  
The 9th October, 1964,G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
Registrar.

## CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. CSR/28/64.

It is notified for general information that the following syllabus for surveying (CE-31) of the B.E. Intermediate, Section 'B', Civil Engineering Examination was adopted by the Academic Council on 22.5.64 and accepted by the Senate on 19.9.64 :

Setting out of buildings and culverts.

Curve ranging, Setting out of simple curves. Chord and offset methods. Curve ranging with theodolite. Obstacles, Curves to pass through a ruling point under certain given data. Compound curve, Reserve Curve, Transition Curve, Vertical Curve, Diversion Curve.

Permanent adjustments of transit theodolite. Instrumental errors Repetition. Reiteration. Errors to which theodolite observations are liable.

Various causes of errors in levelling. Elimination of such errors. Permissible error. Trigonometrical levelling. Reciprocal observations for long sights.

Setting out pegs for earthwork. Computation of areas of cross-sections and volume of earthwork.

Use of spot levels and contours. Mass-haul curve.

Theory of errors. Probable errors in linear and angular measurements.'

The Academic Council decided to give effect to the above syllabus from the session 1964-65.

Senate House, Calcutta-12,  
The 9th October, 1964.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
Registrar.

## KARNATAK UNIVERSITY

Notification No. Exam./K. 46/19/339

Pursuant to the Resolution passed by the University Syndicate at its meeting held on 28.9.1963, the following candidates for the various Examinations of the University held in the first half of 1963, who were found, to the satisfaction of the Syndicate, guilty of malpractices, are penalised as shown against their names below :

Seat No.	Name of the Candidate.	College.	Nature of punishment given
Pre University Examination in Arts, March, 1963.			
2160	Batagi, Bhimappa Gurupadappa, M.S.R.T.C., Bijapur Depot, Bijapur.	Vijay College, Bijapur.	Declared to have failed in the Pre-University Arts Examination, March 1963. Previous exemptions, if any, forfeited. Debarred from appearing for this Examination upto 1.6.1965.
2164	Biradar, Chandrashekara Sanganabasappa, Dy. Commissioner's Office, Bijapur.	Do	Declared to have failed the Pre- University Arts Examination, March, 1963. Previous exemptions, if any, forfeited. Debarred from appearing for this Examination upto 1.6.1965.
2276	Patil, Bapugouda Iranagouda, Teacher, Kannada Boys School No 4, Bijapur.	Do	Declared to have failed in the Pre University Arts Examination, March, 1963. Previous exemptions, if any, forfeited. Debarred from appearing for this examination upto 1.6.1965.
2353	Gudadinni, Subhasa Kadappa, O/o. B. K. Gudadinni, General Secretary, District Congress Committee, Bijapur.	Do	Declared to have failed in the Pre-University Arts Examination, March, 1963. Previous exemptions, if any, forfeited. Debarred from appearing for this Examination upto 1.6.1965.

Seat No.	Name of the Candidate	College	Nature of punishment given
3088	Malipatil, Basavara; Ohanahbasappa, Sugur, Post : Nalvar, Tal : Ohittapur (Dist : Gulbarga).	S.B. College, Gulbarga.	Declared to have failed in the Pre-University Arts Examination, March, 1963.  Previous exemptions, if any, forfeited. Debarred from appearing for this Examination upto 1.6.1965.
3435	Suryavanshi, Shankar Sadashivarao, C/o. Sadashivarao Deshmukh, near Ramamandir, Bidar.	B.V.B. Arts & Science College, Bidar.	Declared to have failed in the Pre-University Arts Examination, March, 1963.  Previous exemptions, if any, forfeited, Permitted to appear for this Examination in March, 1964.
3438	Zipre Narsingrao Bhimrao, C/o. Bhavani Doddi, Near Gharbara. Bidar,	Do	Declared to have failed in the Pre-University Arts Examination, March, 1963. Previous exemptions, if any, forfeited. Permitted to appear for this Examination in March, 1964.
3457	Dharwar, Neelakanthappa Yellappa, Kurattipet, Betgeri-Gadag, Gadag.	J. T. College, Gadag.	Declared to have failed in the Pre-University Arts Examination, March, 1963. Previous exemptions, if any, forfeited. Permitted to appear for this Examination in March, 1964.

## Pre-University Examination in Science, March, 1963.

316	Poleshi, Mariguda Hirogouda, C/o. Sri H. Y. Poleshi, At & Post : Ugargol. Tal : Saundatti, Dist : Belgaum, Ugargol.	Karnatak Science College, Dharwar.	Declared to have failed the Pre-University Science Examination, March, 1963.  Previous exemptions, if any, forfeited. Debarred from appearing for this Examination upto 1.6. 1965.
847	Miss Maben Jessie Salathicai. B. C. 93. Camp, Belgaum.	R.L. Science Institution. Belgaum.	Declared to have failed in the Pre-University Science Examination, March, 1963. Previous exemptions, if any, forfeited. Debarred from appearing for this Examination upto 1. 6. 1965.
848	Madgaon, Shivagouda Gatigappa At & Post : Hippargi. Tal : Jamkhandi.	Do	Declared to have failed in the Pre-University Science Examination, March, 1963. Previous exemptions, if any, forfeited. Debarred from appearing for this Examination upto 1. 6. 1965.
1070	Sakri, Re/ 2488,	Ramappa, Do	Performance at the Pre-University Science Examination, March, 1963, cancelled. Previous exemptions, if any, forfeited.

Serial No.	Name of the Candidate.	College	Nature of punishment given.
1079	Shinde, Prakash Lakshman, C/o, Major L. G. Shinde, Near Rex Talkies, House No. 3985,	Do	Permitted to appear for this Examination in March, 1964. Performance at the Pre-Uni- versity Science Examination, March, 1963, cancelled.
1131	Sakhalhar, Pradeep Vinayak, 43/22, Manick Bang Road, Belgaum. (36, J, Hira Building, Mugbhut Gross Lane, Bombay-4).	Do	Previous exemptions, if any, forfeited. Debarred from appearing for this Examination upto 1.6. 1965. Performance at the Pre-Univer- sity Science Examination, March, 1963, cancelled.
1132	Sarnobat, Sadanand Jotiba, 4086, Kangraigalli, Belgaum.	R.L. Science Institute, Belgaum.	Previous exemptions, if any, forfeited. Permitted to appear for this Examination in March, 1964. Performance at the Pre-Uni- versity Science Examination March, 1963, cancelled.
3006	Md. Abdul Waheed M.D. Abdul Raheem, C/o. Md. Abdul Wahab, Advocate, Gulbarga.	Govt. Arts & Science College, Gulbarga.	Previous exemptions, if any, forfeited. Permitted to appear for this Examination in March, 1964. Performance at the Pre-Uni. Science Examination March, 1963, cancelled.
3007	Mohd. Ikramuddin S/o. Abdul Shukor, Mohalla Kutrutod, Alwar, P.O. Humnabad (Dt. Bidar).	Do	Previous exemptions, if any, forfeited. Permitted to appear for this Examination in March, 1964. Performance at the Pre-Uni. Science Examination March, 1963, cancelled.
3106	Inamdar, Md. Hamiduddin Md. Yousuf, Naya Mohalla, Near Mukhbura Masjeed, Gulbarga.	S. B. College, Gulbarga.	Previous exemptions, if any, forfeited. Permitted to appear for this Examination in March, 1964. Performance at the Pre-Univ. Science Examination, March, 1963, cancelled.
3107	M. Raiyazuddin S/o. Zainuddin Rangeen Masjeed, Mominpura, Gulbarga.	Do	Previous exemptions, if any, forfeited. Debarred from appearing for this Examination upto 1.6. 1965. Performance at the Pre-Univ. Science Examination, March, 1963, cancelled. Previous exemptions, if any, forfeited. Debarred from appearing for this Examination upto 1.6. 1963.

## B. A. Part I Examination, March, 1963

1064	Yankappagol, Shivaputrappa, Neelakanthappa, Jadar Street, Bijapur.	Vijay College, Bijapur.	Performance at the B.A. Part I Examination March, 1963 cancelled. Previous exemptions, if any forfeited. Debarred from appearing for this Examination upto 1-6- 1966.
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- 1646 Birdar, Nagnath Shirelingappa, B. V. B. Performance at the B.A. Part I  
Tekur. Post : Nayalkal. Arts and Examination March, 1963,  
Tal : Zaheerabad. Science cancelled.  
College, Bidar. Previous exemptions, if any,  
forfeited.  
Debarred from appearing for  
this Examination upto 1.6.  
1965.
- 1658 Giri, Kantappa Basappa, Do Performance at the B.A. Part I-  
Ladgeri, Bidar. Examination, March, 1963,  
cancelled.  
Previous exemptions, if any,  
forfeited.  
Debarred from appearing for  
this Examination upto 1.6.  
1964.
- 1715 Shaik, Md. Fasihuddin, Do Performance at the B.A. Part I  
S/o. Md. Jafferli, Noorkhan Examination, March, 1963,  
Taleem, Bidar. cancelled.  
Previous exemptions, if any,  
forfeited.  
Debarred from appearing for  
this Examination upto 1.6.  
1965.

## B.Sc. Part I Examination, March, 1963

- 584 Jaju, Madhavdas Ramkisan, R.P.D. Performance at the B.Sc. Part  
2022, Koregalli, Shahapur, College, I Examination, March, 1963,  
Belgaum. Belgaum. cancelled.  
Previous exemptions, if any,  
forfeited.  
Debarred from appearing for  
this Examination upto 1.6.  
1965.
- 585 Kelvekar, Mohan Vasudeo, R.P.D. Performance at the B.Sc. Part  
303/24, Patil Mala, Belgaum. College, I Examination, March 1963,  
Belgaum. cancelled.  
Previous exemptions, if any,  
forfeited.  
Debarred from appearing for  
this Examination upto 1.6.  
1965.
- 1040 Katamnalli, Ismail Burhansahab, Vijay Performance at the B.Sc. Part  
Ganjululum Road, Darbargalli, College, I Examination, March 1963,  
Bijapur. Bijapur. cancelled.  
Previous exemptions, if any,  
forfeited.  
Debarred from appearing for  
this Examination upto 1.6.  
1965.

## Pre-Engineering Examination, March, 1963

- 216 Bhupathiraju, Varahala Engineering Performance at the Pre-Engi-  
Narasimha Raju, Surya- College, neering Examination March,  
narayan Raju, Kesanakurru, Manipal. 1963, cancelled.  
Via : Yanam, East Godavari  
Dt. (A.P.). Previous exemptions, if any,  
forfeited.  
Debarred from appearing for  
this Examination upto 1.6.  
1965.
- 295 Jasti, Eswaravara Varaprasada- Do Performance at the Pre-Engi-  
rao Punnaiah, Kuchiyudi Post. neering Examination March,  
Tanali Taluka, Dt. Guntur. 1963, cancelled.  
Previous exemptions, if any,  
forfeited.

Seat No.	Name of the candidate	College	Nature of punishment given.
			Permitted to appear for the B.Sc. Part I Examination in March, 1964.
435	Rachamalla Venugopal Reddy, C/o. R. Ramalinga Reddy, 11 141 Red Hills, Ka bad Post. Hyderabad.	Do	Performance at the Pre-Engi- neering Examination March, 1963, cancelled.  Previous exemptions, if any, forfeited. Permitted to appear for the B.Sc. Part I Examination in March, 1964.

## B. A. Part II (Regular) Examination, April, 1963

677	Dhanpal, Jidnappa Bharmanna, Somanchal, Shapeti, Bijapur.	Vijay College. Bijapur.	Performance at the B.A. Part II Examination, April, 1964, cancelled. Permitted to appear for this Examination in April, 1964 with previous exemptions if any.
711	Deshpande, Gururao, Chidambarao Shaikh House, Bijapur.	Do	Performance at the B.A. Part II Examination, April, 1963, cancelled. Permitted to appear for this Examination in April, 1964 with previous exemptions if any.
718	Adhyapak, Raghavendra Krishnarao, Darbargalli, Bijapur.	Do	Performance at the B.A. Part II Examination, April, 1963, cancelled. Permitted to appear for this Examination in April, 1964, with previous exemptions, if any.
720	Bangari, Shiveshankar Giriappa, C/o. B. N. Chalawadi, Bilmeriya Chawli, Bijapur.	Do	Performance at the B.A. Part II Examination, April 1963, cancelled. Permitted to appear for this Examination in April, 1964, with previous exemptions if any.
728	Bhuyar, Chanamallappa Basappa, C/o. Kalyanahetti, Jagdish Ready Made Stores, Bijapur.	Do	Performance at the B.A. Part II Examination, April, 1963, cancelled.  Permitted to appear for this Examination in April, 1964, with previous exemptions if any.
730	Yarnal, Chandram Peerappa, Police Constable, C/o. C.P.I. Bagalkot.	Do	Performance at the B.A. Part II Examination, April, 1963, cancelled. Permitted to appear for this Examination in April, 1964, with previous exemptions if any.
731	Kaladgi, Shivaji Balu, Shapet galli, Near Mahadev Temple, Bijapur.	Vijay College, Bijapur.	Performance at the B.T. Part II Examination, April 1963, cancelled. Permitted to appear for this Examination in April, 1964, with previous exemptions if any.

Seat No.	Name of the Candidate	College	Name of punishment given
748	Patil, Mallappa Dharmanna, O/o. M.D. Shorapur, Near Uppalibura, Bijapur.	Do	Performance at the B.A. Part II Examination, April 1963, cancelled. Permitted to appear for this Examination in April, 1964, with previous exemptions if any.
750	Tachewale, Kasmira Rajesa, Jorapur Peth, Babalashwar Naka, Bijapur.	Do	Performance at the B.A. Part II Examination April, 1963, cancelled. Permitted to appear for this Examination in April, 1964, with previous exemptions if any.
771	Heralgi, Shrishail Sangappa, Jorapurpeth, Banagar galli, Bijapur.	Do	Performance at the B.A. Part II Examination, April, 1963, cancelled. Permitted to appear for this Examination in April, 1964, with previous exemptions if any.
778	Sabarad, Shrishail Bashetteppa, Nehru Road, Bijapur.	Do	Performance at the B.A. Part II Examination, April, 1963, cancelled. Permitted to appear for this Examination, in April, 1964, with previous exemptions if any.
1054	Yalwar, Gurushantappa Somappa, At & Post : Ankalg Dt. Gulbarga.	S.B. College, Gulbarga.	Performance at the B.A. Part II Examination, April, 1963, cancelled. Previous exem- ptions forfeited. Permitted to appear for this Examination in April, 1964.

## B.A. Part II (External) Examination, April 1963

E. 293	Habib, Venkatesh Somanathasa, Clerk, Office of the Asstt. Registrar of Money Lenders, Broad Way, Hubli.	---	Performance at the B.A. Part II (External) Examination, April, 1963, cancelled. Previous exemptions forfeited. Permitted to appear for this Examination, in April, 1964.
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## B.Sc. Part II Examination, April, 1963

505	Kulkarni, Hanamant Bhimarao, Karnatak Automobiles, Bijapur.	Vijay College, Bijapur.	Performance at the B.Sc. Part II Examination April, 1963, cancelled. Permitted to appear for this Examination in April, 1964 with previous exemptions if any.
510	Desai, Suresh Jayarao, O/o. R. V. Nadagouda, Kambhavi's House, Near Tasbawadi, Bijapur.	Do	Performance at the B.Sc. Part II Examination, April 1963, cancelled. Permitted to appear for this Examination, in April, 1964,  with previous exemptions if any.
515	Genal, Shashidhar Virabasaappa, Near Ramabawadi, Bijapur.	Do	Performance at the B.Sc. Part II Examination, April, 1963, cancelled. Permitted to appear for this Examination in April, 1964, with previous exemptions if any.

Seat No.	Name of the Candidate	College	Nature of punishment given
523	Sombanni, Shrishail Gangappa, Jorapurpeth, Bijapur.	Vijay College, Bijapur.	Performance of the B.Sc. Part II Examination, March, 1963, cancelled. Permitted to appear for this Examination in April 1964, with previous exemptions if any.
554	Patgar, Venkappa Uppa, Post : Hegde. Taluka : Kumta (N. K.)	Kanara College, Kumta.	Performance at the B.Sc. Part II Examination, April 1963, cancelled. Previous exemptions forfeited. Debarred from appearing for this Examination upto 1.6. 1965.
557	Prabhu, Vishnu Bhairanna, At & Post : Haldipur N.K.	Do	Performance at the B.Sc. Part II Examination, April 1963, cancelled. Previous exemptions forfeited. Permitted to appear for this examinations in April, 1964.

## F.Sc. (Agriculture) Examination, April, 1963

121	Sirur, Nishakant Hanumant Rao, C/o. S. Hanumantha Rao, Commercial Tax Officer, Bijapur.	College of Agriculture, Dharwar.	Performance at the F.Sc. (Agri.) Examination April, 1963, cancelled. Previous exemptions forfeited. Debarred from appearing for this Examination, upto 1.6. 1964.
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## M.A. (Final) Examination, April, 1963.

11	Veenem Sriram C/o. Dept. of Statistics, Karnatak University, Dharwar.	Dept. of Statistics, Karnatak University. Dharwar.	Performance at the M.A. (Final) Examination, April, 1963, cancelled. Previous exemptions, if any, forfeited. Debarred from appearing for this Examination upto 1.6. 1966.
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The 24th October, 1963.  
Dharwar.

By order  
Illegible  
Registrar,  
Karnatak University,  
Dharwar.





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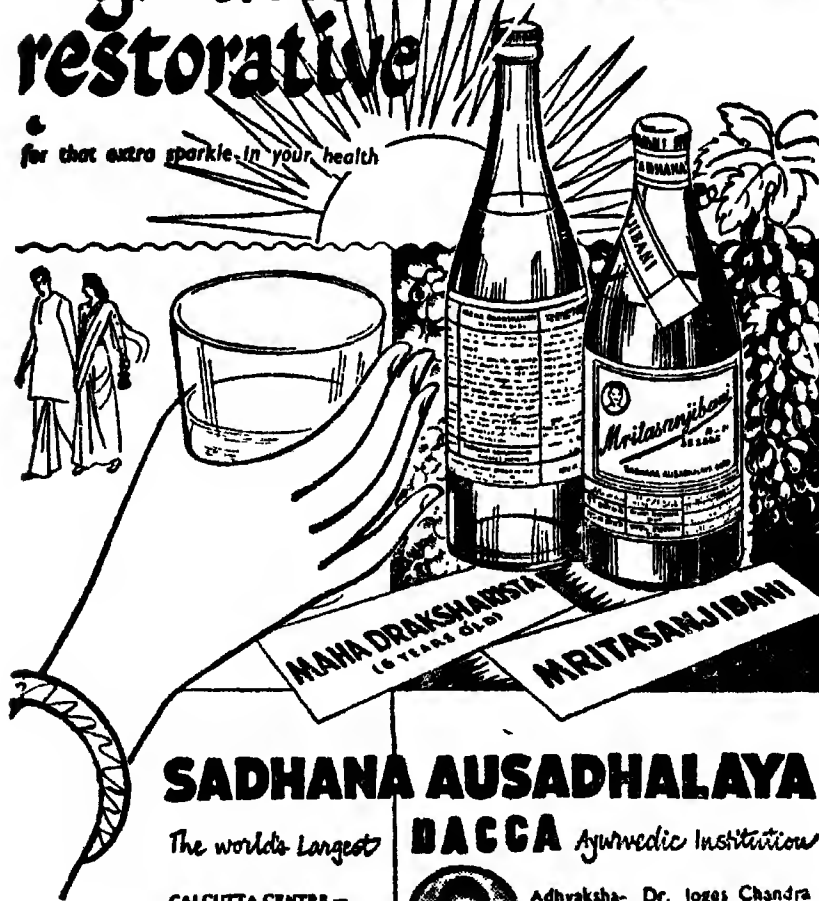
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**Adhyaksha:-** Dr. Joges Chandra  
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Bhagalpur College.

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APRIL, 1965

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[No. 1

## THE SARVĀSTIVĀDA SECT

PROF. ANUKUL CHANDRA BANERJEE, M.A., LL.B., PH.D.

*Calcutta University*

A hundred years after Gautama Buddha's Mahāparinibbāna, dissension arose among the monks with regard to the actual words of the Great Teacher and their interpretations, which ultimately led to the origin of different sects in Buddhism. And within a few hundred years of his Mahāparinibbāna eighteen or more sects came into existence. The first dissension was created by the monks of Vesāli. The *Cullavagga* and the Ceylonese chronicles record that the second council was held at Vesāli just a hundred years after the demise of Buddha to discuss the ten practices (dasavatthūni), indulged in by the Vajjian monks.<sup>1</sup> The council decided in favour of the orthodox monks and the Vajjian monks were expelled from the Saṅgha. They were much aggrieved over the decision and did not remain idle. They convened another council in which ten thousand monks participated. It was indeed a great congregation (Mahāsaṅgīti) whence the designation Mahāsaṅghikas as distinguished from the orthodox monks, the Theravādins (Sthaviravādins). Thus occurred the first schism in the Saṅgha which divided the original Buddhism into two primitive schools—the Theravāda and the Mahāsaṅghika. This schism was followed by a series of schisms, and in course of time several sub sects branched off from these two sects. The Theravāda was split up into twelve sub-sects while the Mahāsaṅghika into six. In the history of the secession of sects the Sarvāstivāda branched off from the Theravāda, the most orthodox sect of Buddhism.

<sup>1</sup> According to the Tibetan and Chinese traditions the Council was convened because of the differences of opinion among the monks in regard to five dogmas propounded by Mahādeva.



The Sanskrit tradition speaks of Aśoka's adherence to the Sarvāstivāda sect towards the later part of his life. Aśoka, apprehending that the Theravāda might be supplanted by the new sects which seceded from it, convened a council under the guidance of Moggaliputta Tissa. The monks, who subscribed to the views of the Theravāda, were recognised as orthodox and the rest as unorthodox. The unorthodox monks left Magadha and went to Kashmir-Gandhara. They occupied a prominent place there and subsequently came to be known as the Sarvāstivādins. Through their activities Kashmir became the centre of Buddhist philosophical studies in Northern India.

Kaniṣka was a great patron of the Sarvāstivādins. He was as great a patron of Buddhism as King Aśoka and his name is familiar to the Buddhists as that of Aśoka. He used to read the Buddhist scriptures in his leisure time with a monk, but was much puzzled at the conflicting interpretations of the different sects. He convened a council to reconcile the varying opinions. Monks of different sects participated in the council—the Sarvāstivādins, of course, forming the majority. Monks assembled there, settled the texts of the canonical literature and composed extensive commentaries on them. We are told that the texts were engraved on copper plates and deposited inside a tope. But unfortunately, they have not yet been traced. The main object of the council was to prepare commentaries on the canonical literature with a view to reconciling the varying interpretations of the different sects. It also bears witness to the literary and religious activities of the Sarvāstivāda sect and is of great value from the point of view of the history of religion and literature.

The Sarvāstivāda sect was the most widely spread group of sects in India. It was the sect that continued to flourish widely long after the Theravāda sect had been cut off from its Indian home. It had also to bear the brunt of the battle against the Mahāyāna sect. Nāgārjuna, the founder of the Mādhyamika system made the main target of attack of the Sarvāstivāda views in his propounding the subtle philosophy of Sūnyatā.

From the Chinese and Tibetan translations as also from the manuscript fragments discovered in Central Asia, Nepal and Gilgit (Kashmir) and from the quotations found in the *Lalitavistara*, *Mahāvastu*, *Divyāvadāna*, *Abhidharmakośa*, *Mādhyamakavṛtti* and the like it appears that the Sarvāstivādins had a canon of their own in Sanskrit in three divisions—Sūtra, Vinaya and Abhidharma. But a complete copy of this canon is still a desideratum.

The Sūtrapīṭaka of the Sarvāstivādins was divided into four parts, viz. *Dirghāgama*, *Madhyamāgama*, *Samyuktāgama* and *Ekottarāgama* answering to the Pāli *Dīghanikāya*, *Majjhimanikāya*, *Samyuttanikāya* and *Aṅguttaranikāya*. The Sarvāstivādins had no fifth Āgama corresponding to the Pāli *Khuddakanikāya*. But the texts such as, the *Sūtranipāṭa*, *Udāna*, *Dharmapada*, *Sthaviragāthā*, *Vimānavastu*, and *Buddhavamsa* corresponding to the Pāli *Suttanipāṭa*, *Udāna*, *Dhammapada*, *Theragāthā*, *Vimānavastu* and *Buddhavamsa* were subsequently collectively designated as the *Kṣudrakanikāya*.

The Vinayapīṭaka of the Sarvāstivāda sect contains the following four divisions :—

- (i) Vinaya-vibhaṅga,
- (ii) Vinayavastu,
- (iii) Vinaya-kṣudrakavastu, and
- (iv) Vinaya-uttaragrantha.

The Vinaya-vibhaṅga corresponds to the Pāli *Suttavibhaṅga*, the Vinayavastu to the *Khandakas*, i.e. the *Mahāvagga* and the portions of the *Cullavagga*, the *Vinaya-kṣudrakavastu* and the *Vinaya-uttaragrantha* to the *Cullavagga* and *Parivārapāṭha* respectively.

The Sarvāstivādins had seven Abhidharma texts like the Theravādins. They are all available in Chinese translations only. Manuscript fragments of the Sūtra and the Vinaya literature of this school are now available in original Sanskrit, but unfortunately, no fragment of any of the Abhidharma texts in Sanskrit, excepting a small fragment of the *Śaṅgītiparyāya*, has as yet been discovered. Until the discovery of the original Sanskrit works, the Chinese translations are the only source of our information.

The seven Abhidharma texts of the Sarvāstivāda sect are :—

- (i) *Jñānaprasthānasūtra* of Ārya Kātyāyaniputra,
- (ii) *Śaṅgītiparyāya* of Mahākauṣṭhila,
- (iii) *Prakaranapāda* of Sthavira Vasumitra,
- (iv) *Vijñānakāya* of Sthavira Devasarmā,
- (v) *Dhātukāya* of Pūrṇa,
- (vi) *Dharmaskandha* of Ārya Śāriputra, and
- (vii) *Prajñāptiśāstra* of Ārya Maudgalyāyana.

Of them, the *Jñānaprasthānasūtra* occupies the most prominent place. It is the principal text of the Sarvāstivāda sect ; others are supplements to it.

In addition to the seven Abhidharma texts, this sect had a few other philosophical texts. But they are not available in original

Sanskrit. They are preserved either in Chinese or Tibetan or in both.

The Sarvāstivāda sect, as already observed, originated from the Theravāda sect—the most orthodox sect of Buddhism. So it has a fair agreement on matters of doctrine. The term Sarvāstivāda means 'all exists' (Sabham atthi). It is this belief which has given this sect the appellation 'Sarvāstivāda'. It advocates the doctrine that all things exist at all times—present, past and future. It means that the past and future exist in the present. In other words, it upholds that the present has its root in the past and consequence in the future. Thus the present contains the pastness and futurity of an object. In the *Kathāvatthu* is found the plain meaning of the term Sarvāstivāda. According to it the Sarvāstivāda maintains that everything exists everywhere, at all times and in every way. It is obviously associated with the implications of Trikālavāda on which there was a fierce controversy in ancient India not only in the Buddhist schools of thought but also among the Naiyāyikas, Vaiyākaraṇas, Sāṃkya-Yogins and the like. The Satkārya view of the Sāṃkya system is also basically allied to the Sarvāstivāda in certain respects.

# THE ETERNAL VALUES OF THE VEDIC CULTURE

DR. MATILAL DAS, M.A., B.L., PH.D.

The Vedic faith remains even to-day a living vital force, an organic unity, which derives its excellence and power from the inner rhythm of our being. It is a totality of religious experience which has stood the stress and stain of more than six millenniums of spiritual quest and endeavour.

Many wrongly believe it to be a mere medley of rites and a museum of rituals and ceremonies. Had it been so, it could not have that perennial beauty and that rich multiplicity which flowers from the profound awareness experienced so deeply in spiritual life.

It has never degenerated into hard sheaths and shells in which the mind and spirit are cramped and suffocated and we are emptied of our wholeness and our meaning in life. Even in the darkest days of national life, the deep centre of being, the eternal Reality had been the mainspring of our culture and upon that faith, our heroes and saints have fought and struggled to bring about a coherent and creative individual life and social order.

It has been the dynamic life-giving movement, which through all changes and revolutions kept up the aspiration to achieve perfection here on this earth and to have self-realization, through supreme sacrifice and infinite love. Our entrance into the deepest mystery of spiritual life has been through a whole-hearted surrender to and acceptance of the vedic faith.

Man must be reborn in order to return to the cosmic totality and unity from which he has been separated. This separation is due to ignorance which results from one identification in the I-ness and selfish desires. The Brihadāranyaka says in a couplet : when all the desires that throb in the heart of his heart are destroyed, then the mortal man becomes immortal and attains Brahma in this world. The history of Indian culture has been all through the different ages an attempt to adjust one-self to the realisation of this Vedic ideal.

The vitality and the survival value proves the innate greatness and excellence of the vedic culture. Its unique capacity to adjust itself to the varying needs of changed times and circumstances has assured its continuity.

The Vedic faith has stood for a clarion call to mankind to have a better, richer, healthier and more abundant life. Because of this its appeal has been infallible and irresistible.

Vasistha, the great sage prays for a life of hundred autumns. He says :—‘May we look at that bright eye of the firmament, the dazzling sun for a hundred autumns. He rises for the glory of the gods and to further the cause of progress. May we live for a hundred autumns.’ But mere dragging on of life, through a lengthening chain of sorrows and sufferings is not a cheering ideal. It is living in joy and abundance of vitality, that is of value to us. Strong in body and soul, we must live a life of power and beauty, with the head held high, why for hundred years alone, we may live for more than that allotted span of life. The Yajurveda therefore asks for a free life :—‘May we for a hundred year look upon the bright sun, rising each day in splendour and sacrifice, we must have a long life of a century, hearing the best of things and expressing them in words of Truth and Beauty. Let us be not inferior beings but let us have eminence and glory, yea, even beyond a hundred autumns.’

As we come down to the Atharva Veda, the ideal is expanded and there is a prayer for a long radiant life, we get there :—‘May we have real insight for a hundred autumns, living a rich and joyous life. May we develop our knowledge more and more and may we climb upward and upward in infinite rich possibilities. Let us have growth and development each moment of our life into a vastness which knows no limits. Let us have the highest intellect for a hundred years. Let us be established in paths of rectitude and order and let us move onward and onward into newer growths, why for a hundred autumns only. It must be for longer than a century.

It amply proves that the Vedic ideal is not a life-negating philosophy. It does not support other-worldiness and renunciation, we must seek for immortality in the midst of the fever and fret of this world, in the heat and dust of this commonplace life. The Vedic quest is therefore a search for reality in not abstract contemplation but in active life.

There is another reason for its survival, which is the outcome of its peculiar outlook towards religion and philosophy. Religion to the Vedic seer is no pursuit of fixed intellectual beliefs. It is not mere creed and dogma but in its real depths is the illumination of our intuitive faculty and an actual experience of the Truth and inward realisation of what is to be learnt. It is ‘darshan’ insight into reality and is therefore self-certifying in its character, though it requires the text of logical thought for convincing the ‘Sadhaka’ about the certitude, the reality of his spiritual experiences.

According to the Vedic seers, man must be thought of not as matter but as a living image of the Divine and as an ever-growing individual. As a spark of the divine fire, man depends radically and in every respect on the Love which created him and the Divine Love, which so to say is in his bones, creates in him the longing for friendship with the highest.

The Vedas therefore register the intuitions of seers. They are no dogmatic dicta by any religious dictator. They are transcripts from a sweet and sacred life, devoted to the highest.

Even today, we are capable of re-experiencing them on compliance with the rigid path of 'Sādhanas'.

It is a God-led world—that is the vision of the Vedic poets and dreamers. The basis for such a spiritual life is on absolute moral standards. In the white Yajurveda there is an excellent prayer to Agni, the god of fire.

'O thou God of splendour and light, protect me from the evil path of moral depravity. Let me ascend higher in the path of integrity and rectitude. I must follow in the footsteps of the divine beings and shall rise higher and higher in divine glory.'

Spiritual life is therefore a life of moral purity and sincere right conduct. Innumerable are the disciplines prescribed for elevating the soul so that it may reach the goal of divine perfection.

But the real goal of the spiritual aspirant is god-realisation. We must surrender ourselves to Him and be conscious of His presence in all our activities. One must permit His grace to purify, vitalise and transform each and every part of his being.

In a prayer to Indra, the great sage Vāmadeva speaks in eloquent words : "Be thou our saviour, be our dear and near one, looking after and sharing your love to your worshippers.

Friend, father, fathereiest of fathers, give to thy loving devotee a wide world where we can move freely and have vital power."

We must invite God who is so loving and merciful to take us up and transform us into His radiant and blissful children, we must long for him with intense love and devotion.

Sincere faith in God who is both immanent and transcendent enables man to be a real participant in eternity and to obtain immortality here in this world. Life is fleeting—all are in perpetual flux. The only enduring thing is God.

Unless you know God and have Him, your life is vain and purposeless. Therefore cling to Him in all your work. From the love-filled heart of man should rise songs of love and devotion.

We find in a beautiful hymn the following prayer :

"Sing, sing ye forth your songs of praise,

Sing, O Priyamedhas ;

Let children also sing

Chant the glory of Him who is a Refuge like the Castle.

Now loudly let the violin sound

the lute send its voice in the night,

Let the string send its tunes about  
to God is our hymn upraised."

The supreme achievement in human life is thus a whole-hearted surrender to Godhead, so that we can dwell permanently on the Divine plane in enjoyment of permanent bliss. God is the source of all strength, spiritual as well as physical, knowing Him and having Him we obtain a happy and good mind, skill and wisdom, joy and spiritual illumination. It is declared in unequivocal words that man must know the mighty being who shines in the refulgence beyond the sphere of darkness. By knowing Him alone one surpasses death. There is no other way to attain Him. This is the quintessence of Vedic Illumination. Man must realise Him in all His perfection and thereby have the highest bliss, peace and harmony.

# THE SINO-PAK AGREEMENT (1963) AND THE TREND OF RELATION BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND CHINA SINCE 1947 UP TO THE RECENT TIMES

RATNA DUTTA, M.A.

*Lecturer, S. S. Jalan Girls' College, Calcutta*

The Sino-Pak boundary agreement signed by the foreign ministers of the two countries on 2nd March, 1963, perplexed the diplomats of Asian countries including India. Pakistan's new found cordiality with China has become a matter of great concern specially in the context of the recent Chinese invasion of India's border regions.

The recent Sino-Pak treaty is not a sudden development; it was just a milestone in a process which had begun perhaps about a decade ago but of which the end is not yet seen. Pakistan's attitude towards India is the principal determinant of her defence and foreign policies. The continuance of several disputes with India, the memories of the circumstances under which Pakistan was created as well as her territorial contiguity with India combined to present India to her as the greatest enemy. This impelled her to seek an alliance either with the Anglo-American Bloc or alternately with the communist bloc.

Actually, Pakistan started its independent career as a neutral. But towards the beginning of 1953, the foreign policy of Pakistan, unlike that of India, became one of fairly close association with the United States and the Western Bloc. This departure of Pakistan from its neutral stand was caused by factors which had been in existence during the preceding years. Mountbatten's acceptance of the Kashmir accession to India, and Pakistan's failure to invoke the Commonwealth's interference in her dispute with India during the period 1947-52, had disappointed Pakistan. This trend of relationship reached a climax when the Commonwealth Prime Ministers decided finally in April, 1949, in favour of India's retaining Commonwealth membership as a Republic. Moreover towards the end of 1952 Pakistan had to face grave economic crisis. Naturally at that time Pakistan stood in dire need of the friendship of a big power. The U.S.A. as the leader of the Western group came forward to help Pakistan with her enormous military and economic resources. In this context several U.S. inspired military pacts and agreements were concluded by Pakistan, with the United States and other Western Powers in 1954 and 1955. Thus Pakistan aligned herself to the Western Bloc.

Recently a shift in favour of the Communist countries especially the Communist China, has been noted in her foreign policy. Pakistan's refusal



to attend the anti-Communist Asian Conference at Manila in the year 1961, her recent efforts to seat Communist China in the United Nations in the year 1960, and the conclusion of the recent Sino-Pak boundary agreement and Sino-Pak Air Agreement are some of the pointers to the new shift. This reappraisal of policies in Pakistan and the shift in her foreign policy in favour of Communist China resulted partially from Pakistan's fear about the future of U.S. role in Asia after the change-over to the Kennedy administration in the United States in 1961. America's large and growing aid to India and prompt military aid given to India in the wake of the Chinese invasion in October, 1962, had increased Pakistan's security problem enormously. The Pakistani President F. M. Mohammed Ayub Khan told an American Broadcasting Company correspondent in an interview for television broadcast in Karachi on January 6, 1963, that his "Country's future role in the SEATO and CENTO alliances is quite uncertain as a result of India's military build-up." Many Pakistanis felt that the price paid for the alliance with the West was too high for the benefit received. In any case the drift that is discernible in Pakistan's attitude towards the Communist Bloc, highlights a new trend of her foreign policy.

Pakistan's possible alignment with the Communist World particularly with China is a fact of historic significance. It has been the traditional belief of the people of Pakistan that left to itself communism cannot thrive in Pakistan. "It had no chance as a rival to the Islamic ideology" stated the former Prime Minister Mohammad Ali. The basic values and Philosophies of life of communism and Islam are contradictory. "Only an infantile optimist would believe that there can be any permanent reconciliation between Communism and Islam."<sup>1</sup> Ideology is not an important determinant of Pakistan's foreign policy. Even when Pakistan was in the nebulous stage, its possible association with the Communist World was forecast by the former Prime Minister Firoz Khan Noon. He announced before partition that "if the Hindus give us Pakistan and freedom, then, Hindus are our best friends. If the British give it to us, the British are our best friends. But if neither will give it to us, then Russia is our best friend."<sup>2</sup> Thus what might appear to us as opportunism in Pakistan's foreign policy has to the Pakistan Government been nothing more than the application of a fundamentally independent policy reflecting the changing needs of the nation and changing conditions of international relations.

The process of the change in Sino-Pak relations had begun long ago, only the World caught up with it recently. As a matter of fact, from the very beginning Pakistan far from being hostile to China or at best neutral, has been quite friendly in her relations with Communist China.

Taking into account the geographical proximity of Pakistan to Communist China, and considering the interests of its own security as well as

<sup>1</sup> Dawn, May 6, 1964.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in A. B. Rajput, "The Muslim League Yesterday and to-day" (Lahore, 1945), p. 100.

the interests of preserving peace in their region of Asia, the Pakistan Government established diplomatic relations with Communist China soon after it was established. The emergence of the Chinese People's Republic was a fact of considerable significance for her more so because Pakistan has a common frontier with a Part of Sinkiang. In January, 1950, Pakistan extended de jure recognition to the new government and at the same time withdrew recognition from the Kuomintang regime. In July, 1951, Major General Nawabzada Agha Mahammed Raza was appointed the first Pakistani Ambassador to the Chinese Government, Pakistan, having hitherto been represented in Peking by a Charge'd Affairs. During the Korean crisis, the Pakistani attitude wavered. In the beginning, she supported the United Nations operation in Korea, but she abstained from voting on the U.S. sponsored resolution on February 1, 1951, declaring China as an aggressor after Chinese intervention in the War.

The foreign policy of Pakistan during the period 1953-1959 represents a gradual shift towards alignment with the United States and the Western bloc. In order to gain firm sympathy and support of the Western bloc and the United States in her rivalry with India, Pakistan concluded bi-lateral agreements in February, 1954, and March, 1959, with the United States according to the latter certain facilities for military bases. Towards the beginning of 1954, Pakistan joined the SEATO on 8th September, 1954, and became a member of Baghdad Pact in 1955.

But this stand of Pakistan did not prevent the development of friendly relations with China. Pakistan was one of the five so-called Colombo Powers which met early in 1954 to define a common policy for South East Asia. She attended the Bandung Afro-Asian Conference of April 18, 1955. There she was on the side of those who advocated and defended association with the West and who were out-spoken in their criticism of Communist imperialism. But Chou-En-Lai's conduct at Bandung had really done much to convince even such a strong supporter of American policy as Mohammed Ali Bogra that at least for the near future China sincerely wanted peace. On his part Mohammed Ali assured Chou-En-lai that though a party to the SEATO Pakistan was not against China and did not fear Chinese aggression against her. "Should the United States take aggressive action under this Treaty or launch a global war, Pakistan would not be involved in it just as she was not involved in the Korean War."<sup>3</sup>

Through this explanation, Pakistan and China achieved mutual understanding and agreement.

Prime Minister Mohammed Ali, who returned to Karachi from Bandung on April 28, 1955, told correspondents at the air-port that Pakistan's rela-

<sup>3</sup> Meturnan, George Kapin—"Asian African Conference, Bandung—Indonesia, April, 1955," Page 4.

tions with China would be "more friendly"<sup>4</sup> as a result of his meeting with Mr. Chou-En-lai at the Bandung Conference.

In this atmosphere of cordiality, friendly exchanges were followed up by the visits of the two Prime Ministers of Pakistan and China in the year 1956.

Mr. Suhrawardy, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, visited Peking at the Chinese Government's invitation from October 18 to 29, 1956, during which he had discussions with President Mao-Tse-tung and the Chinese Prime Minister Chou-En-lai.

A joint statement issued by the two Prime Ministers on October 23, 1956, said that the talks held in an atmosphere of cordiality "had covered a wide range of subjects and had contributed greatly to the strengthening of the existing friendly relations between the two countries". They reaffirmed their faith in the resolutions adopted at the Bandung Conference and their readiness to promote friendly co-operation among the Asian and African countries. As a result of the talks, they had reached a further appreciation of their respective problems and were prepared to do their best to facilitate their settlement on the basis of peace and justice.

"They are convinced that with good-will and sincerity, there are no international disputes that cannot be settled in a peaceful manner."<sup>5</sup>

In the same year, the Chinese Prime Minister Chou-En-lai flew to Karachi on December 20 from Rangoon on a ten-day official return visit to Pakistan.

In a speech at the air-port he said that "through free and frank exchange of views on problems of common interest friendship between China and Pakistan would be strengthened."<sup>6</sup>

The two Prime Ministers signed on December 24, 1956, a joint statement renewing pledge of friendship between the two countries. In this joint communique it was stated :

"The Prime Ministers are of the view that the difference between the political systems of Pakistan and China and divergence of views on many problems should not prevent the strengthening of friendship between these two countries. They are confident that the present visit has further consolidated the bonds of friendship existing between China and Pakistan."<sup>7</sup>

After all this expression of Sino-Pak friendship the most unusual diplomatic act of Pakistan was its vote favouring postponement of the seating of China in the United Nations during 1957-60 which ran contrary to earlier policy.

The year 1959-60 provided a new prospective to Indo-Pakistan relations. The Tibetan revolt in March, 1959, leading to the flight of the Dalai Lama to India, the immediate context of the India-China border incidents in the Nefa region, suspected Chinese designs in the Himalayan States of Bhutan

<sup>4</sup> The Statesman, Calcutta, April 29, 1955, Page 3.

<sup>5</sup> The Statesman, Calcutta, October 24, 1956, Page 7.

<sup>6</sup> The Statesman, Calcutta, December 21, 1956, Page 1.

<sup>7</sup> The Statesman, Calcutta, 25th December, 1956, Page 1.

and Sikkim and the wide-spread propaganda about the Sinkiang-Tibet highway were some of the courses of this new prospective. On May 3, 1959, General Ayub Khan suggested Indo-Pakistan co-operation for the defence of the sub-continent in the event of an external threat.

On May 10, General Ayub Khan again assured that India could still remain neutral after joining hands with Pakistan for the defence of the sub-continent. He added that the solution of the Kashmir and canal water problem would be pre-requisite to such a pact. On 1st March, 1960, the World Bank announced that an agreement would be reached between India and Pakistan on the Indus Basin Project. It should be remembered here that the sharing of the waters of the Indus system had been a source of continual friction between these countries since 1947. The long disputed Indus Basin Treaty was actually signed on 19th September, 1960.

But these were nothing but certain short spells of friendly gestures shown towards India by Pakistani leader. It should be noted here that the question of the Sino-Pak border agreement gained importance in the year 1959. Certain Chinese maps regarding the Sino-Pak border came into the possession of the Pakistan Government. The official Pakistani maps show the entire border of Jammu and Kashmir with Tibet and the Chinese Sinkiang as undefined. Of the Pakistani occupied part of Kashmir, Baltistan and Hunza have common frontiers with China running into several hundred miles. Outside this region Pakistan does not have common frontier with China needing definition or demarcation. It might be remembered that while Soviet Union gave open support to India's legal claim over the whole of Kashmir, China reserved her judgment on the matter so long.

It was widely presumed that China might have agreed to accept Pakistan's claim to the whole or part of Jammu and Kashmir. This change in the foreign policy of Pakistan may have resulted from Pakistan's fear of prospective U.S. military aid to India in the context of Chinese aggression. Pakistan was also dissatisfied with the fact that the U.S. aid which Pakistan had received could only be used in the event of aggression by communist country and not against India.

On January 15, 1961, the foreign Minister Mr. Manzoor Quadir told the Peshwar University students that China had agreed in principle to the demarcation of her border with Pakistan.<sup>9</sup>

The statement of Mr. Manzoor Quadir implied that China had served notice on India that she did not recognize India's de jure sovereignty over Kashmir by virtue of the 1947 instrument of accession. The only border that Pakistan has with China is the occupied Kashmir. This extends over a distance of 300 miles from the cease-fire line at a point some 75° west of Karakoram Pass to the tri-junction of the boundaries of Kashmir, Sinkiang and Afghanistan.

<sup>9</sup> The Statesman, Calcutta, 16th January, 1961, Page 1.

In expressing willingness to negotiate with Pakistan on this issue, Peking in effect seems to have given de jure recognition to Pakistan's de facto occupation of "Azad Kashmir."

Unlike Soviet Union, China had never positively accepted India's de jure sovereignty over Kashmir. When the Chinese Prime Minister Mr. Chou-En-lie visited Pakistan in the year 1956, he re-iterated that Kashmir issue should be settled between India and Pakistan through direct negotiation. He said that he had discussed this question with Pakistan's Prime Minister Mr. Suhrawardy when he visited China and had come to the conclusion that it required a detailed study before forming an opinion. He was studying it and would be able to form his opinion later. When India referred the question of demarcating the border of "Azad Kashmir" during the meetings of Indian and Chinese officials, China was not keen to discuss it. The Prime Minister Nehru told a news conference in Delhi—on January 18, 1961, as regards the Chinese attitude, his impression was that in the past when India referred to that portion of the border, China was not keen to discuss it and "we do not press the matter." (Asian Recorder, 1961, Pp. 3831). The fact that China was prepared to initiate border talks with Pakistan in January, 1961, seemed to indicate a new approach, at least a partial reversal of its earlier attitude in the matter.

This is an interesting development of Peking's thesis about "recognition of present actualities" earlier advocated by the Prime Minister of China Chou-En-lai in respect of the Sino-Indian border question.

On May 3, 1962, it was announced that Pakistan and the People's Republic of China had agreed to open negotiations to locate and align their common border and to sign an agreement of a provisional nature on this basis.<sup>10</sup>

The announcement said "with a view to ensuring tranquility on the border and developing good neighbourly relations between the two countries, the two sides have agreed to conduct negotiations so as to attain an agreed understanding on the location and alignment of this boundary and to sign on this basis an agreement of provisional nature."<sup>11</sup>

In simultaneous protest lodged with Pakistan and China on May 10, 1962, the Indian Government warned both the countries about the grave consequences of the agreement entered into by them "to locate and align their common border."<sup>12</sup>

In its note, dated May 31, 1962, China categorically rejected India's objection to the Sino-Pak border talks over the Kashmir area.

But the provisional agreement between the Government of China and Pakistan made it clear that after the settlement of the dispute between Pakistan and India over Kashmir "the sovereign authorities concerned shall re-open negotiations with the Chinese Government on the question

<sup>10</sup> The Statesman, Calcutta, May 4, 1962, Page 7.

<sup>11</sup> The Statesman, Calcutta, May 4, 1962, Page 7.

<sup>12</sup> The Statesman, Calcutta, 2nd June, 1962, Page 2.

of the Kashmir boundary so as to conclude a formal boundary treaty to replace the provisional agreement to be signed after the Sino-Pak negotiations."

This move of Pakistan was sheer "opportunism" and was motivated by political reasons. Much of the disappointment and annoyance that we in India have been experiencing in the recent years is due to Pakistan's eagerness to capitalise on our troubles with Communist China. But these developments regarding the Sino-Pak Border agreement are by no means the end of the story.

Talks were again started in Peking on October 12, 1962, between the diplomatic representatives of the People's Republic of China and Pakistan in pursuance of the decision of the two governments on conducting negotiations on the boundary of China's Sinkiang and the contiguous areas, the defence of which is the responsibility of Pakistan.

The two parties were apparently highly satisfied with the speedy attainment of agreement on the boundary question.

In the year 1963, as a result of India's military build up with the Anglo-American support in the context of Chinese invasion the Government of Pakistan posed that they felt most insecure. The Pakistan President F. M. Mohammad Ayub Khan said in Karachi on January 6, 1963 "with so much creation of military power in India and enlargement of the military forces, we really are very heavily committed how to defend our territories."<sup>13</sup>

Pakistan was perhaps motivated by these considerations and the Sino-Pakistan border pact was signed by the foreign ministers of China and Pakistan on the 2nd March, 1963.

Referring to China, Sri Nehru said that it was directly interfering in the differences between India and Pakistan on the Kashmir question so as to further its expansionist policy.

The rapid economic expansion of India and the inadequacy of Pakistan's resources to guarantee her security in the context of her relations with India and the change in the present balance of power might be suggested as a plausible explanation for such a trend of relation between Pakistan and China. In a speech at the National Assembly of Pakistan delivered on 17th July, 1963, Foreign Minister Butto had said: "In the event of a war, Pakistan would not be alone. Pakistan would be helped by the most powerful nation in Asia. War between India and Pakistan involves the territorial integrity and security of the largest State in Asia."<sup>14</sup>

In the context of this friendly urge Prime Minister Chou-En-lai's visit to Pakistan took place (18th February, 1964). The Chinese Prime Minister had an enthusiastic reception during his eight-day visit to Pakistan. At the air-port, Chinese Prime Minister Chou-En-lai said that "in the days to come the Chinese people will continue to advance hand-in-hand with

<sup>13</sup> The Statesman, Calcutta, 7th January, 1963.

<sup>14</sup> Dawn, 18th July, 1963.

the Pakistan people in the common cause of promoting Asian-African solidarity and defending world peace."<sup>15</sup>

Replying to the welcome address by President Ayub Khan, Mr. Chou-En-lai at Rawalpindi declared that the "Chinese people will march forward shoulder to shoulder with Pakistan people in the struggle to promote Asian-African solidarity and defend world peace."

After the talks in Rawalpindi the two leaders expressed their desire to resolve the Kashmir dispute in accordance with the wishes of the people of Kashmir as pledged to them by India and Pakistan.

In the Pakistani eyes, the possibilities for a continued expansion of India in Asia are almost limitless. A weak military resistance could only be offered by some Asian States while Pakistan herself was pre-occupied with internal problems. Though Communist China can provide little economic aid to Pakistan, China's military support may be an asset to Pakistan in her intransigent position vis-a-vis India. Therein lies the possibility of continued hobnobbing with Communist China by the Muslim theocratic regime rulers of Pakistan.

<sup>15</sup> Pakistan Times, 19th February, 1964.



# A RE-APPRAISAL OF 'NON-ALIGNMENT'

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The brutal and naked aggression launched by communist China on India in 1962, in flagrant violation of all principles of international law and all canons of justice, posed the greatest danger—pressure on India to give up non-alignment and make her feel the “bankruptcy” of this policy. A deliberate attempt to discredit non-alignment was evident and the technique utilized was to project the Sino-Indian conflict itself as sufficient reason of non-alignment's unworkability. But this points to a basic misunderstanding of the sinews of non-alignment. Nehru's death raised grave doubts in certain quarters as to whether India's policy of non-alignment would be sincerely pursued. Of course, the New Government of India headed by Mr. Shastri has made it clear that his Government is committed to Nehru's policy of non-alignment. A dynamic re-appraisal of this policy in the light of recent happenings and present international situation is, therefore, necessary.

India's basic policy of non-alignment is being challenged today by an orthodox and also by the Sectarian Communist leadership. The challenge is a deliberate attempt to discredit this basic policy of India. In this connection, it is pertinent to note that there is an inner struggle within the World Communist movement between the Sectarian dogmatists and the liberal rationalist groups. The object of the dogmatists is polarization of the world into hostile camps. One of the principal obstacles to the realization of this objective is the growing influence of non-alignment as a balancing force, among the emerging new states of Africa and Asia. A further obstacle to the Sectarian attempt is the increasing readiness on the part of the two Super-powers in the World—the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.—to accommodate non-alignment and to admit that it plays a constructive and useful role in the world today. Both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. are convinced that non-alignment is a force working on the side of peace.

For example, it is noteworthy that the United States and Britain, which rushed arms aid to India, did not demand alignment as a price for their help. It is really amazing that while these two big powers have not insisted nor in fact have wished that India should give up her policy of non-alignment, it is only the critics of this policy at home who advocate India entering into military pacts with the West. The American opinion seems to be that India need not do anything that would embitter her relations with the Soviet Union and that would draw the Soviet Union and



China closer, in spite of their bitter ideological rift. This opinion has been recently expressed by two American Scholars, Lloyd I. Rudolph and Susanne H. Rudolph of the Harvard University in a communication in the *New York Times* of November 28, 1962. Thus, if India's policy of non-alignment can help prevent Russia from being manoeuvred into a position of full support for the Chinese, both Indian and American interests will be served. The new American administration under President Kennedy gave indications of this major change in the American attitude towards non-alignment. Mr. Adlai Stevenson, the new American Ambassador to the United Nations, declared at his First Press Conference in New York in January 1960<sup>1</sup> that the new American Government would make no distinction between the aligned and non-aligned nations but would seek the best relations with both. Mr. Stevenson went on to say that the United States would henceforth respect non-alignment and neutrality and would approach the United Nations as a forum not for fighting the cold war but for ending it.

On the other hand, India's policy of non-alignment drew sympathy for her from the Communist countries, which not only extended their moral support to India but also vigorously censured—and in some cases even condemned the Chinese aggression. This fact can be proved by the statements of some of the towering Communist leaders at the very recent East German Communist Party Congress at East Berlin. India's policy of non-alignment has not only been responsible for keeping the Soviet Union away from supporting Red China in its aggressive and expansionist venture to the south of the Himalayas, but has also enabled her to get the promised MIG's from the Soviet Government together with the establishment of a factory for their manufacture in this country. It is because of her policy of non-alignment that India has been able to continue diplomatic efforts to persuade the U.S.S.R. to apply its greatest pressure on restraining aggressive China by denying her oil and war material, and thus secure Soviet non-intervention. Today, the Soviet Union has come much closer to India than ever before. She has even invited and warmly received a high-level defence mission from India, which, as the report indicates, has successfully completed its task. The political significance of this new Soviet promise is as much important—or, perhaps, more important than its military implications. As India is receiving military aid from both the blocs in this hour of crisis, her policy of non-alignment stands fully vindicated. Had India discarded her policy of non-alignment and joined the Western military alliance straightway, she would not have been able to enlist sympathy of the Communist countries of the world. Very recently Mr. S. A. Dange, the Communist leader of India, after his tour of Communist countries of

<sup>1</sup> The speech of Mr. Stevenson reported in "Against the Cold War"—by Chanakya Sen, p. 199. Publisher: Asia Publishing House.

Europe said that India's non-alignment policy was successful in isolating China from other Communist countries.

In this connection, it must not be overlooked that non-alignment policy has proved to be a very valuable investment in the defensive apparatus of those countries which pursue it; because, the defence-potential is not solely a function of arms and ammunitions. It is also determined by a capacity to deny the adversary, the utilization of what he considered to be a permanent mainstay of her aggressive potential—whether military or diplomatic. It is crystal clear that because of India's policy of non-alignment, which has resulted in isolation of China from her Communist neighbour, the latter has been denied moral and material support of the U.S.S.R. This has been a great gain for India.

Another factor, which has been responsible for making the people of the U.S.A. more receptive towards India's policy of non-alignment is their realisation of India's political and economic stability to serve as an effective bulwark against the challenge of aggressive International Communism. While some of the U.S. allies have switched over to a military dictatorship, India stands as a symbol of democracy. They understood the advantages that a democratic India provided, in the maintenance of the same in the Afro-Asian continents, as against the mounting prestige of China as a Communist nation and that she may turn out to be a centre of attraction for the smaller nations of Asia. India can sustain their national interest in Asia, can turn into a show-piece for economic and political achievements in Asia through democratic methods. It is worth noting that one of the motives behind the Chinese expansion towards the Himalayas is her desire to hamstring India's economic growth based on democratic planning. This politico-economic stability, India can maintain only by pursuing a policy of non-alignment, which America now appreciates. A full-fledged military alliance would not only destroy India's standing for the uncommitted nations of Asia and Africa, but would also make her the hot-bed of international power-politics which would ultimately undermine her stability.

That non-alignment has stood the test of time, after being subjected to so many stresses and strains, would be evident from the Joint Communiqué of President Kennedy and President Radhakrishnan which expressed 'mutual defensive concern' of India and the U.S.A. at the Chinese threat against the sub-continent. It would also be evident from the Joint Communiqué issued by Prime Minister Mac Millan and President Kennedy which assured India of long-term Anglo-American military aid to build up her defence against any further Chinese aggression. Thanks to the policy of non-alignment, the uncertainty in regard to India's long term defence plan is now over with the promise of aid by the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union. The sympathy and support India has received in the present crisis from over sixty-five countries of the World has justified this policy. In this context, Mongolia's very recent and open support to India's non-

alignment policy has a special significance. For, none of the Communist or anti-communist countries, including the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., has openly supported her policy of non-alignment; they have rather maintained a neutral attitude in this respect by neither supporting nor opposing the policy. This open support from one of the closest allies of Russia serves as a further pointer to the basic soundness of India's foreign policy.

In spite of these basic facts supporting non-alignment, a question has been raised in some quarters: Does Chinese aggression on India call for a re-orientation in our foreign policy? Our answer to this question will depend on (i) whether our national interests have changed, (ii) whether non-alignment has proved to be an inadequate means of achieving them, and (iii) whether alignment is likely to achieve them better.

On the first, the answer is simple and clear: our national interests remain the same—preservation of our independence and stabilisation of our democracy. On the second, the answer is categorically in the negative. We have seen that the spontaneous and generous assistance given by Britain and the U.S.A. in the form of military equipment in our hour of need, has come even when we are non-aligned; further from all accounts, it is clear that those who are giving such assistance have not demanded alignment as a price. Again, the Soviet Union has not only kept her commitments of supplies, *e.g.* MIG's; there is an enormous fund of goodwill in that country and in other communist nations for India even when she is non-aligned and has been attacked by a Communist country. On the third, the answer is a bit difficult. And the little evidence that we have suggests caution before we go for a change-over to alignment, making it the cornerstone of our foreign policy. For if we are aligned, it must be, in the present context, with the western bloc, and such alignment will have two far-reaching significant consequences: (a) The Soviet Union will be against us. Is it not prudent at this juncture at least to keep the Soviet Union on the side of benevolent neutrality in our struggle with China? (b) It will sap the vitality of the nation by transferring a vital function of the defence of our territory to foreign personnel and resources.

A proper re-appraisal of non-alignment policy shows that it is a positive approach as it emanates from a positive objective of internal economic development and a keen desire for the preservation of world peace. As Prime Minister Nehru<sup>1</sup>, speaking on the radio in the United States in 1956 said: "The preservation of peace forms the central aim of India's policy. It is in the pursuit of this policy that we have chosen the path of non-alignment in any military or like pact or alliance. Non-alignment does not mean passivity of mind or action, lack of faith or conviction. It does not mean submission to what we consider evil. It is a positive and dynamic

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in the chapter on 'International Politics in Transition' in the book "Foundations of International Politics"—by Harold and Margaret Sprout, page 664.

approach to such problems as confront us." The fact that Nehru's non-alignment policy came to correspond with India's economic self-interest, gave it added vitality. It would, therefore, be erroneous to judge the success or otherwise of this policy from its practical application in regard to the relations with any one particular country. The policy of non-alignment should always be viewed from a broader perspective of world peace and India's role in preserving it. Even while examining our relations with any particular country, say, China, we must remember that because of this basic policy of our country, we have been able to prevent the precipitation of events resulting in a major conflict or war.

Experience since 1947 suggests that India has worked steadfastly for peace: whether in Korea, Indo-China or in the Suez. She raised her voice in support of peaceful methods of resolving points at dispute, and she did, at the request of the parties to the dispute, shoulder responsibilities which only a trusted non-aligned nation could be asked to take up. For example, it was because she was non-aligned that India was asked to head the Korean Commission. In other words, India's non-alignment policy has helped to create a climate for peace and to relax international tensions. Thus, in the belief that adjustments would always be possible between different systems, India, by being non-aligned, is acting as a balancing force and has succeeded on many occasions to save the world from a third world war.

This policy of India, however, should not be confused with neutrality. While neutrality means an absence of political consciousness and indicates a negative approach, India has always played, as we have seen, a positive role in international affairs. It is here that the constructive role of non-alignment policy proved its tremendous usefulness. Lastly, in the context of this positive role of non-alignment, it must be noted that the argument that an alignment with some power bloc would have helped India in her war with China, is not tenable if we take into account the cases of certain countries in Africa and the Middle East, which, through attachments to military powers, have become economic appendages and scenes of military coups. The policy of non-alignment on the other hand, besides helping India to develop an intrinsically sound economy, has prevented India from becoming a target of thermonuclear war even during the critical moments of her war with China. Further, experience of a number of Asian countries has shown that alignment does not necessarily lead to stability. Pakistan is a conspicuous example in this respect.

Non-alignment is still a vital force and it has now become an internationally respected modern political concept. It is in keeping with India's traditions, the needs of a developing economy and the requirements of international peace. The non-aligned policy has given India freedom to judge each issue on its own merit but it would be wrong to suggest that India is wholly non-committed. She is committed to the cause of freedom.

and peace. Replying to a question about India's policy of non-alignment President Dr. Radhakrishnan said in the U.S.A. in June, 1963, that India was "aligned to democracy, to freedom, to peaceful solution of outstanding disputes." That is why much encomium has been bestowed on this policy of non-alignment. Prof. George Edward Gordon Catlin, internationally known political historian extended strong support to this policy of non-alignment in the context of the present world situation. Talking to news men in Calcutta in the month of February, 1963, Prof. Catlin observed that the leadership of India at least in S.E. Asia would not have been practicable if the country had aligned decisively to either bloc. Then, Dr. Maksoud, representative of the League of Arab States in India, speaking to Patna Press Association in the month of February, 1963, highly complimented India's policy of non-alignment, saying that it neither meant isolation nor equidistance from both blocs. He added that resurgent nations could not unfold creative potentials until tensions relaxed. And to this end, India's policy of non-alignment has proved a great success.

But with the sudden entry of Communist China into the nuclear club, there has been a qualitative change in international situation. An extremely ominous development has taken place in international politics. For the present, the significance of this explosion is political rather than military. For some time past, China has been trying assiduously to consolidate her influence in South East Asia and in Africa. The extent of her success was manifest at the Cairo Conference of non-aligned countries. At Cairo, India stood isolated. No non-aligned power cared to extend even moral support to our cause against Chinese aggression. And it is almost certain that China's new position as a member of the nuclear club will serve as a stronger deterrent to the non-aligned nations in this respect. Thus, the success of China will now draw sustenance from the nuclear explosion. There is already a feeling of respectful fear of her growing power in some countries of Asia and Africa. As a result, some of the non-aligned nations in her periphery might find it safer to establish close contact with the new Asian Colossus than to claim full freedom of action in the sphere of foreign policy.

Our Defence Minister, Mr. Chavan did not exaggerate at all when he said that the Chinese explosion was an event of "grave consequence." Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri also rightly told<sup>1</sup> the nation that the Chinese effort to build up a "mighty war machine" and its recent action in exploding a nuclear device "are serious developments which India must take due notice of." We suddenly find ourselves in a new world, a world which Mr. Nehru did not see or contemplate. This change in international situation may compel us to develop our own nuclear weapons or to seek

<sup>1</sup> See the P.M.'s broadcast speech to the nation on the eve of National Solidarity Day, Published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* from Calcutta, dated the 20th October, 1964.

the guarantee of our territorial integrity against possible Chinese aggression by the Joint Declaration of U.K., U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. In either case, there would be serious strains on our policy of non-alignment. The former would heighten international tension, which may lead to shooting war. And the latter would make our territorial sovereignty dependent on foreign guarantee, affecting our independent foreign policy based on non-alignment.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasise that non-alignment can hope to survive so long as the cold war does not degenerate into a hot one. It is only as long as the two great powers do not actually come to a collision that non-alignment can act as a potent force. The precarious balance between the cold and the shooting wars projects an ever-deepening crisis before the eyes of the non-aligned states like India, U.A.R., etc. But here again, non-alignment is calculated to be helpful to our national interest. Because, in case a war breaks out between the two blocs, India can choose the side which is to her interest, not being tied by military alliances with countries of either bloc. Prime Minister Nehru's statement may be cited in support : " .....If there is a big war, there is no particular reason why we should jump into it. Nevertheless, it is a little difficult now-a-days in world wars to be neutral.....We are not going to join a war.....and we are going to join the side which is to our interest when the choice comes..... " But so long as a hot war does not break out, we must stick to this policy of non-alignment, and take all possible steps to build up a deterrent defence-potential against further aggression on our country.

# ECONOMIC EQUALITY AS A DEMOCRATIC IDEAL

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The concept of equality, thinks Laski<sup>1</sup>, is one of the most difficult ideas in the whole realm of political science. The multi-dimensional notion of equality as a social ideal is ever-changing. Since the time of the Sophists and the exponents of Stoicism right up to the present moment human mind has been unceasingly occupied with the thought of devising a suitable socio-economic as well as politico-legal arrangement wherein it would be possible to realize perfect equality in all its aspects. But strangely enough the proper meaning and connotation of this ideal has always eluded even the most farseeing of philosophers and social scientists. "Equality," says Barker, "is a Protean notion ; it changes its meaning and assumes new forms with a ready facility."<sup>2</sup> This resilient character of the ideal has given to it its wonderful surviving power. An indispensable part of the greater ideal of democracy, equality is no end in itself. Equality must reign so that democracy can survive and freedom can shower its benefits on man.

The root idea of democracy is equality, because it is only through the gateway of equality that we can hope to get on to the shrine of liberty and have a real taste of fraternity. Tocqueville and Lord Acton might have viewed liberty and equality as antithetic things, but the whole experience of human history testifies to just the opposite of the viewpoint. Liberty and equality are complementary ideas ; without equality, liberty is dangerously insecure. The 'titanic problem of reconciling Liberty with Equality'<sup>3</sup> must be squarely countenanced if democracy is to be vivacious and real. "A society is most likely to enjoy happiness and good will, and to turn both its human and material resources to the best account, if it cultivates as far as possible an equalitarian temper, and seeks by its institutions to increase equality."<sup>4</sup> Excepting few short-sighted individualists every democrat will endorse this view of Tawney, but nonetheless, differences, and on some points acute differences, do exist among the democrats regarding the degree and extent of emphasis to be put on different types and shades of the broader ideal of equality. The type of equality preached by the Stoics is vague, and that of St. Paul, in a word, inadequate.

1. Harold J. Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, p. 152.

2. Ernest Barker, *Principles of Social and Political Theory*, p. 151.

3. Lloyd, *Democracy and Its Rivals*.

4. Tawney, *Equality*, p. 35.



In the middle ages, equality was talked about on several occasions, but all that was interest-oriented. Rousseau and his revolutionary disciples preached equality, but it was a typical bourgeois clamour for equal share in the national wealth with the feudal nobility; it was expressed more as a hatred against feudal privileges than as desire for realising equality in every aspect of national life, politico-legal as well as socio-economic. The equalitarian elements in the French Declaration and the American Constitution were designed to be effective slogans for enlisting the support of the ordinary people for the bourgeois causes; they served as rhetorical battle-cries. In the heyday of Industrial Revolution and growth of Capitalism, it became miserably clear that equal opportunity for all was no longer there in society. A few enlightened minds became aware of this. The conversion of J. S. Mill who began his career as an earnest Benthamite but ended by recognising the necessity of state interference in social life, is a clear proof of this. It became more and more apparent in the nineteenth century English society that the incidence of poverty should be a responsibility of society as a whole. Poverty results not from individual faults or lethargy but from unequal sharing of the national wealth that began to accumulate in a huge proportion towards the end of the nineteenth century. Confronted with this situation, the social philosophers were forced to admit that natural equality of all men is vague, that legal equality is hopelessly inadequate, that political equality cannot be there, and social equality will remain a fond hope of the philosophers, unless and until economic equality can be achieved. Commensurate with the demands of the age, Matthew Arnold issued the warning. "A system founded on inequality is against nature, and, in the long run, breaks down."<sup>5</sup> In the field of social administration, this principle was recognised by the adoption of various social insurance measures which attempted to define some sort of a 'poverty floor' below which no one will be allowed to fall. By the time when all these measures were being experimented in the various western countries, the Soviet Union, after the October Revolution of 1917, began a new type of experiment whereby economic equality was sought to be realised through collectivist ownership of the means of production, and distribution of national product according to socialist principles. All these are attempts to strengthen the base of democracy which visualizes a form of government under which men may live out their lives free from the fear of want and oppression.

Democracy places its faith in the intrinsic value of human personality and the development of the capacities of personality in man is the final political value. This development of personality should take place in each alike and equally, but each along his/her own path of development and of his/her own individual motion. Economic equality is necessary

5. Matthew Arnold, 'On Equality' in his *Mixed Essays* (1903),



only to the degree and extent that it helps the individual to be well equipped for the task ahead—to develop his faculties to the utmost but always in harmony with the similar claims for development of others in the society. Hence economic equality turns out to be a derivative value, and, as Barker puts it, “what is derived must not divert or defeat the source from which it is derived.”<sup>6</sup>

If economic equality be defined as something leading to absolutely equal sharing of all kinds of wealth among all the individuals in the society, then it has found few defenders in the history of thought. Though economic equality as a characteristic catchword of the present time involves some levelling spirit, it is, in reality, far from dead uniformity. Neither the democratic socialists nor the Marxists have ever asserted that. As Crane Brinton<sup>7</sup> says, “Fourier and Saint Simon both repudiate equality of compensation; and even Marxism is concerned primarily with the rational organization of production rather than with the equalisation of consumer's wealth.” And among the westerners there are some people who question the very intrinsic desirability of having economic equality as an objective. Hence the proper place of economic equality as an ideal in the gamut of democracy requires careful analysis.

There are sharp differences of opinion on the lengths to which one should go to achieve economic equality. For the sake of convenience of discussion economic equality can be viewed in two parts—equality of wealth, and equality of income.

In the democracies of the West the individual enjoys the freedom to acquire, hold and accumulate property. Almost in every country, right to private property is regarded as fundamental, and many a legal battle has been fought on this issue. Hence there the very legal tenet helps create some inequality of possessions. When investment of such accumulations takes place, there will arise some inequality of income therefrom. This is inevitable, because people in different income brackets will have different disposition and different ability to save.

In the next place when, due to the institution of inheritance, transmission of property takes place at death, and different amounts of wealth is inherited by different individuals, the size of economic inequality becomes larger still. The imposition of high death duty, estate duty or property tax may be presumed to be an effective policy to counter this tendency. As a result, there will be some ‘cumulative influence of this continuous attrition’ of inherited wealth. This has been described by Lord Lionel Robbins<sup>8</sup> as “the great revolution of our time—a revolution under anaesthesia”. But one should also note that economic inequality

6. E. Barker, *op. cit.* p. 155.

7. *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, Vols. 5-8, p. 579.

8. Lord Lionel Robbins, *Equality As a Social Objective* (*Forum of Free Enterprise*), p. 14.

resulting from unequal inheritance cannot be outright eradicated through this method. That is to say, economic inequality in one of its major aspects cannot be eradicated so long as there is private saving and investment thereof, and individual inheritance of ancestral property. But to what extent this inequality will hinder the enjoyment of democratic rights is a debatable point. No democratic state has any right to abolish private saving unless it can offer social security in a very wide scale, and guarantee some of the prime necessities of life to its citizens. "Equality involves up to the margin of sufficiency," says Laski, "identity of response to primary needs."<sup>9</sup> It may be possible to satisfy these conditions if all the properties and means of production are owned by the society, but then the issue takes a political colour. It is argued that in such a situation spontaneity of enterprise will evaporate. What is more, there is every likelihood that we might have to exchange a bit of equality for the sake of a lot of liberty; in short, the remedy would seem to be much worse than the disease. In reply to this, it would be sufficient to point out that all liberties are not equally important and the error of the individualists is to treat them as if they were. It is in the last analysis a question of value judgment and there is bound to be differences of personal opinions.

The real debate however centres round the other aspect of economic equality, i.e., equality of income or the question of adjusting rewards with efforts. Here we shall separately examine the respective viewpoints of the Liberals and the Marxists.

To the western liberal thinkers the equality of income from work as an objective is not acceptable either from the point of view of expediency or from the point of view of ultimate ethics. First of all, human personalities are not, and cannot be, equal in their capacities, physical as well as intellectual. To guarantee each the same rewards for their varying capacities or abilities will necessarily mean loss in initiative and, as a result thereof, less production.

But this alone does not seem to be a very convincing ground for rejecting equalisation of income. It is fallacious to argue that individual's incentive to work and produce depends on the absolute amount of his earnings. Rather it depends on his relative position in the scale of income distribution and the interest he takes in his undertaking. Socialization of the economy and the general reduction in income disparities—these two measures are sure to increase the incentive of the workers to such an extent as to far outweigh any loss of productivity resulting from scaling down of a few high income-earners.

From the point of view of ultimate ethics, this principle has least to commend itself. The system of giving equal rewards to everyone is a virtual denial to the individuals contributing their best to the social pool, and

thus it strikes at the very foundation of democracy. A society where absolute economic equality reigns is bound to be immobile, static, and lifeless. Economic equality is demanded on the ground that sharp inequality of economic power among the people will necessarily weaken their social footing; the poor will have to pay unreasonable obedience to the rich on the point of starvation and that means he will be denied the first condition of effectively exercising his independent judgement. 'It is true that a society built on economic inequality cannot attempt to create necessary social institutions for the purpose of equal weighing of individual claims to happiness. But by adopting a policy of uniform pay to every individual we shall destroy the basic urge to develop one's personality, and thereby the very purpose of economic equality is defeated. In this connection Laski takes a reasonable stand when by equality of income he means "not the absence of varying rates of payment for effort, but only that rates of payment shall not so differ that merely by virtue of those differences men can exert an unequal pressure upon the fabric of institutions."<sup>10</sup>

This power of some individuals of exerting an unequal pressure upon the social structure is taken away right at the beginning by the Marxists. In the first stage of transition from capitalism to communism, instead of private ownership the means of production are socially owned, the motive force for production is changed from maximisation of private profit to social welfare and instead of 'commodity production' there takes place 'production of socially useful goods.' And regarding distribution of wealth Marx<sup>11</sup> straightforwardly rejects Lassalle's formula of giving 'the full product of his labour to the worker'. From the total social production there must be deduction on account of future expansion of production, wear and tear of machineries, care for the old, education and public health. After deduction, each worker shall be entitled to draw a reward equal to his labour. But Marx calls this equality of income still a bourgeois principle which the socialists have to follow during the dictatorship of the proletariat. The system of giving to unequal individuals, in return for unequal amounts of labour, equal amounts of products is called 'bourgeois' by Marx. Because, "people are not alike: one is strong, another is weak; one is married, another is not; one has more children, another has less, and so on."<sup>12</sup> Hence Marx concludes that "with an equal performance of labour, and hence an equal share in the social consumption fund, one will in fact receive more than another, one will be richer than another, and so on. To avoid all these defects, right instead of being equal would have to be unequal."<sup>13</sup> Hence the first phase of communism with the principle of distribution of 'to each according to his ability' cannot produce perfect equality.

10. H. J. Laski, *Op. Cit.*, p. 161.

11. Karl Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*.

12. V. I. Lenin, *State and Revolution*, p. 148.

13. Quoted by Lenin in his *'State and Revolution'*, p. 148.

The next stage in the quest for 'real equality' will be reached when money economy will no longer be there and the criterion of needs will be preferred to that of ability. This will require a classless society which has undergone a thorough cultural revolution simultaneously with the politico-economic revolution. Abundance in production of material wealth and reorientation in cultural values are the preconditions for successfully realizing equality as a matter of right. As Marx says: "Right can never be higher than the economic structure of society and its cultural development conditioned thereby."<sup>14</sup> Lenin dramatizes this view when he says: "Democracy means equality...equality means abolition of classes."<sup>15</sup> In the final stage of communism, society will be governed by the principle of distribution: "to each according to his needs". Thus, as needs of men do vary, they will be entitled to different rewards. That is to say, the principle of perfect equality of reward is also rejected in Marxism in the ultimate analysis. But here the approach is completely different from that of the Liberals. The Marxists champion the cause of equality not because its realization will make the state machinery enlightened but because it will help satisfy the varying needs of different individuals in society. This is perfect freedom and the highest form of democracy. To the Marxists, it is absurd to combine the words 'freedom' and 'State'. True democracy will be achieved only after the 'withering away of the state'. The exact point of time when this will happen and the exact steps that should be taken for achieving this are not known. Neither Marx nor his followers did ever answer the question of details and of time factor necessary for achieving this highest form of democracy. They preferred to wait for new materials and experiences that will be coming forth in course of socialist experimentation. In practice, however, in the Soviet Union there is up till now marked differentiation of pay to individuals doing different types of work. The only explanation that can be offered for this is the absence of any opportunity to those who are better paid to exert 'unequal pressure upon the fabric of institutions. Their work needs this higher pay, but they cannot use this income for exploiting others or for making enormous personal savings and investing them for earning profits. No doubt, the socialists in the Soviet Union at present recognize some connection between earnings and type of labour done. It has not yet been possible there to reach the point of disappearance of antithesis between mental and physical labour. The necessary cultural revolution has not yet been complete. But they have done everything possible for realizing economic equality by providing for what Laski calls 'the planning of constitutions for essential industries' which are socially owned.

14. Quoted by Lenin, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

15. Lenin, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

Thus in the foreseeable future the problem is not a matter of perfect equality or not, but rather how much equality to aim at and in what directions, or, in other words, how much inequality to permit. Even in the western countries those who reject the ideal of perfect economic equality do not for a moment speak against the policy of progressive correction of economic inequality through various monetary-fiscal measures. Such a policy is normally justiciable and absolutely essential, if the dignity of the individual is not to be the victim of the arrogance of the rich, if the mind of the individual is to flourish in an atmosphere free from staggering shadow of hunger and deprivation. The ideal of economic equality is an indispensable part of the democratic ideal. It is not an isolated principle and has to be constantly consistent with the ideal of liberty and subordinate to the higher goal of flowering of the individual personality. Without economic equality, as understood above, legal equality is ineffective, political equality unreal, and social equality meaningless. It is clear by this time that complete equality of income and wealth is chimerical and undesirable, yet some equality involving fundamentally a levelling process is necessary. The bourgeois thinkers categorically reject any measure of levelling-down, while the Marxist programmes involve both levelling-down as well as levelling-up measures. In this connection we must have some words of caution. The Marxists want not only to drag down but rather to annihilate the whole class of the capitalists, the exploiters and men of vested interests. Otherwise the whole of socialist reconstruction involves levelling-up of everyone in the society. The Sarvodaya ideal is also more concerned with lifting the downgraded and the poor rather than dragging down the rich and the privileged. But it seems to suffer from utopianism and vagueness so far as the actual programmes necessary for attaining the goal are concerned. Here a great question of political attitude is involved. The opponents of the levelling-down programme fear that "the measures, however laudable the intentions behind them, would have the effect of clamping society into a strait-jacket in which just those virtues which are valued most would have the least chance of survival".<sup>16</sup> On the contrary, it can be maintained that without adopting some amount of levelling-down measures it would be next to impossible to place every body in a level line at the starting point of the race of life lying ahead. It thus makes for the beginning, not the end. Laski hits the point when he justifiably remarks : "There is never likely to be an enlightened state until there is respect for individuality ; but, also there will not be respect for individuality until there is an enlightened state. It is only the emphasis upon equality which will break this vicious circle."<sup>17</sup> This is the most progressive stand of the Liberals ; and the communists overstep it by aiming at the withering away of the state itself.

16. Lord Lionel Robbins, *op. cit.* p. 16.

17. Harold J. Laski, *op. cit.* p. 172.

# CONCEPTION OF VEDIC DIVINITY

SAMIRAN CH. CHAKRABARTI, M.A., KĀVYATĪRTHA

The idea of 'devatā' or deities forms a very important part of Hindu religion. The idea of devatā is found in the Vedas, the earliest book and the basis of our religion. It is to be admitted that the conception of different deities has changed through ages, but still there are some essential points in the conception which continue as they were in the hoary past. In the short scope of this article we shall try to discuss some aspects of the conception of Vedic deities.

The term 'devata' has been interpreted in different ways. Kātyāyana defines this technical term in the following aphorism :—

“या तेनोच्यते सा देवता ।”

i.e., whatever is described or praised in the mantra is called devatā or a deity. Yāska, the author of Nirukta, defines this term in the following way—

“यत्काम ऋषिर्व्यां देवतायामायं परममिच्छन् स्तुतिं प्रयुक्ते  
तदेवतः स मन्त्रो भवति ।”<sup>1</sup>

So in different verses of the Vedas we find different deities. Vedas consist of hymns which praise these gods. In Vedic sacrifices offerings are dedicated to them with utterance of these invocations. A list of the deities as we find in the R̥gveda is furnished in Nighantū beginning with Agni and ending with देवपत्नी.

In this long list of the Vedic gods many are nothing but synonyms of the same deity. Some are again clear epithets. Such a multitude of gods is the result of the technical interpretation of the word 'devatā' as mentioned above. All these deities, however, are not given equal importance in the religion. Some gods are prominent while others are only referred to by small number of verses. Yāska shows this inequality when he classifies the deities in the following way—

सूक्तभाजः, इतिभाजः, उभयभाजः, क्रतुभाजः and निपातभाजः<sup>2</sup> ।

Offerings in sacrifices are made to some of them, some are again celebrated in complete hymns, some are invoked in a verse, some secure both hymn and offering, while some other deities are subordinate gods never finding importance in the religion.

It will not be out of context if we notice here the peculiar conception of the Mīmāṃsā-philosophy regarding devatā.

<sup>1</sup> Nirukta, VII. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Nirukta, VII. 18.

Mīmāṃsā admits the supremacy of the Vedas only. It takes the Vedas to be of non-human origin, self-illuminating knowledge. It admits no form of devatā except the sequence of the letters as in Indraḥ, Agniḥ, etc. No other god described by those words is admitted. This is because they follow very rigorously the principle that not a single letter of the Vedas can be changed or substituted. If Agniḥ and Vanhiḥ be taken to be the names of the same god, we may easily substitute वज्रिनीदे पुरोहितम् in place of 'अग्निनीदे पुरोहितम्' without any change in meaning. But according to Mīmāṃsā such a substitution will produce no effect of the ritual because the deity here is the sequence of letters in अग्निम् and anything other than that will violate the sanctity of the Vedas. Mīmāṃsā takes the words, letters and their sequence to be eternal, which duly uttered in a sacrifice produce the said results like heaven (cf 'उद्योतिहोमेन स्वर्गकामो वजेत १'). Any other 'conception of devatā will hamper the non-human origin and so it follows this peculiar conception of devatā in support of own creed. Apart from this, "Mīmāṃsā does not admit the existence of any God as the creator and destroyer of the universe. Though the universe is made up of parts, yet there is no reason to suppose that the universe had ever any beginning in time, or that any God created it. Every day animals and men are coming into being by the action of the parents without the operation of any God. Neither is it necessary as Nyāya supposes that dharma and adharma should have a supervisor, for these belong to the performer and no one can have any knowledge of them. Moreover there cannot be any contact (samyoga) or inherence (samavāya) of dharma and adharma with God that he might supervise them ; he cannot have any tools or body wherewith to fashion the world like the carpenter. Moreover he could have no motive to create the world either as a merciful or as a cruel act. For when in the beginning there were no beings towards whom should he be actuated with a feeling of mercy ? Moreover he would himself require a creator to create him. So there is no God, no creator, no creation, no dissolution or pralaya. The world has ever been running the same, without any new creation or dissolution, sṛṣṭi or pralaya."<sup>2</sup>

But this view did not arise at the Vedic period. This is a late conception formulated to defend its own stand against other systems which tried to overthrow the supremacy of the Vedas. So it does not form really a part of the Vedic conception of devatā.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. B. N. Dasgupta, A History of Indian Philosophy, Vol. I. 1932, pp. 402-403.



There is a convention to take the number of important deities to be 33 and to classify them in accordance with the regions where they are located. The three regions are earth, atmosphere and heaven. This threefold classification is based on a Vedic verse—

ये देवास्तो दिव्यैकादशस्य पृथिव्या मध्ये एकादशस्य ।

अप्सुक्षितो महिर्गैकादशस्य ते देवास्तो यज्ञमिमं जुषन्त्यम् ॥<sup>6</sup>

The following table shows the classification :

Terrestrial deities	Atmospheric deities	Celestial deities
पृथिवी	इन्द्रः	द्युः
अग्निः	सितभास्यः	वरुणः
वृहस्पतिः	अपां नपात्	मित्रः
सोमः	मातरिश्वा	सूर्यः
सरस्वती	अहिर्बुध्न्यः	सावित्री
शतमूः	अनूपकपात्	पूषन्
पदस्विणः	रुद्रः	विष्णुः
विपाशा	मरुतः	विवस्वत्
गङ्गा	वातः	आदित्यः
यमुना	पर्जन्यः	इषाः
सरयू	आपः	अश्विनौ

Among the Vedic deities some are praised in pairs (e.g. मित्रावरुणौ, आवापृथिवी, etc.). This is a peculiar feature of the Vedic cult—'The invocation of pairs of deities whose names are combined as compounds, each member of which is in the dual' Some other gods are again praised in groups. From this type we may mention Maruts, Ādityas, Viśvedevāḥ, Vasus, Rudras, etc

Some chief characteristics of very important Vedic deities are described below.

**Agni**—He represents terrestrial gods. Nearly 200 hymns are dedicated to him. Three agnis are mentioned, fire on earth, lightning in the air and sun in heaven. He is very young, kindled fresh every morning (कविर्गृहपतिर्बुधा<sup>7</sup>). His famous epithets are वृत्तपृष्ठ, वृत्तमतीक, पित्रस्यभ्यु, पुरोहितः (अग्निमीदं पुरोहितम् .<sup>8</sup>), देवानां वृत्तः (अग्निं वृत्तं वृणीमहे....<sup>9</sup>) etc. He is the lord of the house. He carries the departed soul to the region beyond death—

<sup>6</sup> R.V., I. 129-11.

<sup>7</sup> R.V., I. 1-1.

<sup>8</sup> R.V., I. 12-6

<sup>9</sup> R.V., I. 12-1.



‘वास्ते शिवास्तन्यो वासवेदस्तामिबंदहेन सुकृतामुकोकम् ।’<sup>8</sup>

His functions are summarised by Yāska—“अथास्य कर्म बह्वर्न च हविषामावाहनं च देवतानां यच्च किञ्चिद्वाट्टिविषयकमग्निकर्मैव तत् ।”<sup>9</sup>

*Indra*—He represents atmospheric ‘gods’. He is celebrated in some 250 hymns. He is said to be very strong, the killer of many demons like Vṛtra, Sambara, Rauhina, etc. He destroys ‘the obstructors of rain water, pierces the enclosure of Vala ( त्वं बलस्य नोमतोऽपावरद्विवो बिलम्<sup>10</sup> ) and makes the rivers flow ( ‘अवास्तुजत् सर्पवे सह सिन्धुन्<sup>11</sup> ). Warriors beg his assistance for victory. He is very fond of soma-juice—( ‘इन्द्रः सोमस्य काणुका’ ). Yāska states his functions—

‘अथास्य कर्म रसानुप्रदानं वृक्षवधो या च का च बलकृतिरिन्द्रकर्मैव तत् ।’<sup>12</sup>

Vṛhaddevatā of Saunaka says of him—

‘रसदानं तु कर्मास्य वृक्षस्य च निवर्द्धणम् ।

स्तुतेः प्रभुत्वं सर्वस्य बलस्य निखिला कृतिः ॥’<sup>13</sup>

*Sūrya*—He represents all celestial deities. Brilliant in appearance, Surya destroys darkness. He protects the creation. He is the eye of Mitra, Varuṇa and Agni ( ‘बभ्रुर्मितस्य वरुणस्याग्नेः’<sup>14</sup> ). Sūrya is the soul of the world, both moving and standing alike—

‘सूर्य्यभात्मा जगतस्तस्थुषश्च ।’<sup>15</sup>

He has many aspects which are called by the names of Mitra, Sabitā, Pūṣaṇ and Viṣṇu.

Sabitā is the enlivening aspect of Sūrya. He induces man to work. He watches the universe—

‘हिरण्ययेन सविता रथेना देवो याति भुवनानि पश्यन् ।’<sup>16</sup>

He holds the universe—

‘न प्रमिये सवितुर्देव्यस्य तद् यथा विश्वं भुवनं धारयिष्यति ।’<sup>17</sup>

The famous ‘gāyatrī-mantṛa’ celebrates him—

‘तत् सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि ।

धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात् ॥’<sup>18</sup>

Pūṣaṇ is the Sun with mild rays ( पोषक ). He is the lord of domestic animals and path-finder. He is also a restorer of lost articles.

<sup>8</sup> R.V., X. 16-4.

<sup>9</sup> Nirukta, VII. 8.

<sup>10</sup> R.V., I. 11-5.

<sup>11</sup> R.V., II. 12-13.

<sup>12</sup> Nirukta, VII. 10.

<sup>13</sup> Vṛhaddevatā, II 6.

<sup>14</sup> & <sup>15</sup> R.V., I. 115 1.

<sup>16</sup> R.V., I. 35-2.

<sup>17</sup> R.V., IV. 54-4.

<sup>18</sup> R.V., III. 62-10.

Viṣṇu is midday sun. His three strides are often celebrated in Vedic verses like—

‘इदं विष्णुर्विचक्रमे वेद्या निदधे पदम् ।’<sup>19</sup>

All Hindu rites begin with his name—

‘तद्विष्णोः परमं पदं सदा पश्यन्ति सूरया ।’<sup>20</sup>

दिवीव बभ्रुराततम् ॥’

Mitra is the beneficial aspect of the Sun. Yāska summarises the functions of Sūrya—‘अथास्य कर्म रसादानं रस्मिभिश्च रसधारणं यच्चकिञ्चित् प्रवक्षितमादिष्यकर्मैव तत् ।’<sup>21</sup>

Soma is celebrated in some 100 hymns. The ninth book of the R̥gveda is full of these prayers. Soma is taken to be the lord of the brahmins. This very holy offering is very dear to our gods. Almost all the principal Vedic rites are concerned with Soma.

Varuṇa is a moral guide to mankind. He knows and punishes the sinners. A nice prayer to him is quoted below—

‘अपां मज्जे तस्मिन्वांसं नृणां विदुर्जरितारम् ।

मृदा सुक्षल मृदय ॥’<sup>22</sup>

Yama is the lord of the departed souls. He is invoked in funeral rites.

Aśvinan are the divine physicians. They are ever young. Yāska raises a dispute regarding their identity (तत् कावश्चिनौ ? etc. ).

Uṣas is a very famous goddess who is described to be a very beautiful young maiden of white complexion. Elegant poetry is found in her invocations. She makes the way for Sūrya and destroys darkness.

These Vedic deities are invoked for manifold purposes—for material gain, cattle, gold, victory, son, etc. All of them are described to be mighty enough and having influence on mankind. If propitiated, they fulfil our desire. Brilliant appearance, great-wisdom, bountifulness to a sacrificer and supremacy—these are the common features of the deities. Whether they are human in appearance is a debated question. Yāska has shown the alternatives.

‘पौषविधाः स्युरित्येकम् । चेतनावद्वि स्तुतयो भवन्ति । तथाभिधानानि । अथापि पौषविधिकैरङ्गैः संस्तवन्ते ।...अथापि पौषविधिकैर्द्रव्यसंयोगैः ।...अथापि पौषविधिकैः कर्मभिः ।’<sup>23</sup>

<sup>19</sup> R.V., I. 22-12.

<sup>21</sup> Nirukta, VII. 11.

<sup>22</sup> R.V., VII. 69-4.

<sup>20</sup> R.V., I 22 20.

<sup>23</sup> Nirukta, VII. 6

The deities are said to have bodily parts like hand, arm, feet, beard, etc. Articles enjoyed by human beings are said to be possessed by them. They are also endowed with human qualities and activities. The following quotations will show these points—

‘वायवायाहि वृष्टतेमे सोमा अरंकृताः ।

तेषां पाहि शुभी हवस ॥”<sup>24</sup>

‘अस्वात् इन्द्र स्वविरस्य वाह ॥”<sup>25</sup>

‘पञ्चानां शत्रोऽजायत ।’<sup>26</sup>

‘आद्वाभ्यां हरिम्यामिन्द्र याहि ।’<sup>27</sup>

‘कस्याणीजाया सुरणं गृहे ते ।’<sup>28</sup>

This anthropomorphism is a characteristic of all ancient religions. The opponent view is again stated—

‘अपुरुषविधाः स्युरित्यपरम् । अपितु यद्द्रव्यते अपुरुषविधं तद् यथा अग्निर्वायुरादित्यः पृथिवी चन्द्रमा इति । यथो एतत् चेतनावद्बुद्धिस्तुतयो भवन्तीत्यचेतनान्यपि एषं स्युयन्ते यथा अक्षप्रभृतीन्योषधिपर्यन्तानि ।’<sup>29</sup>

The visible forms of fire, sun or wind are not human in appearance. So this will be the case with other deities too. Lifeless articles are also praised with human attributes as in the following extracts—

‘अभिक्रन्दति हरितेभिरासभिः ।’

‘होतुमिदं पूर्वं हविरद्यमावात ।’—इति ग्रावस्तुतिः ।<sup>30</sup>

‘सुखं रयं युयुजे सिन्धुरदिवनम्’—इति नदीस्तुतिः ।<sup>31</sup>

Then the third alternative says that both of the former opinions are true ; the deities can assume any appearance as they like :—

‘अपिवा उभयविधाः स्युः । अपिवा पुरुषविधानामेव सतां कर्मात्मान एते स्युपंवा यज्ञो यजमानस्य ।’<sup>32</sup>

The sun, the moon, storm, earth, etc. are themselves lifeless and not bearing human appearance but their presiding deities are human in appearance. It is the presiding deity who is invoked in a mantra or a hymn and not the article itself. So says Durgāchārya in his commentary—

‘अपुरुषविधाः क्षितिजकादयः परे तु अविद्यासारः पुरुषविग्रहाः ।’<sup>33</sup>

<sup>24</sup> R.V., III, 53-6.

<sup>25</sup> Nirukta, VII, 7.

<sup>26</sup> R.V., X, 94-2.

<sup>27</sup> R.V., X, 75-9.

<sup>28</sup> Nirukta, VII, 7.

<sup>29</sup> R.V., I, 2-1.

<sup>30</sup> R.V., VI, 47-8.

<sup>31</sup> R.V., X, 90-12.

<sup>32</sup> R.V., II, 18-4.

<sup>33</sup> Commentary of Durgāchārya on Nirukta, VII,

In this connection the question arises whether there was any image-worship in the Vedic religion. Max Müller holds that "the religion of the Veda knows of no idols".<sup>34</sup> But it must be admitted that 'the description of the Gods in the Rgveda is mainly anthropomorphical and it is just possible that artist sometimes painted their figures in colours, or carved out their images on stones or wood, or made clay images to represent their various functions.'<sup>35</sup> Vivid descriptions of Indra, Rudra, Uṣas, etc may easily induce icons. These Vedic descriptions furnish fair material for images but their iconoplastic representation is not yet discovered. But even if we take that images were existing in the Vedic period, still that does not necessarily prove image-worship. It might be then a secular art. From some Vedic verses it seems that references to images of gods like Indra are referred to. A reference to the purchase of Indra for ten milch-kine also comes in favour of this hypothesis. Dr. A. C. Das says, 'from a careful consideration of such evidences as are available, I am disposed to think that there may have existed images of some of the Gods though their worship was not much in vogue, and was sometimes condemned'.<sup>36</sup>

Personification of Nature is another feature of the religion which deserves a discussion here. Dr. Winternitz says, 'Many of the hymns are not addressed to a sun-god, nor to a moon-god, nor to a fire-god, nor to a god of the heavens, nor to storm-gods and water-deities, nor to a goddess of the dawn and an earth-goddess, but the shining sun itself, the gleaming moon in the nocturnal sky, the fire blazing on the hearth or on the altar or even the lightning shooting forth from the cloud, the bright sky of day or the starry sky of night, the roaring storms.....'<sup>37</sup> But we think that the Vedic seers did not take the natural phenomena to be gods in the sense in which the western scholars like Dr. Winternitz take it to be. The Vedic seers felt the presence of the Supreme Being behind every natural phenomena whom they attributed with a special name and feature and praised with the hymns. A Vedic verse may be quoted here—

‘चितं देवानामुदगादनीकं चक्षुर्मित्तस्य वरुणस्याग्नेः ।

आत्मा आवापृथिवी अन्तरिक्षं सूर्य्य आत्मा जगतस्त्वष्टुवत् ॥’<sup>38</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Max Müller Chips from a German workshop, I, p. 98.

<sup>35</sup> A. C. Das, Rgvedic Culture (1925), p. 144.

<sup>36</sup> A. C. Das, Rgvedic Culture (1925), pp. 144-145.

<sup>37</sup> Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature, Vol. I (1927).

[English translation published by Calcutta University, page 75].

<sup>38</sup> R.V., I. 115-1.

This is a very famous invocation of Sūrya. But how can the disc of the sun, which is itself a lifeless thing, be the soul of the world moving and standing still? To explain this it must be said that they found something else in the disc of the sun. It is the aspect of Brahman, the presiding deity named Sūrya who is the soul of the universe. In this way we may explain the apparent contradictions in the Vedic texts like—*ऋगोत आवाणः, ओषवे वायस्वैनम्, स्वधिते मेनं हिंसीः*, etc.

Some scholars think that like other primitive religions, the Vedic hymns had their origin from fear and cupboard love. They opine that the Aryans got frightened at the sight of the fierce aspects of Nature—storm, fire, lightning thunder, etc.; took them to be very powerful gods and tried to propitiate them by hymns and offerings. In this way the personification took place in religion. But it is very hard to believe that only fear and greed may give rise to such elevated hymns as we find in the R̥gveda. I like to quote here from the R̥gveda, where Agni is compared to a loving father of easy approach—

‘स नः पितेव सूनवेऽग्ने सुपायनो भव ।’<sup>39</sup>

Be thou, O Agni, of easy approach like a father to his son. Can such a prayer come out of fear and greed only and not out of congenial love and devotion? In fact the seers looked at the natural phenomena with reverential curiosity. They became charmed with this creation. They felt a divine hand behind these visible phenomena. Slowly with the advancement of thought they realised the presence of Brahman in every thing of the universe. Then we get the verse—

‘यो देवोऽग्नौ यो अप्सु यो विश्व’ भुवनमाविवेश ।

य ओषधीषु यो वनस्पतिषु तस्मै देवाय नमो नमः ॥’

It is thus a natural and voluntary flow of love and devotion which expressed itself in the Vedic hymns. As a child depends on his father for his maintenance and welfare, similarly the Vedic Aryans depended on God for assistance and prosperity. Even Dr. Winternitz admits that “The vedic singer does not look up to the god whom he honours in song, with that shuddering awe and that faith, firm as a rock, with which the Psalmist looks up to Jehovah.”<sup>40</sup> Otherwise they could not even dream of the beauty of Uṣas, so famous in the Vedic literature.

<sup>39</sup> B.V., I. 1-9.

<sup>40</sup> Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature, Translation into English, published by Calcutta University, 1927, Vol. I, p. 79.

This does not imply that there is nothing fearful in the conception of God. It is there. God is the just ruler of mankind. He punishes and rewards as well with impartiality. To a sinner, He is therefore—'अवाप्ता अथ भीषण भीषणानाम्'. A sinner can never escape His notice. Rudra represents this aspect of the Supreme Soul. So the prayer arises—

'हृद्र वत्से वक्षिणं मुखं तेन मां पाहि नित्यम् ।'

Protect us, O Rudra, by your beneficial aspect. A father also punishes his son when the latter deviates from the path of virtue. Though essentially a father is loving and sympathetic yet he assumes severity for chastisement of such a son. If we follow the path of virtue and honesty, if we do not fall a victim to evil temptation, we should never get afraid of God, the Supreme Father.

The next and most important question is whether gods are many or there is only one God. From the enumeration of the Vedic deities as furnished in Nirṇāṇṭu the question seems to be decided in support of polytheism. As we find so many deities praised in the Vedas the Vedic religion must be polytheistic one. But this is a hasty conclusion, which is arrived at by the western scholars like Macdonell, Winternitz, etc. Macdonell says, "It is thus essentially a polytheistic religion, which assumes a pantheistic colouring only in a few of its latest hymns."<sup>41</sup> He is misguided by the apparent plurality of gods. In fact there is only one God praised in the Vedas. There are verses which prove that monotheism was prevalent in the Vedic age. Not that Macdonell was unaware of these verses but still he says, "The idea is even found in more than one late passage that various deities are but different forms of a single divine being. The idea, however, never developed into monotheism."<sup>42</sup> We do not know why. Similarly Dr. Winternitz refers to polytheism in the Vedic religion in his *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I.

The 'Veda' consists of Saṃhitās and Upaniṣads. To formulate their opinion Macdonell and Winternitz have totally ignored the Upaniṣads without any proper ground. It is very explicitly and repeatedly stated in the Upaniṣads that "there is only one God from whom the universe issues and into whom the universe merges". Nobody can deny that the Upaniṣads firmly established monotheism, which describe one Supreme God who is everything (सर्वं सविदं ब्रह्म).

<sup>41</sup> Macdonell, *A Vedic Reader For Students*, Introduction, p. XVIII.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.* p. XIX.

Even in the Samhitā-texts we find monotheism. The large number of the Vedic deities is reduced to three only by Yāska in his Nirukta. He says, 'तिस्र एव देवता इति नैरुक्ताः।'<sup>43</sup> There are only three gods reigning over three regions—earth, atmosphere and heaven. All other gods are but synonyms of these three. He classifies in this way—

‘अग्निः पृथिवीस्थानो वायुर्वायुर्वायुर्वायुः सूर्योऽस्युस्थानः ।

तासां माहात्म्यादेकैकस्या अपि बहुनि नामधेयानि भवन्ति ।’<sup>44</sup>

Agni is the terrestrial god, Indra or Vāyu is atmospheric and Sūrya is the celestial god.

Saunaka, the author of Vṛhaddevatā, similarly classifies the deities in three according to regions—

‘अग्निरस्मिन्मयेन्द्रस्तु मध्यमो वायुरेव च ।

सूर्यो दिवीति विश्वेयास्तिस्र एवेह देवताः ॥

पुतासामेव माहात्म्यानामान्यत्वं विधीयते ।

तत्तत्स्थानविभागेन तत्र ततोपलक्षयेत् ॥’<sup>45</sup>

अग्निभक्तिस्तु तान् सर्वानग्नादेव समापयेत् ।

यदिन्द्रभक्तिस्तच्छेन्द्रे सूर्ये सूर्याहुगं च यत् ॥’<sup>46</sup>

But in the long run he admits that there is only one God. These three are not essentially different.

‘सूर्यवैश्वानराग्नीनामैकान्त्यमिह दृश्यते ।’<sup>47</sup>

Thus monotheism is the ultimate theory of the Vedas. One supreme God is called by so many names in consideration of His manifestations. Essentially there is no plurality in the conception.

Similar is the view of Anukramanikā—

‘तिस्र एव देवताः क्षित्यन्तरिक्षस्युस्थाना अग्निर्वायुः सूर्यः.....तत्तत्स्थाना अन्यास्त-  
स्मिन्मृतयः कर्मपृथक्त्वात् पृथगभिधानस्तुतयो भवन्ति ।.....एकैव वा महानात्मा देवता  
तं सूर्यं इत्याचक्षते स हि सर्वभूतात्मा ।’

He calls that One God by the name Sūrya. MM. Sītārām Śāstrī holds this view that Sūrya is the only God praised in the Vedas. He explains many Vedic mantras in support of his theory.<sup>48</sup> He says—

‘एवं च अन्यात्मवादे एकदेवतावादे वा एकस्यैव ब्रह्मणो देवत्वेन वचने भेदकल्पनां विना  
तदसम्भवेन उपाधिवशातो भेदकल्पनायां सूर्यरूपमेवैकमुपाधिं गृहीत्वा तस्य स्तव इति  
छोकादीन् उपाधित्वेनादाय देवतास्यवादादय इति तात्पर्यम्”

<sup>43</sup> Nirukta, VII. 5.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Vṛhaddevatā, I. 69-70.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 77.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., II. 18.

<sup>48</sup> His view is discussed at length in ‘Vedārthavicārah’—

MM. Sītārām Śāstrī, 1961. Sanskrit College Research Series No. XIX.

and admits monotheism to be established in the Vedas.

Yāska also admits this ultimate unity. The sacrificial post is praised in a complete hymn (RV. iii. 8). Varhis, Samit, grinding stones (X. 76-94, 175), mortar and pestle etc. are deified and praised. Human qualities like hearing, thinking and doing are attributed to them. This is apparently absurd. Yāska observes—

‘अपि देवता देवतावत् स्तूयन्ते यथाऽहममृततीक्ष्णोऽपि पृथ्व्यान्तानि अयाच्यहो इन्द्राणि ।  
स न मन्येतागन्तुनिवार्यान् देवतानां प्रत्यक्षरूपमेतन्नवति । माहात्म्याद्देवताया एक  
आत्मा बहुधा स्तूयते ।’<sup>49</sup> “एकस्यात्मनोऽन्ये देवाः प्रत्यङ्गानि भवन्ति ।.. आत्मेवैषां रथो  
भवत्यात्माऽहं आत्मायुधमास्तेष्व आत्मा सर्वं देवस्य देवस्य ।”<sup>50</sup>

So there is no absurdity in their praise as they are not different from the Supreme Soul.

These are, however, the views of so many scholars. In the Veda-Samhitā itself there are ample instances to prove undoubtedly that the Vedic religion was monotheistic on<sup>51</sup>. I think it better to say that the Vedic religion is an unique conciliation between Polytheism and Monotheism. These two conceptions are not diametrically opposite in Indian mind. The western scholars take these to be contradictory ideas one of which necessarily negates other. By monotheism they mean—‘God is one and not many’, and by polytheism they mean—‘God is many and not one’. But the Vedic religion tells us that ‘God is one and many at the same time’. There is no contradiction in Him. He, though one, assumes so many forms and is called by so many names in accordance with His manifold activities. Electricity when put in a bulb gives light, when put in a fan, gives air, it produces heat and cold in different receptacles, but Electricity is one thing by nature. God is omnipotent, omnipresent and omniscient. Different appellations are given to Him by the seers. Some Vedic verses are quoted below in support of monotheism or rather the conciliation between monotheism and polytheism.

इन्द्रं मित्रं वरुणमग्निमाहु रथो दिव्यः ससुपर्णो गरुत्मान् ।

एकं सद्भिमा बहुधा ब्रह्मवर्तिनं वसं सातरिश्वानमाहुः ॥<sup>51</sup>

He is one, the brahmins call Him by so many names like Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Agni ... etc.

<sup>49</sup> Nirukta, VII. 4-8.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 4-15.

<sup>51</sup> R.V., I. 164-66.



यो नः पिता जनिता यो विधाता कर्मणि वेदं भुजगतिं विधाता ।

यो देवानां नामना एक एव तं संयजं भुजगा वन्द्यन्वा ॥<sup>12</sup>

'who is our father and creator, who knows all the worlds, who bears the names of various gods but is one .

कर्म कर्म प्रतिफलं वेदं तद्वत् कर्म प्रतिफलनाथ ।

इन्द्रो माषाभिः पुरुषं ईयते युष्मा क्वा इदं कृतादक ॥<sup>13</sup>

'As the one universal symbol of the various forms of the universe Indra takes up different shapes in different bodies and reveals himself differently in those diverse forms. Though He is essentially One yet through His own Māyā He presents himself in various forms to the devotee.'

एक एवाग्निर्वहुधा समिद्ध एकः सूर्यो विश्वमनु प्रभूतः ।

एकैवोवाः सर्वमिदं विभात्येकं वेदं विबभूव सर्वं ॥<sup>14</sup>

i.e, He alone has revealed himself in all these forms.

विश्वतमनुकृत विश्वतोमुक्तो विश्वतोवाहुकृत विश्वतस्यात् ।

संवाहुर्वा भमसि सं पतत्तैर्वावाभूमी जनयन् देव एकः ॥<sup>15</sup>

पुरुष एवेदं सर्वं यज्ज्ञातं यच्च भव्यम् ।

उतामृतत्वत्येवानो यदन्मेनातिरोहति ॥<sup>16</sup>

The Supreme Being is everything—all past and future.

'सुपर्णं विप्राः कवयो ब्रह्मसिरेकं सत्त्वं बहुधा कल्पयन्ति ।'<sup>17</sup>

'एकः सुपर्णः स समुद्रमाविवेश स इदं विश्वं भुवनं विचष्टे ॥'<sup>18</sup>

The wise brahmins attribute many names to that One. (but) He who creates all this universe is One (essentially).

To quote from Sukla Yajurveda—

'तद् यदिवमाहुरमुं यजामुं यजेत्येकैकं देवम्

एकस्मैकं वा विसृष्टिरेवा तर्ह्येव सर्वे देवाः ।'

All the gods invoked and worshipped in sacrifices are One (and not many).

'अग्निः प्रियेषु यमेषु कामो भूतस्य भवस्य सजाद् एको विराजति ।'<sup>19</sup>

Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda also tells the same thing—

'यो नः पिता जनिता यो विधाता यो नः सतो अम्या सजावन ।

यो देवानां नामना एक एव तं संयजं भुजगा वन्द्यन्वा ॥'

<sup>12</sup> R.V., X. 82-8.

<sup>13</sup> R.V., VI. 47-18.

<sup>14</sup> R.V., VIII. 58-2.

<sup>15</sup> R.V., X. 81-3.

<sup>16</sup> R.V., X. 90-2.

<sup>17</sup> R.V., X. 114-5.

<sup>18</sup> R.V., X. 114-4.

<sup>19</sup> Sukla Yajurveda, XII. 137.

In the Atharvaveda also we find similar idea—

‘वीर्यं यदो वीर्यं सर्वं वीर्यं वीर्यं वीर्यं ।

य इमा विद्वा युवमोनि चाकुले तस्मै यज्ञाय तमोऽस्त्यन्त्ये ॥”

These are very clear evidences towards the existence of monotheism. Many other verses are found in the Vedas which may be and actually have been interpreted in support of the same. As, for example, Vāk says in the famous Devīsūktam—

अहं हरेनिबंभुमिन्नराभ्यहमावित्यैस्त विश्वदेवैः ।

अहं मित्रावदगोमा विमन्वहमिन्द्राग्नी अहमग्निगोमा ॥”

Sāyaṇāchārya comments upon it—

‘सर्वजगद्गुणेन सर्वसाविधानक्षपत्वेन च अहमेव सर्वं भवामीति स्वात्मानं स्तौति ।’

Other hymns also may be interpreted in such a way. Consequently it is unjust to say that the Vedic religion did not know of monotheism.

Another feature is to be noted in this connection. In the Vedas same epithets are often applied to the deities in common. All of them are held to be strong, supreme, brilliant and beautiful. We see that glorious epithets are heaped upon the praised god, before whom all others disappear. ‘The practice of the poets even in the older parts of the R̥gveda of invoking different gods as if each of them were paramount gave rise to Professor Max Müller’s theory of Henotheism or Kathenotheism, according to which the seer held the belief in individual gods alternately regarded as the highest.’” But this feature came into existence as a result of monotheism. As all the gods are but different names of the One Supreme Being, similar attributes may easily be conferred on any of them without any contradiction or absurdity. The sacrificers offer their oblations in names of so many deities but with the view to worship that Supreme One. All the rituals lead to His pleasure. In this way the utterings like ‘अमेन सायमग्निहोत्राग्नेन कुतेन कर्मणः परमेष्ठिनः प्रीयताम्’ etc. are justified. Even Macdonell admits that, “Henotheism is therefore an appearance rather than a reality, an appearance produced by. ....and by the growing belief in the unity of the gods each of whom might be regarded as a type of the divine.””

“ A.V. VII. 87.1.

“ R.V., X. 128.1.

“ Macdonell—A History of Sanskrit Literature.

“ Macdonell—Vedic Mythology, pp. 16-17.

When we are to think of Brahman, it is very hard a task to think of One infinite. It is much easier for the spiritual beginner to take a partial view in the form of a devatā. When after a thorough practice of the Vedic rites the mind of one becomes spiritually mature, one can understand the instructions of Vedānta—*‘वयमसि’*—‘that art thou!’

The western scholars commit the first mistake when they discard the Upaniṣads from their view without any sufficient reason. Even then the Samhitā is enough to prove the existence of monotheism. But they deny the same either out of preoccupied mind or out of misinterpretation. It may also be due to their lack of acquaintance with the peculiar conciliatory attitude of Indian mind.

Veda is not the name of a particular book of certain date, but a “literature of particular epoch extending over a long period, say two thousand years or so. As this literature represents the total achievements of the Indian people in different directions for such a long period, it must of necessity be of a diversified character.”<sup>44</sup> We cannot say that from the very first day of civilisation the idea of monotheism could arise. As found in many other religions here also primarily people believed in many deities, but in course of time with the development of rational thinking, they leaned towards monotheism. This is also established from the fact that the passages which tell of monotheism are considered to be of a later date on linguistic grounds. Simultaneously different schools of thought existed. Ritualists believed in so many deities different from one another with difference in name, etymologists believed in trinity of gods, while others believed in One Supreme Being only. Views of all the schools have found place in the Vedas. We find in the Vedas the development of Aryan thought. The sages of later ages found impetus from the Vedas to establish “Advaitavād”, which appeared in the later portion of the Vedic era. That is why we cannot agree with Macdonell when he says, ‘The idea, however, never developed into monotheism’, for he has ignored the development from polytheism to monotheism and the peculiar conciliation between the two.

<sup>44</sup> S. N. Dasgupta, A History of Indian Philosophy, Vol. I, 1932, p. 12.

# A SHORT NOTE ON TIME

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Time element is always implied in the notion of causation because the cause and the effect, if they are to be at all, must occupy some point of time. Now it is for us to consider how time fares in the test of pure reason. The 'conception of time is always a puzzle with philosophers. "It is interesting that St. Augustine, unlike the Schoolmen who were seldom in doubt, frankly despaired of solving the difficulties about Time. 'What is time? If one asks me, I know ; if I wish to explain it to another, I know not.' So Berkeley says, 'For my own part, whenever I attempt to frame a simple idea of Time abstracted from the succession of ideas in my mind, which flows uniformly and is participated in by all beings, I am lost and entangled in inextricable difficulties. I have no notion of it at all.'" Modern philosopher like Whitehead is also critical of time since an instant by itself does not reveal the essence of the temporal transition. Immediate experience does not provide any plausible ground to suppose that nature is composed of instant. 'We do not perceive an instant at all, either as a locus of instantaneous space or as any other temporal element '"

With this background in Western philosophy we may do well to realise the Advaitic position on time "in refuting time (Kāla) Citsukha says that time cannot be perceived either by the visual sense or by the tactile sense, nor can it be apprehended by the mind, as the mind only operates in association with the external senses. Moreover, since there are no perceptual data ; it cannot be inferred. The notions of before and after, succession and simultaneity, quickness and duration, cannot by themselves indicate the nature of time as it is in itself.'" There are, as Prof. Hiriyanna rightly observes (in his *Indian Philosophical Studies*, Vol. I, pp. 104-06), four different views of the Advaitin on the problem of Time. These differences of view are not, however, with regard to the main conclusions but only as regards the details of the doctrine. The non-dual Brahman, the conclusion of all Advaitic literature does not suffer in the least due to this divergence of opinions prevalent amongst the Advaitic thinkers. All these different views on Time have for them the main theme to prove that

<sup>1</sup> W. R. Inge, *Myeticism in Religion*, pp 86-87.

<sup>2</sup> Vide W. W. Hammerschmidt, *Whitehead's Philosophy of Time* (1947), pp. 19-20.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. S. N. Dasgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, pp. 186.



# WITHERING AWAY OF THE SAYER DUTIES IN THE BENGAL PRESIDENCY

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Since the days of the Mughals Sayer duties had been one of the principal sources of revenue to the state. The term *sayer* denotes market; but in its wider sense, it meant various kinds of imports on trade and property. In relation to taxation, it referred to numerous petty duties and taxes which were not fixed for all times to come. Regarding sayer duties, it was stated in the Fifth Report on the Affairs of the East India Company : " These duties which went by the names of sayer, as they extended to grain, to cattle, to salt, and all the other necessities of life passing through the country and were all collected by corrupt, partial and extortionate agents, produced the worst effects on the state of society, by not only checking the progress of industry, oppressing the manufacturer, and causing him to debase his manufacture, but also by clogging the beneficial operations of commerce in general and abridging the comforts of the people at large."<sup>1</sup> It is extremely difficult to define the nature and scope of these duties which were condemned in the Fifth Report. Whatever may be their real nature in the Mughal period, the amazing variety of the duties and petty taxes which came under the broad head of sayer, is sufficient to confuse any scholar who tries to make a sketch of them in the early British period. Rahdarry or Transit duties, bazar, haut and gunge duties, taxes on profession, road taxes, taxes on boats and sometimes even the so-called police tax, all of them came under the general head of sayer duties.

The sayer duties which were collected by the zamindars in the early British period, by virtue of old-established usage, were especially local and arbitrary charges. What is more interesting is that a show of authority was always connected with the levy of these duties. The zamindars and sometimes other authorised agents used to collect these inland imports on goods bought and sold in the bazar, haut or gunges within their territory or on goods passing through their territory whether by land or water. The levy of sayer duties was considered to be a right by the zamindars and as such complications arose when the question of permanent settlement was discussed in the nineties of the 18th century. Another interesting phenomenon is that an important branch of the sayer duties, namely Transit duties, got detached from the main body and developed into a separate, full-fledged system of taxation as years rolled on. It is impossible to say when this change had been effected. It was perhaps the result of a slow

disintegration of the tax structure of the country in the mid-eighteenth century. One should not be confused to see that even in the minutes of John Shore and Lord Cornwallis Transit duties were referred to as *sayer* duties. The distinction between the two gradually became more marked. Thus Hamilton wrote : "The term *sayer* means a market and in its broader use relative to taxation referred to a large variety of imposts upon trade and upon personal property which may be grouped into three main divisions. There were first, the sea customs duties upon imports and exports ; second, the inland customs charged upon the transit of goods from place to place ; and third, a great variety of local taxes of various kinds levied upon traders and manufacturers. It is to this third class of taxes that the term *sayer* in its more limited significance is generally restricted . . . ." Though we cannot accept this classification of Hamilton, because sea customs duties upon imports and exports did not at all form a separate head at the time to which his observation may be attributed, there is no doubt that the scope of the *sayer* duties narrowed down to a great extent in the early British period. Still, it is difficult to enumerate clearly all the articles that came under the scope of the *sayer* duties.

The prodigious variety of *sayer* collection may be classed for the convenience of our study under a few general heads :

(1) *Duties collected on the transit of goods and merchandise at chokeys and pharries, etc. :*

These duties must be distinguished from the general transit duties collected on account of Government. These duties were demanded by the zamindars on the transit of goods through their respective territories. Zamindary chokeys were established for collecting these duties. They were levied at ferries and fords of rivers, at passes through hills, or at less convenient stations on the highways and routes of commerce. It was also a practice to exact duty from merchandise passing through the gunges. It was not unusual for that purpose to force into the gunge an importation of goods passing by a near route.

(2) *Duties collected on the vend of commodities at haats and bazars :*

These were market tolls collected in money or in kind as a retribution for the protection and accommodation afforded by the market. They were levied partly in the form of rent for the spot occupied in the market whether a covered or an open shop, and partly in the shape of duties on the articles brought into the market.

(3) *Duties collected at gunges :*

These were duties on the sale of commodities ; and were commonly collected at the time of a transfer of the property, and at the moment

when goods were weighed or measured between the buyer and the seller. Sometimes, however, they were levied on the importation or exportation of goods. In the case of land carriage, the quantity was ascertained by the load and in the instance of water-carriage by the tonnage; or in certain cases by actual weighing.

The long-established practice was to appoint public weighmen in gunges, whose duty was to weigh corn and certain other goods sold by whole-sale in the gunges. Duties were levied from the purchaser or the vendor on the basis of the report of measurement by the weighmen. But, as the same parcel of goods might change owners more than once even in the same gunge and certainly at different places, the tax must have been paid repeatedly.

Under the system of sayers comprising gunge and haut duties, corn was taxed repeatedly between the grower and the consumer. It paid the toll of the haut where it was first sold by the peasant. Duties were again levied when the merchants exported the commodity from the gunges. Finally, the bazar duties had to be paid when it was bought by the consumer from the bazars.

The gunge duties, however, constituted the greatest part of the revenue collected under the denomination of sayer; and the principal portion of these duties was that which was levied upon grain.

(4) *Taxes comprehended under the head of sayer though of the nature of land rents :*

These were essentially the ground rents levied for the establishment of bazar, haut, gunge or shops. They were collected by the proprietors of the land either in kind or in the form of rent.

(5) *Personal Taxes :*

They were generally taxes on professions. The duties on pilgrims also belonged to this class of sayer. They were, however, not a very productive source of revenue.

(6) *Miscellaneous Taxes :*

A few articles of sayer not reducible to any of the foregoing heads, may be classed as miscellaneous. Tolls on ferries were of this kind managed as sayers. It gave to the state a participation in the earnings of the ferrymen in the form of a compensation for the use of the landing place.

When the Company's Government launched a series of experiments to regulate the financial structure of the country, the collection of sayer duties



appeared to be an anachronism to them. The right of individual subjects to levy duties for their own benefit was expressly denied and the Governor-General-in-Council resolved upon the resumption of sayer duties in June, 1790. The views of the Government in resuming these collections from the landholders, and placing them under the charge of officers of Government were mainly "to abolish duties which were unproductive or which operated as a tax upon industry or impeded commerce and to establish such only as under a general and systematic arrangement might afford an addition to the resources of the state proportionate to the increase of the wealth of the people."<sup>4</sup>

It was proposed to continue the former collections for one year, in order to obtain sufficient information and knowledge to enable the Government to enact regulations on this subject. But, from the informations collected by the officers of Government, it appeared that the collections were so numerous and complicated that the task of regulating them was almost impracticable. It was found impossible to make them productive to the state and to minimise their burdensome effect on the internal commerce and industry of the country. It was found extremely difficult to select the articles of sayer to be continued and to regulate them properly. It was, in consequence, determined on 28th of July, 1790, to abolish the sayer collections (with certain exceptions) throughout the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. It was supposed that "in comparison with the relief to the inhabitants and the encouragement to industry which would be afforded by the discontinuance of the numerous impositions levied not only upon the necessaries of life but upon every article of trade, the loss to Government would be very inconsiderable."<sup>5</sup>

"The privilege of imposing and collecting internal duties," it was stated in the rule for the abolition of the sayer, passed on 28th July, 1790, "has been resumed from the land holders, and taken exclusively into the hands of Government, for the purpose of reforming abuses in these collections, and thereby affording benefit to the commerce of the country, as well as general ease to its inhabitants. For the more effectual attainment of these objects, the Governor-General-in-Council has now resolved that all duties, taxes and other collections, coming under the denomination of sayer . . . be forthwith abolished."<sup>6</sup> The abkaree duties, taxes on pilgrims, rent of ground or building, and the various duties within the limits of Calcutta (bazar, haut, gunge, etc., included), were, however, excepted. Compensations to be made in consequence, could be regulated by an average of the net produce stated in the past accounts for ten years. The collectors were, thereupon, ordered to withdraw their officers from the gunges, bazars and hauts.

The abolition of the vexatious sayer duties was hailed by all. In their letter of 19th September, 1792, the Court of Directors expressed their approbation of the resumption, and the ultimate abolition of the sayer

in these words : " We see, not without surprise, some of the most intelligent of our servants regarding the imposition of internal taxes, duties of customs, as a branch of the proprietary rights of Zamindars ; and observe in this instance the danger of adopting into practice rigid systematical deductions from premises in themselves imperfectly defined. Upon general principles and especially the principles of a despotic government, we can conceive nothing more incongruous and extraordinary than the inherence of such a legislative power in great number of individual subjects ; and we find that what is thus at variance with probability is contradicted in fact by immemorial usage ; which exhibits the privilege of imposing internal duties as exclusively belonging to the sovereign ; and so constantly exercised, that no gunge, haut, or bazar, could be established without the authority of the governing power. In agreement with this practice, the Company did, twenty years ago interpose, as their administrations have since done, in various ways, to regulate or abolish oppressive establishments and taxes of that nature. No right of Government therefore seems to us less disputable than that of separating them from the land tenures of the country, and modifying them at pleasure ; making suitable allowances for the rents occurring from such as were established under the sanction of Government. We approve therefore and applaud the assumption of all duties and taxes whatever, with the power of buying them, from the land holders ; and having seen from the details in your proceedings, the enormous extent and complication of the abuses and oppressions committed under such names, with the great difficulty of eradicating evils become inveterate, even under the immediate administration of the officers of Government, we are of opinion that, since it was deemed impracticable to establish instantly a proper discrimination, and to collect only what might reasonably be exacted upon certain articles of internal consumption, since the advantage derived by the state was comparatively small, and the injuries suffered by the trade and the people of the country grievous, you acted wisely, as well as literally, in proceeding to the entire abolition of these instruments of internal oppression."

The abolition of sayer was definitely a very significant, ameliorating reform carried out by Lord Cornwallis's Government. But the spirit of it was greatly injured by the fact that Government, on that occasion, reserved to itself the consideration of what internal duties or taxes should be imposed in lieu of them. Thus, within a few years of the abolition of these vexatious duties, Transit and Town duties were again imposed. It is painful to note that with so much of eagerness to free the internal commerce of the country, the Government of Lord Cornwallis could not realise that the very principle of levying duties, under whatever denomination, on the internal commerce was defective and prejudicial in itself. If sayer duties were vexatious to the merchants and the people generally, Transit and Town duties would be more obstructive and injurious. But

this decision of the Governor-General-in-Council satisfied the Court of Directors who were always panicky on the question of revenue. "We think, however," they wrote in the same letter, "in correspondence with the idea you appear to entertain, that this should be considered as a suspension, rather than an extinction of the financial principle of internal duty; that when the whole business of the decennial settlement is in a due train of execution, and the time, in other respects, suitable, Government may review their object, with the design of ascertaining to what extent, in what form, and under what rules, it may safely be again made an article of revenue, without the danger of such abuses, against the state and against its subjects, as have hitherto subsisted in it. We think likewise that this contingency of its resumption should be understood by the people, that they may be more easily acquiesce in subsequent measures to that end."

When the sayer duties were abolished by the Rule passed on 29th July, 1790, "the collections made in the gunges, bazars and hauts, situated within the limits of Calcutta" were expressly excepted. There were various reasons behind the retention of these duties within the limits of Calcutta. One of them was that there was some legal difficulty with regard to the imposition or abolition of any duty or tax within the immediate local jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of Judicature. Secondly, these duties were continued so as to prevent the native agents to transform them into a source of vexatious oppression and exaction. Thirdly, these duties were not a source of grievances on the part of the buyers and sellers who resorted to the different marts of Calcutta. The market duty was paid by the vendor, for the privilege of selling his commodities in a convenient and appropriated part of the mart.' "The discontinuance of it (market duty) without any express provision for keeping the established market places clean, dry and commodious, for the accommodation of the vendors, may in some instances have exposed them to inconvenience." Mr. Scott, Collector of the town of Calcutta, gave the following information relative to the bazar duties in his letter of March, 1785, to the Committee of Revenue. "The collections in the bazars consist of a rent called tehbazaree, and tolah, paid daily by each of the bazar ryots, for the privilege of retailing articles in the government bazars. The first was established by Mr. Amyatt at 12 gundas, 2 cowries for each ryot . . . . The tolah was formerly a customary collection in kind; but from a report to the Calcutta Committee in January, 1779, by the dewan, it appears that it had been some years before commuted for money. The rate of this collection has never been fixed by Government. It has always been settled by mutual agreement between the bazar farmer and ryot; and in all disputes on the rate collected, the complaint is decided from former custom." The greater parts of the bazars in Calcutta were the property of individuals who paid a certain 'Jumma' or assessment. This payment to the government

was fixed either in perpetuity or for a long period of years. As a result of the competition and separate interests of the proprietors and farmers of the bazars, there was little danger of any oppressive combination or exaction. Moreover, the Government control over the erection of bazars and the levy of bazar duties had already been established in 1781. In concurrence with the Committee of Revenue, the Governor-General-in-Council declared on 25th May, 1781, "the right of Government to suppress the erection of bazars by private persons without its authority." When, according to a police ordinance, bazars and shops were removed from the streets of the town, several shop-keepers sent representations to the Government objecting to the payment of duty upon the articles sold by them on their own premises. In consequence, it was determined by the Governor-General-in-Council on 21st September, 1781, "that goods exposed to sale in dokauns or shops, the property of individuals, be not made subject to the payment of duties in like manner as when the same articles were exposed to sale in the streets; or on the Company's ground; but that the bazar imposts be levied from the public bazars; and from the stalls and shops situated on the Company's ground, as heretofore."

A full detail of the bazars in Calcutta, market or bazar duties levied therefrom and duties other than the bazar duties may be found in Holwell's Report on the Company's Revenues in Calcutta, dated the 15th December, 1752.<sup>10</sup> Besides the proper bazar or market duties, Holwell mentioned various other collections of a more exceptionable nature, which were formerly made within the limits of the town of Calcutta. He mentioned "a road duty which had its rise on this occasion: Collegat market and Govindpoor market being held both on a Saturday; and numbers of the tenants resorting to Collegat market, to the injury of that at Govindpoor, it was found necessary to check this resort or counter-balance it by levying a tax on every article imported from Collegat, in proportion to that levied on the same articles at Govindpoor market." Collections were also made from various monopolies which were let in farm.<sup>11</sup> Some of the monopolies were continued to so late a period as the year 1788, when they were abolished by the Government. It was observed that farmers of the bazars were not often satisfied with the regular bazar duties. They used to station their agents on the principal roads leading to their respective bazars and exacted a sort of toll from the dealers passing to other bazars.<sup>12</sup> J. H. Harington, the then acting Collector of the town of Calcutta, however, publicly prohibited these exactions. Several farmers were also obliged to renew their engagements after the expiry of their terms, on condition that these collections would not be made in future. A heavy penalty was attached to the violation of this condition.

Before the cession of Benares to the Company, the customs administration was carried on in an extremely haphazard manner. Numerous duties and tolls along with the export and import duties were exacted

from the people who groaned under the burden of these exactions. The British Resident in Benares exercised a control over the internal administration of that province for the first time in 1781 and from that time on, attempts were made to set the custom administration in order. In that year orders were passed that no duties should be collected except at the stations of Ghazipur, Benares and Mirzapur. These orders were, however, not obeyed. They were again repeated in 1784 without much effect and the trade of the province of Benares still languished under the burden of numerous oppressive collections. These collections were made partly at the custom houses, and partly by the amils, zemindars and farmers under their authority.

This state of things could not be allowed to continue for long ; and on 26th December, 1787, the Governor-General-in-Council ordered that the zamindari duties along with all other collections on merchandise should be formally abolished with immediate effect. Only duties authorised by the Government should remain. Heavy penalties were prescribed in case of any illegal exaction, contrary to the spirit of that order. According to the 13th Article of the custom house regulation of the 29th of March, 1788, "no duties of any kind or denomination, should be collected in any part of the country, excepting at the four principal custom houses of Benares, Ghazipur, Jaunpur and Mirzapur ; nor upon the transportation of any goods produced or manufactured in one part of the country, and sold or consumed in another (with the exception of the goods sold which might be afterwards exported) and that any person levying duties, or exactions, under whatever denomination, on such goods, in opposition to this prohibition, should be liable to a fine, equal to three times the amount received." The grip of the Government was gradually tightened in successive settlements and the prohibitory orders were further strengthened by Regulation 4 of 1795 which plugged the loopholes that enabled the zamindars and others to levy numerous petty duties.

The system of collection of sayar and other duties in the Ceded and Conquered provinces had been to levy duties upon the articles immediately, when they were brought to the bazars and gunges for sale. This system did not operate uniformly and the variation in the rates of duties charged upon different classes of people was a constant source of trouble and grievance.<sup>13</sup> Several respectable and wealthy merchants and inhabitants enjoyed favourable differential treatment. The amount of duties collected on merchandise of every description transported by them was invariably low ; while several inferior beoparies and inhabitants of the bazars and gunges of the province had to pay an increased duty in the proportion of 20 or 25 or even 30 per cent. upon articles transported or exposed for sale.<sup>14</sup>

These duties again varied at different bazars and gunges for lack of which specific rates were fixed. This inequality of rates had, of course, originated in the system which prevailed under the Nawab's government.

The inattention of his government to the convenience and encouragement of the traders and the sole authority respecting the sayer collections being vested in the amils throughout their respective districts had presumably been the cause which produced this irregularity.<sup>15</sup> The amils were sensible that the continuance of their own authority depended in a great measure upon the influence of the several powerful persons of respectability. Consequently, they favoured them in every instance by an exemption from the full amount of duties upon their goods. The result of this discrepancy was naturally indefinite trouble, confusion and dispute. It was, therefore, urgently necessary to eradicate this evil and to evolve a system which would ensure smooth commercial operations.

To eradicate the evils of the sayer and other duties in the Ceded and Conquered provinces, Regulation 38 of 1803 was passed. Section 2 of that regulation prescribed that "all duties under the denomination of sayor, rahdarry, zemindary, or under any denomination, imposing a tax on the transport, export or import of goods, or merchandise of any description, through, from or into the Ceded provinces, shall be considered as abolished." An exception was, however, made with regard to bazar and gunge duties. Section 15 of the same regulation provided that "nothing in this regulation shall be construed to authorise an exemption of goods or other articles, sold in the bazars and gunges of the Ceded provinces, from paying the regular gunge duties hitherto levied, which shall be levied at the usual rates, until a regulation should be passed for modifying and altering them, where they may appear to be injurious to the retail trade of the country." The whole of the Regulation 38 of 1803 was afterwards rescinded by Section 2 of Regulation 11 of 1804. But the provisions stated above were repeated and extended to the Ceded provinces. The retention of the bazar and gunge duties was soon found to be unwise. The reports of the several Collectors of Revenue in that province revealed that the duties levied by Government in the bazars and gunges were extremely injurious to commerce and agriculture and operated as a severe and heavy burden upon the country. It was, therefore, considered necessary for the promotion of commerce and for the relief of the inhabitants, to abolish the bazar and gunge duties throughout the Ceded and Conquered provinces. Accordingly, Regulation 6 of 1805 was passed which sealed the fate of sayer, bazar, gunge and other duties in that area. In lieu of those duties, Town duties were imposed on certain prescribed towns.

The abolition of the sayer and other duties in the Ceded and Conquered provinces was not an easy task. A stiff opposition to that measure was given by those who enjoyed the privilege sanctioned by a long-established custom. This privilege included not only the duties upon transit trade, but in many instances it extended to the sale in the gunges which was always a favourite establishment among the powerful zamindars and constituted their most lucrative source of revenue. The resumption and aboli-



tion, of the gunge duties was a measure so revolting to their pride and so irreconcilable to their habits and prejudices, that the immediate application of the aforesaid regulation was considered to be, in a great degree, impracticable.<sup>16</sup> The zamindars and talookdars considered the collection of sayer in their gunges as their most important privilege; and it was to that privilege that they attached consequence more than to the emolument they derived from it. Their prejudices would not allow them to consider any pecuniary compensation as an equivalent; since the relinquishment was regarded by them as a degradation in the opinion of their own tribe.<sup>17</sup> They were ready to sacrifice their interests and fortunes to this false sense of personal pride.

It is extremely difficult to point out a single date when the sayer duties with all their numerous branches and sub-branches, disappeared from the Bengal Presidency. It was a slow and gradual process and many duties were also transformed and remained for many years to come. Sayer duties, in the wider sense of the term, gradually withered away as years rolled on and as occasion demanded. These duties were condemned by the Commissioners of the Ceded and Conquered provinces in their report, dated 29th September, 1807. Though the Finance Committee, in their report of 1809, seriously considered the expediency of re-establishing with modifications the sayer which was abolished in the lower provinces in 1790, the fate of these duties was doomed for ever. In the era of consolidated customs, there was no place for sayer and other duties. It is, however, interesting to note that no void was created in the country's economic life when these duties disappeared. In most of the cases, Town duties were imposed to fill up the gap left behind by the sayer duties. It is also peculiar that in the new set-up, many of the articles of collection previously under the head of sayer were analogous either to the Town duties or to the Transit duties. The old order had changed and a new system of inland customs collection was introduced in the year 1810, when a significant chapter was opened in the economic history of the Bengal Presidency.

#### REFERENCES

- <sup>1</sup> Firminger., *Fifth Report*, Vol. 1, p. 152.
- <sup>2</sup> Hamilton, C. J., *Trade Relations between England and India*, p. 210.
- <sup>3</sup> This classification will be found in the report of the Finance Committee, 1809. see *Miscellaneous Records* (Bengal) relating to Commerce, Customs, Salt & Opium.
- <sup>4</sup> See Report of the Finance Committee, *op. cit.*
- <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>6</sup> The total loss to the Government was estimated to be a sum not short of Rs. 25,00,000.
- <sup>7</sup> *Harington's Analysis*, p. 6.
- <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25.
- <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>10</sup> Quoted in *Harington's Analysis*, p. 31.
- <sup>11</sup> See Holwell, J. Z. and Friends, *India Tracts*.
- <sup>12</sup> Holwell mentioned the following farms: (1) The glass makers' farm, (2) The vermilion farm, (3) The Caulker's farm, (4) The tobacco shops, (5) Bang shops, (6) Chest makers farm, (7) The red-lead farm, (8) The dammer and oakum farm, (9) Dee Calcutta and Govindpoor's burdened oxen, (10) Dee Calcutta and bazar Calcutta's ferry boats, (11) The fire work farm and (12) The purchasing and vending old-iron, tea-saddles and old nails.
- <sup>13</sup> *Harington's Analysis*, p. 37.
- <sup>14</sup> *Board of Trade (Customs)* of 18th April, 1803.
- <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, of 24th April, 1807.
- <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

# A DESCRIPTION OF THE COMPARATIVE VIEWS OF ŚRĪDHARA AND UDAYANA

MRINAL KANTI GANGOPADHYAY

Of the various commentaries on the Padārthadharmasaṃgraha of Praśastapāda, mainly two treatises—the Kiraṇāvahī of Udayana and the Nyāyakandallī of Śrīdhara—stand out prominently and seem to enjoy greater popularity with the scholars. We do not for the present like to enter into the controversy as to which of the two authors is earlier and has quoted or refuted the views of the other in his own work, for the problem has already been discussed to some extent by a number of well-known scholars.<sup>1</sup> Nor shall we make any attempt to present a detailed account of the arguments and counter-arguments advanced by the two authors and particularly those by Udayana who sometimes seem to quote the arguments of Śrīdhara almost verbatim and subject them to severe criticism, which may very well form the subject-matter of another fascinating article. It may, however, be worthwhile to record some of their respective views on certain common problems, which are often quite conflicting.

At the outset we may refer to the most common and well-known point on which the opinions of the two writers are widely at variance with each other. According to Kumārila and his followers darkness (tamaḥ) is a distinct substance (dravya). They argue that the most general and accurate differentia of substances is that they are endowed with some qualities (guṇavattva) and have some sort of action (karmavattva). This definition applies to darkness also, which being black possesses the distinct quality of colour and since we have cognitions like 'black darkness moves (nīlam tamaś calati), it must have movement or action (karma) also. But they will show that it cannot be included in any of the nine substances recognised by the Vaiśeṣika and quite logically, therefore, darkness also should be added as a distinct substance to the list. Neither Kiraṇāvaḥ nor Praśastapāda mentions it as such, which implies that they do not recognise darkness as a separate substance. The commentators have, therefore, to face the problem: In which of the categories should darkness be included? Most of the Vaiśeṣika

<sup>1</sup> Gopinath Kaviraj, *Bhāṣya* (Bāṣya), P. 21. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya, *Vaiśeṣika Nyāya* (Vaiśeṣika Nyāya), P. 4. Phanibhusan Tachagata, *Nyāya*, Vol. I, P. 21.



writers here side with Udayana who in a prolonged discussion shows that darkness is merely absence of light and belongs to the category of non-existence (abhāva). Śrīdhara is here unique in holding that darkness is actually a particular kind of colour which pervades on all sides when there is no light and is cognised as darkness (tasmād rūpaviśeṣ'oyam atyantam tejo'bhāve sati sarvataḥ samāropitastama iti pratyate). It may be noted that of the later writers Padmanābha Miśra who is credited with the authorship of a sub-commentary on the Nyāyakandalī (Nyāyakandalīsāra) had a soft corner in his heart for Śrīdhara and tries to uphold his view on darkness in the Setu, a commentary on the Bhāṣya of Praśastapāda (tasmād uktābhireva yuktikiraṇībhiḥ Kandalikārayuktikamalinī niskalaṅkatām prāpaṇīyeti samkṣepaḥ).

According to Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika philosophers liberation (apavarga) means the absolute cessation of pain and suffering (ātyantikī duḥkhanivṛtti). But as the logicians' dictum is that the existence of an entity is accepted only when adequate proofs have been supplied (mānādhinā meyasiddhiḥ), the task of furnishing some sort of evidences for the existence of this kind of liberation is felt imperative. In discussing this problem Śrīdhara first quotes the view of some other philosophers whom he refers to by the epithet 'Tāṅkika'. They put forward the following syllogism in support of this kind of liberation : Duḥkhasantatir dharminī atyantam ucchidyate santatitvād, dīpasantativat. But according to Śrīdhara the proof lies in such Upaniṣat texts as āsarīraṁ vāvasantam priyāpriye na sprṣataḥ etc. and he refutes the above syllogism as faulty in the following terms : Tadayuktam, pārthivaparamānurūpādisantānena vyabhicārāt. It will now be very interesting to note what Udayana says in this context. He cites and supports exactly the same syllogism which Śrīdhara refers to as the view of the Tāṅkikas (excluding the word dharminī alone, which is of no major importance here), but notes that this is the opinion of the Acharyas (ityācāryāḥ) and in immediate anticipation of an objection to it says : Pārthivaparamānugatarūpā-disantānenai kāntikamidamiti cet? This corresponds word for word to the objection raised by Śrīdhara.\*

Tacca Īśvaracodanābhivyaktād dharmādeva—in explaining these few words of Praśastapāda Udayana and Śrīdhara tread completely different paths. The highest bliss (nirāśreyasa) results, according to Praśastapāda, from a knowledge of the true nature of the six categories

\* 'antāntika' in Udayana and 'vyabhicāra' in Śrīdhara mean the same thing—the fallacy of the irregular middle.

\* Yato'bhyudayanirāśreyasasiddhiḥ sa dharmah Kapādasūtra 1.1.2.

through their similarities and dissimilarities (*saṃyām padārthānām sādharṃyavaidharṃya-tattvajñānaṃ niḥśreyasahetuḥ*). But how can this right knowledge (*tattvajñāna*) which leads to the highest bliss can be acquired? The reply to this question is to be sought in the above words. There the two words 'tat' and 'Īśvaracodanā' stand respectively for right knowledge and the scriptures (Veda) which are the utterances of God. The significance of the sentence would be this: Right knowledge that dispells the darkness of false knowledge (*mithyājñāna*) and brings about the final emancipation from misery and pain, is acquired through *dharma* which, again results from *yoga* as has been prescribed in the Vedas. This is the view of Udayana. Śrīdhara's standpoint is quite different and he explains the text in his own way. If right knowledge (*tattvajñāna*) be regarded as the cause of the highest bliss, he argues, it would be in direct contradiction with the sūtra of Kaṇāda' (and that would be tantamount to violating the Sāstra). So in these words Praśastapāda actually shows how the contradiction can be avoided. The words 'tat' and 'Īśvaracodanā' signify respectively the highest bliss (*niḥśreyasa*) and the particular wish or desire of God (*Īśvarecchāviśeṣa*). The whole sentence would thus imply: It is quite true that liberation results from *dharma*. But *dharma* by itself, does not accomplish final beatitude, until it is aided by the wish of God. Hence the correct assertion would be, the 'final beatitude results from *dharma* which is turned towards fruition by a particular wish of the Lord'.

The atomic theory of the Nvāya-Vaiśeṣika philosophers is well-known. Praśastapāda says: *Sā* (earth or *pṛthivī*) *ca dvividhā nityā cānityā ca/paramāṇulakṣaṇā nityā/kāryalakṣaṇā tvanityā/*. The atoms are thus eternal. But how would the existence of the paramāṇu or atom be proved? Udayana discusses the problem and there, in refuting the view of some other philosopher says: *Apara āha/ānu-parimāṇatārataṃvaṇi kvaci viśrāntaṃ parimāṇatārataṃyatvāt, mahat-parimāṇatārataṃyavaditi / tadapyasat / parasparīśrayadoṣaprasaṅgāt*. Now if anybody be curious enough to enquire about the identity of this 'Apara' and enthusiastic enough to run over the few lines where Śrīdhara explains the same problem, it would be found that Udayana here quotes the syllogism cited by Śrīdhara word for word without changing a single syllable.

The above few instances are not at all claimed to be exhaustive. Many other similar instances can be cited or referred to. There are a few scholars who have been kind enough to point out one or two such cases. But a mere reference is not enough. It is necessary to

collect together the important points of divergence and collate their respective arguments in the proper context, which may make an interesting study in the different interpretations of the ancient text of Prāśastapāda as well as the doctrine and evolution of thought of the Vaiśeṣika writers.

# WOMEN IN INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

SM. ANNAPURNA CHATTERJEE, M.A.

To understand properly a narrative about the Indian struggle for freedom, none can deny that the women's movement is an important factor in the public life of India. This movement has advanced by rapid strides. One of the miracles for which the Mahatma is responsible to a very large extent, is this awakening. This movement has been intimately connected with the Indian National Congress, nevertheless, independent women's committees have come into existence all over the country.

In 'Ananda Math', Rishi Bankim invoked the mother, "Bande-Mataram", the eternal sakti to help the 'Sons of India' to free their motherland from the foreign yoke. In India, women always have a glorious and dignified place even in the Vedic age. They are worshipped, here, as an image of the Goddess of eternal power and inspiration. They as mothers, sisters, daughters and faithful wives followed the brave and heroic fighters of the freedom movement.

From the very beginning of the freedom movement of India, women took the lead wherever possible and always inspired the movement from behind wherever not. Rani Lakshmibai of Jhansi not only inaugurated the freedom movement of India, but she took the active lead of the revolutionary forces in the Sepoy Mutiny and was killed in the battlefield. Then the cue was taken by her younger sisters.

The Indian National Congress was established in December, 1885 —inspired by women. We must not forget to record the name of the first lady speaker of the Congress, Mrs. Kadambini Ganguli who moved the customary vote of thanks to the President of the sixteenth Congress in 1900 (Calcutta).

Mrs. Annie Besant, an Irish lady pioneered the Home Rule Movement which challenged the authority of Britain over India. She had the spirit to oppose Gandhi even. Mrs. Annie Besant joined the Congress in 1914 and gave it a new impulse. She took an active part in politics and carried on a raging campaign for demanding Home Rule for India. Mrs. Besant was interned by the Government in this connection in 1917, but was released soon. She became the first woman President of the Congress at Calcutta in 1917.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the poetess became our next woman Congress President in 1925. She was a member of the working committee also. She dedicated her life for the liberation of the country. The debt which India owes to her cannot be calculated precisely.

An English disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, Miss Madeleine Slade, paid a visit to Bulsar in Gujrat on the 6th June, 1930, to see with her own eyes how the Satyagrahi Volunteers, engaged in the non-violent raid the Dharsana Salt Depot, were being treated by the police. She published her report in the Young India on June 12, 1930. Therein she on stated that she was convinced of the injuries perpetrated on the Satyagrahi Volunteers during the "stormy 1930's" by the British Government. On the 31st July, 1930, a hundred ladies were arrested and a lathi-charge was ordered to disperse the crowd. Among the members of the Working Committee present and arrested were . . . Srimati Kamala Nehru and Srimati Mani Ben, the daughter of Sardar Patel. A hundred other ladies were also arrested including Srimati Amrit Kaur of the Punjab, and the dictator of the movement, Srimati Hansa Mehta.

Who will be so ungrateful to forget the scene in which Bina Das shot at the Governor of Bengal, but failed and was made a captive. The women who voluntarily took active part in the Chittagong Armoury Raid are not pictured in the gallery of the martyrs. Women like these who silently helped the progress of the movement are also remembered although their martyrdom might have been subdued by any dazzling external show. The death of Matangini Hazra at Midnapur during the '42 movement by the bullets of the police for the country's struggle stirred the blood of the foreigners even.

The services which women rendered to the country's struggle for freedom cannot be depicted as local or isolated instances. Volumes are to be written on the invaluable offerings of the Indian women to the freedom movement of India. Those who breathed their last, who seemed to waste their careers, unknown to human memories richly deserve adequate tributes and actually it is they who still hold the glorious, eternal ideals of Indian womanhood.

# RESTORATION COMEDY

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In the autumn of 1642, the theatres in London were closed down by the Commonwealth Ordinance. They were not re-opened until 1660 when Charles II was brought back from his exile in France to occupy the British throne. A few theatrical performances were held surreptitiously in the Red Bull Playhouse during the interregnum. What remained almost hidden came into the limelight and won public recognition when "the best good man that ever ruled a throne" started frivolity at Whitehall, along with his cavalier sycophants. The Restoration was meant to be a reaction against the Roundhead attitude towards life and society. Naturally, the austerity in the code of behaviour, the rigidity in speech and dress and the accepted ways of tautening the moral fibre were all discarded with relentless disdain. The old world of what was regarded as the cant and humbug of Puritanism was pulled into pieces and the values featuring the new monarchical order emerged triumphantly, exerting a tremendous influence on the existing state of affairs as well as on the scale of habits.

The comic writers of the period furnish us with a conspectus of the contemporary situation and thus enable us to gain insight into the historical perspective of the age. They depicted the modish triviality, seductive gentleness and patterned elegance of the upper class society of London. They saw through the characters of the men and women who lived in a sophisticated world where 'manners,' i.e. the externals or the graceful qualities of a genteel kind of life reigned supreme. An imposing veneer of civilization concealed the outbursts of animal passion. The primal energy of Eden was relegated to the background, in the bewildering flights of fancy which regaled the intellectual aristocrats in a polished drawing room. While reading the Restoration Comedies, says John Palmer, we feel that we are no longer men, but wits and a peruke; that we are no longer women, but ladies of the tea-table. The whole social structure was built on a foundation of factitious norms. Not even a modicum of sincere integrity was there to regulate and sustain the normal life. Only the Buckinghams and the Rochesters and the Killigrews shone with unusual glamour, setting up certain standards of licentiousness for an emancipated and yet shifting generation.

The psychological climate of the age did not favour the growth and development of tragedy proper. The dramatists aimed at a rational simplification of the endemic mode of existence and presented its anatomy by way of a judicious appraisal. Lacking in the faculty divine and the spiritual vision which could explore, in a moment of clairvoyance, the possibilities inherent in the psyche, they failed to express the mystery of a cosmic under-

standing. The Royal Society of London emerged in 1660, or shortly thereafter, professing to analyse the multiplex phenomena of the universe. It tended to believe in the progress of man through the illumination of new science and with a view to ensuring that progress it adopted a method, at once experimental and empirical, which implied the examination of the evidence before a proposition was to be accepted. The leading members of the Society, Robert Boyle, John Ray and Sir Isaac Newton, made sensational contributions to the fund of human knowledge. The Restoration comedy-writers, in their conscious attempts to deal with the social values, could never brush aside the persistent scientific scepticism which had replaced the mute amazement originating in an incomprehension of the riddling forces of 'Dire Necessity.' Tragedy, after vainly striving to add vitality to the style of Dryden and others, went into hibernation. Comedy lent itself elastically to the tone and taste of the times and appeared like a favourite pastime, a source of delightful utility, which had come to stay.

Charles II learned much from the days of his continental exile and did not fail to infuse his newly acquired learning into the literary matrix of his time. Much of the debonair wit, artistic deftness and bantering levity characterizing the fashionable set of individuals that hung about the French Court was imported into the urban life of England. True it is that Virgil, Horace, Ovid and Juvenal were still more powerful influences than the contemporary Frenchmen such as Descartes, Moliere, Corneille and Boileau. But, the importance of French influence can never be minimized. The writers of comedy derived enormously from the dramatic productions of Moliere whose refinement, art of using scintillating *bon mot* and awareness of comic potentialities embedded in the round of social aberrations were acclaimed hilariously throughout the western world. The Spaniard Calderon, on the other hand, supplied these writers with different forms of intrigues which, if properly handled, could give an unexpected direction to the chain of events marshalled as situational complexities. The influence of both Moliere and Calderon was obvious but Bonamy Dobrée has suggested that it is not altogether foolish to say that "the Restoration writers completed what the Elizabethans began." Dryden and Shadwell, to a limited extent, were the fitting successors of Ben Jonson. Thomas Rymer with his dramatic criticism of Shakespeare was an intellectual descendant of Webbe, author of *Arte of Poesie*. Middleton and Shirley, in the technique of working out the tangled problems, and Beaumont and Fletcher, in that of presenting realistic situations, helped the comedy of manners achieve a delicious appeal by means of thrilling movements and breath-catching swerves of tempo.

Romantic idealism went out of the stage, yielding place to the exercise of intellect in every sphere of life. Life seemed to have been hauled of its emotional charm, and literature was faithful enough to reflect its lineaments. Poetry was replaced by prose and the heart by the head. One

feels that a number of 'intellectual gladiators' had been let loose on the board and that they were made to produce an unceasing salvo of verbal wit. They responded to the demand made by the highest purpose of life only by fastening an exclusive glance upon their intellectual resources. Ironical laughter concealed all the springs of emotion and thus held the richest beauty of life away. Leigh Hunt is perfectly right when he remarks that "we see nothing but a set of heartless, fine ladies and gentlemen coming in and going out, saying witty things at each other and buzzing in some maze of intrigue." The blithe surface of society practically registered an attitude of cultured cynicism. The blitheness of demeanour was only an appearance and the reality resided in the falling apart of things, in the absence of any firm, regulating principle of human ethics. A constant fear of disillusion went alongside of a complacency of make-believe projected into action. No wonder that life itself had been mocked as a series of pretty sayings and gallant activities in the pages of Restoration comedies.

The stuff of Restoration comedy was 'love,' the same stuff which Shakespeare had enlivened in his Romantic comedies. But there was a good deal of difference between Shakespeare's treatment of love and that of the Restoration writers. The heroes and heroines in Shakespeare's plays yearned for a new dimension of spiritual bliss, hitherto unattained, even undivined. Imbued with the ardour of the Renaissance, the sixteenth century poet-dramatist exalted the metaphysics of intimate human relationships in the most glowing terms. But 'love' in Restoration comedy was an exciting form of promiscuity, a reckless, gaudy butterfly leaping from one flower to another. Matrimony was regarded as the death-bed of love and intensity seemed a-flame when the relation between the lovers happened to be based on mutual infidelity. 'Love' was only the lust of the blood and permission of the will. It was a contract rather than a sacrament, a rapture rather than a responsibility. L. C. Knights has gone so far as to say that in Restoration comedy 'love' was so spurious that it hovered perilously over the outskirts of the central sexual urge driving all existence. Sometimes, it was a bunch of grapes, sometimes, a palatable dish and sometimes, again, a baited hook. Bonamy Dobree suggests that in the first song of Dryden's *Marriage a la Mode* the ideas of Restoration love found the fullest expression. One experiences love as a game of skilful pursuit in which strumpets and rakes were engaged, attesting to a spirit of decadence. Phrasology became more important than feeling and the values of moral life withered away in the salacity of aphrodisiac smuttiness. A few illustrations from Congreve's *The Way of the World* will suffice to clarify the attitude of the Restoration dramatists. Witwoud said, "A wit should no more be sincere, then a Woman constant; one argues a Decay of Parts, as t'other of Beauty." Even Millamant in whom the critics readily find wit and womanliness in equal proportions exclaimed, "Lord, what is a Lover that it can give? Why one makes



against the wrong and baseness of society. Aristophanes was prompted by a deep social solicitude and criticized the foibles of Athenian life. Ben Jonson was morally annoyed and anatomized "time's deformity in every nerve and sinew". Bernard Shaw, in a much later age, was moved by a blaze of reformatory zeal and became the "Knight of the Burning Pencil". All of them tried to give a positive shape to the creative idealism which lay in the depths of their hearts. They pulled down the pyramid of rotten conventions, but, at the same time, conceived of raising a new structure over the broken edifice. In the Restoration period, however, no such satirist wielded his pen. The satirical purpose of the comic writers, if they had any, failed miserably. A good many characters had been the targets for the shafts of amused contempt: Lady Wishfort who suffered from an "indigestion of Widowhood"; Pinch wife, the superannuated sensualist, who guffawed when his wife was being seduced, Lady Flippant, the amorous widow, who was always on the quest for a husband; Heartwell, the surly old bachelor, who pretended to slight women but was secretly in love with Silvia; Lady Froth, the great coquette, who was a pretender to poetry, wit and learning; to name only a few. And yet the tone of the satirists had always a playful quality about it. The attitude was never one of strong and intense moral disapprobation, of castigating social evils for the purpose of ameliorating humanity in general. The comic dramatists, says James Sutherland, "might ridicule aberrations and eccentricities, or excesses and deficiencies in their own class or laugh at aldermen and women of the Town; but they had no real quarrel other than occasional boredom, with that world of which they were themselves among the leading ornaments, and which they mirrored with . . . amusement in their comedies". "They pleas'd their age, and did not aim to mend" (Dr. Johnson). It is on the plane of grace and delight and not on the moral or philosophic that they had something to give.

Wit was the only redeeming feature of Restoration comedy. In a society where "the lyric cry from the heart" had to be stifled, people tried their best to score intellectual victory and used crisp, aphoristic and persuasive sentences. Sentences like (1) "Friendship without Freedom is as dull as Love without Enjoyment, or wine without Toasting", (2) "But say what you will, 'tis better to be left, than never to have been lov'd", or (3) "The falling out of wits is like the falling out of lovers" are too interesting to miss. Congreve, among the Restoration masters, often fell upon fine phrases like a lover and the dancing words he used easily catch our ears. Lines like "Here she comes, i'faithful Sail, with her Fan spread and Streamers out, and a Shoal of fools for Tenders" or "Beauty is the Lover's gift" are not only mellifluous but even poetic in their evocative powers. Congreve's "purity of style" and "perfection of dialogue" remind us of a Frenchman, not, however, of Molière, but of Gustave Flaubert. Both the writers aimed at the creation of beauty through the quality and

texture of words and insisted on the adequacy of expression by plastic means.

Wit was the ultimate reality in the writings of Sheridan and Oscar Wilde, but in Congreve's writings, the agility of wit and a keen tragic sense entered into a curious artistic congress. In this connexion, one fails to resist the temptation of comparing Congreve with Bernard Shaw. Under the surface of his blithe flippancy Shaw concealed powers of deep emotion. Ann's cry for a father of the Superman and the litany at the end of *Saint Joan* bear unmistakable signs of pathos. Shaw was at times really pensive, desperately struggling to give vent to his throttled emotions and the music where he appeared 'palpitated into infinite melancholy'. Congreve was also a writer with a tragic cast of mind which had given unexpected turns to more than one play he wrote. Lady Touchwood and Mrs. Fainall were figures of intense realism and they left an impression of unmitigated anguish. The last scene of *The Double-Dealer* where Lady Touchwood entered the stage, frantic, 'affrighted' and being pursued by her husband, was not only 'surprising' but also bitterly tragic in its implications. Mrs. Fainall was 'more sinned against than sinning'. She had a passion for Mirabell and she was loyal to him in every possible way, but her heart ached at not being loved by her husband. Once she said, "He (Mr. Fainall) has a Humour more prevailing than his Curiosity, and will willingly dispence with the hearing of one scandalous Story, to avoid giving an occasion to make another by being seen to walk with his wife". The affectation of lightness in the remark catches our fancy. "But how bitter it is! How full of unnecessary pain is the way of the world!"

## COINCIDENCE OF MARRIAGE OF THE TWO GREAT SCHOLARS OF INDIA —THEIR WORKS

DVIJENDRA NATH GUHACHAUDHURI

Lokmānya Bāl Gaṅgādhara Tilak was brought up in the most orthodox Brāhmin atmosphere of Poona, which was also the seat of Oriental learning. His father Gaṅgādhara Rāmachandra Śāstri was a reputed Sanskrit scholar. He initiated his son in Oriental Studies. "The Uncrowned King of Deccan" (1887 to 1897), "The father of Indian Unrest"—Tilak was married when he was 15 years of age with a bride 10 years old.

Avināśa Chandra Guha was brought up in a Bengali home of Orthodox *Kāyastha* family, being men of letters, well-versed in Eastern Classics and were prominent men in the field of public activities and in the high offices of the State service. It was in this environment that Avināśa Chandra was cradled. He married in 1890, May 2, at the age of 15, Prabhāt Kāminī, who was aged 10 years, under the guardian-ship of his elder first cousins who were nominated in the will of Svarūp Chandra Guha as Executor of the Zamindāri Estate and other properties left by him to his son Avināśa Chandra. Svarūp Chandra was a great scholar in Eastern Classics and was a Doyen of Barisal Bar, East Bengal.

Both were the brightest stars in the firmament. So the lines of Wordsworth apply to them aptly :

"Thou soarest high but never roam,  
True to the kindred points of Heaven and Home".

### *Their Works :*

Bāl Gaṅgādhara Tilak, B.A., LL.B. (1856-1920)—Amongst others the following are notable :

- (i) The Orion (article on Vedic studies read at International Congress of Orientals, London, 1892) acquired for him a high reputation in the world of Oriental scholars,
- (ii) The Arctic Home in the Vedas,
- (iii) Gītārahasya (a monument of his erudition, written in Mandalay prison, one of the finest products of life),

(iv) Articles appeared in "Mārāṭhā", English "Kefari", Mārāṭhī weekly,

(v) Speeches, etc., etc.

His memorable uttering—"Swaraj is my birthright." He was an outstanding patriot, a selfless worker in the cause of India's freedom, a born lover of liberty.

Avināśa Chandra Guha, M.A., LL.B. (1875-1948)—

Amongst others below are noteworthy :

*Poems :*

বর্ষা-গীতি—	"নব্যভারত",	শ্রাবণ, ১২২২ ;
দামোদর—	"	আশ্বিন, ১২২৩ ;
ছায়া—	"	কার্তিক, ১২২৩ ;
ভীমকান্ত—	"	মাঘ, ১২২৩ ;
একাকী—	"	ফাল্গুন, ১২২৩ ;
পুষ্পাঞ্জলি—	"	চৈত্র, ১২২৩ ;
জীবন-সংক্রান্তি—	"	বৈশাখ, ১৩০০ ;
ঋষির অম—	"	ফাল্গুন, ১৩০০ ;
অন্ত্যেষ্টি—	"	জ্যৈষ্ঠ, ১৩০১ ;
বাল্মীকী ব্রাহ্মণ—	"	শ্রাবণ, ১৩০২ ;
কল্পরী—	"	অগ্রহায়ণ, ১৩০২ ;
ঝালোগাড়—	"	বৈশাখ, ১৩০৩ ;
মহালোপহার—	"	ফাল্গুন, ১৩০৪ ;

*Song :*

রাগ বসন্ত—তাল তেতাল, রাগ সিদ্ধুতৈরবী—তাল তেতাল,  
রাগ ছায়ানট—ঠুম্রী : "নব্যভারত", ফাল্গুন, ১৩০৪ ;

*Reviews :*

পূর্ণবাবুর নৃতন চিন্তা—	"নব্যভারত",	মাঘ, ১৩০৭ ;
সমস্রাকল্পলতা—	"	চৈত্র, ১৩০৭ ;
কিতীজনাথের নৃতন গ্রন্থ—	"	কার্তিক, ১৩০৮ ;
ভাষাতত্ত্ব—	"	মাঘ-ফাল্গুন, ১৩০৮, বৈশাখ, ১৩০৯ ;
মাধাবান পরীক্ষা—	"	ফাল্গুন, ১৩০৯, ভাদ্র, ১৩১০ ;
মুদীর নোকান—	"	মাঘ, ১৩১৭ ;
"এবা"র নামকরণ—	"	জ্যৈষ্ঠ-আষাঢ়, ১৩২৫, চৈত্র, ১৩২৫ ;

*Vedic Studies :*

ঐজ মহাভিষেক—"ভারতী", অগ্রহায়ণ, ১৩০৯ ;

Parjanya—"The Calcutta Review", August, 1955, The doctrine of Brautalinga as applied in the Smṛti—Do., May, 1958 ;

*Legal :*

Marriage : Is marriage of an adopted son with a *Sagotra* of his natural father prohibited ?—88 C.L.J., 1951 ;

Plebiscite—"University Law College Magazine", Calcutta, Vol. XX, 1950-51 ;

Mīmāṃsā rules of Interpretation—Do., Vol. XXII, March, 1954 ;

Athenian Law and Custom—"University College of Law Magazine", Calcutta, Vol. XVIII, March, 1955 ;

Significance of the State—"The Calcutta Review", August, 1956 ;

Hindu Marriage and its Legal aspects—Do., December, 1958 ;

*Historical :*

Successive Strata of the Population of England—"Vidyāsagar College Magazine", Vol. XXX, Winter Number, 1952 ;

*Letters :*

Chitthi—"Mandirā", Pousa, 1361 ; "Vidyāsagar College Patrikā", Jyaisṭha, 1362 ;

Invitation Letter composed in Sanskrit on the occasion of the *Śrādh* ceremony ;

*Sanskrit Gāthā :*

Śrī Śrī Mahāmāyā Vijayate—"Kāyastha-Samāj", Śrāvaṇa, 1344 B.S. ;

*Translation :*

Tārābhāṣya-tantra, 3/2/3, 8 (*Ancient & Modern dhyān*, translation from Sanskrit into English)—"Bariśāl Hitaiśi", Vol. LIII, No. 50, 1351 B.S. ;

*Miscellaneous Matters :*

Compiler of the hymns of the Goddess Sarasvatī from the *Rigveda* (*ms.*) ;

Do., জ্ঞান, সজাত, সজাত্য, জাতি, অজ্ঞান, অসজাত্য from

Rv., Vs., Ts., Nirukta. (*ms.*) ;

Do., On Old-Indian Poetics (*Alamkāra : bibliog.*, (*ms.*) ;

*Philosophical :*

Schwegler on Hume—"The Calcutta Review", December, 1955 ;

*Ethnologic Poem : Sanskrit :*

কায়স্থ-নির্ঘ : (*Deliberation of Kāyastha*),

Or

কায়স্থ-কব : (*Hymn of the Kāyastha*), (*ms.*)

His soul-inspiring saying—"উপাত্ত আদেয় প্রতি," "বন্দে মাতরম্" ।

"There is no greatness where there is no truth, goodness and simplicity"—Avināśa Chandra satisfied this difficult test of greatness—he belongs to a higher type of humanity.

## Reviews & Notices of Books

**Sources of Indian Tradition**—Published by Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi-6. Price Rs. 18.00. Pages 961.

The book under review has been compiled by Wm. Theodore de Bary and three other great scholars assisted by six special contributors including two renowned Indian scholars. It is a monumental attempt to understand Indian civilization from the Vedic period up to the present day. The English translation of many well-selected and valuable Sanskrit texts together with many poems or songs written in different Indian languages and dialogues is an attractive feature of this book. Introductory essays and comments are very helpful to a common reader in understanding the historical background and significance of the topics discussed.

The great book contains materials collected from the Vedic lore, Buddhist and Jaina texts, Hindu, Sikh and Islamic authoritative works. The representation of modern India and Pakistan invites the special attention of a reader. The chapters beginning from the 21st to the 28th have been devoted to elucidate various types of movements, religious, political, social and cultural. The background of Islamic thought, the tendencies of Muslims in India, their movement and the formation of Pakistan have been well discussed in this book. The contribution of Raja Rammohun Roy, Sir William Jones, T. B. Macaulay, Debendranath Tagore, Keshub Chunder Sen, Dayananda Saraswati, Sri Ramkrishna, Swami Vivekananda, Dadabhai Naoroji, Surrender-not Banerjee, M. G. Ranade, G. K. Gokhale, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Arabinda Ghosh, Brahma Bandhab Upadhyay, Rabindra Nath Tagore, M. K. Gandhi, V. D. Savarkar, Subhas Chandra Bose, Jawaharlal Nehru, M. N. Roy, J. C. Kumarappa, Romesh Thapar and Vinova Bhava have been well selected and arranged. The movement of the mystics in India has been duly discussed. Only one glaring defect is noticed to this book viz. proper consideration has not been paid to the Tantric movement in India. The contribution of the Tantra literature to Indian culture is no less significant. I hope, in the next edition this defect will be mended.

J. B.

## **Ourselves**

### **ASIA FOUNDATION SUBSISTENCE FELLOWSHIP**

On 3.1.57 the chief of South Asia Programme Department, Asia Foundation donated a sum of \$ 15000/- demonstrating the Foundation's interest in the centenary celebrations of the University. The then Vice-chancellor, Dr Sidhanta indicated that the most fitting method of utilising the sum would be to institute five subsistence Fellowships of the value of Rs. 50/- p.m. each, tenable for two years for the prosecution of Post-graduate studies, the recipients being exempted from the payment of tuition fees. The Senate on the recommendation of the Syndicate accepted the donation with thanks. The award was first made in 1961. Of the five fellowships three would go to Science and two to Humanities. The award for 1963 has been made but its value has been lessened to Rs. 45/ p.m.

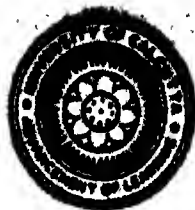
### **DR. TROY ORGAN**

The United States Educational Foundation in India requested the University of Calcutta to accept Dr. Troy Organ as a Research Professor in the Department of Philosophy for the academic year 1965-66. The University would have no financial implication in accepting him as a teacher in the department. Ordinarily he will have no teaching assignment in the department but if wanted, he will be available for occasional lectures.

The proposal is being considered by the University.

### **PROPOSAL FOR THE INSTITUTION OF A CHAIR IN TAMIL AT THE UNIVERSITY**

Bharati Tamil Sangha of Calcutta sent a proposal to the University for the institution of a chair in Tamil at the University with the object of introducing Tamil studies here. The University asked for financial assistance from the Government of West Bengal as well as from the Government of Madras and also approached the University Grants Commission for the purpose. The Government of West Bengal however intimated their inability to render any financial assistance. The U.G.C. stated that financial assistance might be available from the Government of Madras for setting up a Department of Tamil at the University. The Government of Madras has been moved.



## Notifications

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. CSR/29/64

It is notified for general information that the following Revised Syllabus for the M. Com. Course and consequential changes in the chapter XXXIV-B of the Regulations were adopted by the Academic Council on 22.5.64 and accepted by the Senate on 19.9.64 :

That the existing Sec. 5 of the regulations for the M.Com. Examination be replaced by the following :

5. A candidate will be examined in the following subjects :  
Compulsory Group : 100 marks each

- (1) Business Economics and Operations Analysis
- (2) Business Administration
- (3) Modern Economic Development
- (4) Monetary Economics and International Trade
- (5) Business Statistics.

Any one of the following Elective Groups :

Elective Groups : 800 marks

1. Accountancy Group :

- (a) Accountancy and Auditing
- (b) Taxation
- (c) Costing and Principles of Management Accounting.

2. Finance Group :

- (a) Banking, Money Markets and Bank Accounts
- (b) Corporation Finance
- (c) Public Finance.

3. Marketing and Distribution :

- (a) Marketing Principles and Policies (including Market Research)
- (b) Trade Organisation and Management (Policy and Practice)
- (c) Transport.

4. Industrial Economics :

- (a) General Principles
- (b) Industrial Relations
- (c) Indian Industries and their Problems (A specific study of the selected industries to be prescribed by the Board of Post-Graduate Studies from time to time).

5. Insurance and Actuarial Science :

- (a) Insurance Law and Organisation with special reference to India
- (b) Insurance Finance and Accounts
- (c) Elements of Actuarial Science.

And other Elective groups which may be approved by the Academic Council on the recommendation of the Board of Post-Graduate Studies in Commerce.

The Academic Council decided that the above Revised Syllabus and the changes in the regulations would take effect from the M.Com. Examination of 1968.

Senate House, Calcutta-12.  
The 9th October, 1964.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
Registrar



## CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. CSR/80/64

It is notified for general information that the following changes in the Chapter L of the Regulations relating to Diploma in Public Health Examination were adopted by the Academic Council on 1.8.64 and accepted by the Senate on 19.9.64 :

"I. That Section 5 of Chapter I. of the regulations relating to the Diploma in Public Health examination be replaced by the following :

(page 830 of Appendix F of the University Regulations).

5. Every candidate shall be examined in the following subjects :

Subjects	Marks Maximum		Field and practical work in class	Pass marks.
	Written	Oral		
(a) Paper I (3 hours) : Microbiology including Medical Entomology and Parasitology, Epidemiology and Communicable Diseases.	100	100	50	125
(b) Paper II (3 hours) : Public Health Administration including Preventive and Social Medicine, Public Health Laws, Medical Statistics and Health Education.	100	100	50	125
(c) Paper III (3 hours) : Environmental Sanitation including Public Health Chemistry and Occupational Health.	100	100	50	125
(d) Paper IV (3 hours) ; Care of Mother & Child including Chemistry and Physiology of Human Nutrition.	100	100	50	125
Total	400	400	200	500

II. That section 6 of the said regulations be replaced by the following :

'In order to pass, a candidate must obtain at least 50% of marks in each of the above four papers, the written, oral and field and practical work in class marks being taken together.'

The Academic Council on 1.8.64, decided that the above changes would take effect from the D.P.H. Examination of April, 1965.

Senate House, Calcutta-12,  
The 9th October, 1964.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
Registrar.

## CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. CSR/31/64.

It is notified for general information that the following changes in the Chapter XLVI-C of the regulations relating to B.D.S. Examination were adopted by the Academic Council on 1.8.64 and accepted by the Senate on 19.9.64 :

"I. In the regulations for the first professional B.D.S. Examination following are to be added after the termination of the paragraph on page 642 :

'Candidates who have passed the M.B.B.S. Examination of this University or from other University recognised by this University or any examination considered equivalent for the purpose by the Syndicate shall be examined in Dental Metallurgy including material used in Dentistry only.'

II. In the regulations for second professional B.D.S. Examinations following are to be added at the end of the para on page 642 :

'Candidates shall be Examined in Human Dental Anatomy, Physiology and Dental Histology and Biochemistry only.'

III. In the regulations for third professional B.D.S. Examination following are to be added at the end of the para on page 642 :

'Candidates shall be examined only in Dental Materia Medica along with Dental Surgery as per existing regulations.'

IV. In the regulations for Final professional B.D.S. Examination following are to be added at the end of the para on page 642 :

'Candidates who have passed the M.B.B.S. Examinations of this University or from any other University recognised by this University or any Examination considered equivalent for the purpose by the Syndicate shall be examined in the following subjects :

#### Part I

- (i) Dental Prosthesis including Crown and Bridge Prosthesis.
- (ii) Preventive and Children's Dentistry.
- (iii) Dental Jurisprudence, Ethics and Economics.

#### Part II

- (i) Operative Dental Surgery and Dental Radiology.
- (ii) Oral Surgery including Anaesthesia Local and General and Orthodontia.

Candidates who have passed M.B.B.S. Examination of this University or from any other University recognised by this University or any Examination considered equivalent for the purpose by the Syndicate shall be examined in subjects mentioned in the first, second and third professional Examinations, as modified by the proposed regulations, at the end of the 1st year of their studies and the final professional Examinations at the end of 2nd year of their studies.

A candidate who fails to pass in any one or more subjects in the first Examinations under the modified regulations shall be allowed to appear in that subject or subjects in which he has failed in any subsequent Examination.

Any candidate who fulfils the conditions may be admitted to the final professional Examination provided he has passed in all the subjects in which he was due to appear in the Examination at the end of the first year.

A candidate who fails to pass or present himself for the Examination shall not be entitled to refund of the fee, but he may be admitted to one or more subsequent Examinations on payment of the prescribed fee on each occasion, on producing a certificate that he has, since the date of last Examination and within the 6 months preceding the Examination which he intends appearing at attended, to the satisfaction of the Principal of the college, a further course of study in the subjects in which he will appear."

The Academic Council decided that the above changes would take effect from the current session i. e., from the admission for the session 1964-65.

Senate House, Calcutta-12,  
The 9th October, 1964.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
Registrar.

#### CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. CSR/32/64.

It is notified for general information that the following changes in the Chapter XLVIII B of the Regulations relating to the M.Sc. (Medical) Examination were adopted by the Academic Council on 1.8.64 and accepted by the Senate on 19.9.64 :

A. (a) The Section 11 be replaced by the following :

In order to pass the Examination, a candidate must obtain at least 180 marks in aggregate of four theoretical papers and at least 180 marks in the aggregate of four practical papers.

No minimum pass marks shall be required in each theoretical paper but if in any theoretical paper a candidate obtains less than 25 marks, these marks shall not be included in his aggregate.

(b) The following new paragraph be added after Section 11 :

12. A candidate obtaining 60% i.e. 480 marks of the total marks for theoretical and practical Examinations or above shall be placed in the first class. A candidate obtaining less than 60% i.e., 480 marks but not less than 45% i.e., 360 marks shall be placed in the Second class.

(c) The existing section 12 be renumbered as section 13

B. In the syllabus of Anatomy the following changes be made :

In last paper 2nd half add within bracket "(Morphology and evolution)" after "Comparative anatomy."

In practical 3rd paper (a) insert "(Surface and Radio-logical anatomy)" after "Living Anatomy."

The Academic Council decided that the above changes would take effect from the Examination of 1964.

Senate House, Calcutta-12.  
The 10th October, 1964.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
Registrar.

## CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. CSR/33/64.

It is notified for general information that the following changes in Chapter XXXVI-CC of the Regulations relating to the Revised 3 year B.Sc. Examination were adopted by the Academic Council on 1.8.64 and accepted by the Senate on 19.9.64 :

'The full-stop occurring at the end of Sec. 21 of the revised B.Sc. regulations be deleted and the following be added thereafter :

"And one paper in Humanities and Social Science (Additional subject)."

The above changes would take effect from the session 1964-65.

Senate House, Calcutta-12.  
The 10th October, 1964.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
Registrar.

## CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. CSR/34/64.

It is notified for general information that the following changes in the Chapters XLVII, XLVIII and XLIX of the regulations relating to the M.D., M.S. and M.O. Examinations respectively were adopted by the Academic Council on 1.8.64 and accepted by the Senate on 19.9.64 :

"That after para 3 of section 2 the following new paragraph be added :

'The applicant for admission to the Examination shall, two years prior to his preparation of thesis, apply to the Secretary, Council of the University College of Medicine for registration in the Council of the University College of Medicine in a prescribed form, stating therein his qualifications and the subject or subjects which he/she proposes to investigate. The application for registration must be certified by a guide recognised for the purpose by the Council of the University College of Medicine under whose guidance he/she intends to carry on the work and this should be forwarded through the Head of the Institution where the candidate intends to work. He may, not later than one year after his registration, be permitted to modify or amend the title of the thesis with the approval of the Council of the University College of Medicine.'"

The Academic Council decided to give immediate effect to the above changes in the Regulations.

Senate House, Calcutta-12.  
The 10th October, 1964.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
Registrar.

ANDHRA UNIVERSITY  
Proceedings of the Syndicate

No. S 4-2553-63

Waltair, Dt. 8-8-1963.

Sub : Misconduct at the University Examinations March-April 1963.

Ref : Syndicate Resolution dated 20-7-1963.

## ORDER

The results of the following candidates who have been found guilty of resorting to unfair means at the University Examinations held in March-April 1963 are cancelled and debarred from appearing for any of the University Examinations for the period noted against each—

S. No.	Name of the candidate	Examination	Reg. No.	Period of Rustication.
1.	M. Nagabhushana Rao	Matriculation.	8096	Debarred for one year and permitted to appear for the University Examination to be held in March 1964 or thereafter.
2.	G. C. Narayanamurthy	do	8114	do
3.	D. Subbalakshmi	do	4434	Debarred for two years and permitted to appear for the University Examination to be held in March 1965 or thereafter.
4.	G. Krishnam Raju	Pre-University.	1337	do
5.	K. Krishnam Raju	do	1338	do

By Order  
K. V. GOPALASWAMY  
Registrar.

1965]

## NOTIFICATIONS

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## ANDHRA UNIVERSITY

No. S. 4.2553-63  
Encl : One Statement.

Waltair, 9-8-1963.

## Proceedings of the Syndicate.

Sub : Misconduct at University Examinations March/April, 1963.  
Ref : Syndicate Resolution dt. 20-7-1963

## O R D E R

The results of the following candidates who have been found guilty of resorting to unfair means at the University Examinations held in March-April 1963 are cancelled and they are debarred from appearing for any of the University Examinations for the period noted against each—

S. No.	Name of the candidate	Examination	Reg.No.	Period of Rustication
1.	G. Veerareddy	Pre-University	10369	Debarred for one year and permitted to appear for the University Examination to be held in March 1964 or thereafter.
	P. R. Koteswara Rao	B. A. (N. R.)	999	Debarred for two years and permitted to appear for the University Examinations to be held in March 1965 or thereafter.
3.	G. Leelavati Devi	do	2433	do
4.	Y. Raghava Rao	B.Sc. (N.R.)	3314	do
5.	C. Satyanarayana	do	4684	do
6.	P. Shyamala	B.A. (O.R.)	3419 A	Debarred for two years.

By Order  
K. V. GOPALASWAMY,  
Registrar

## ANDHRA UNIVERSITY

## Proceedings of the Syndicate

No. B2/10784/62

Waltair, d/31-8-1963

Sub : Matriculation Examination September 1963.  
Read : 1. Application d/nil from Mr. P. B. A. Govindacharyulu  
2. Syndicate Resolution d/17-8-63.

## O R D E R

Mr. P. B. A. Govindacharyulu, candidate with Reg. No. 5367 at the Matriculation Examination held in March 1963 is debarred from appearing for any of the University Examinations for a period of two years as he has tampered with the official marks statement issued to him. He is permitted to appear for the Matriculation Examination to be held in March 1965 or after.

By Order  
K. V. GOPALASWAMY,  
Registrar.

## BANARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY

## Office of the Registrar (Academic)

Ref. No. RAC/SCAC/56

Dated, July 24, 1963.

Dear Sir,

I am to give below a copy of the following resolution of the Standing Committee of the Academic Council, dated 16-7-1963 for your information and necessary action :

"Resolved—that in supersession to the earlier decisions of the Standing Committee of the Academic Council, in the cases of such candidates who were rusticated for 2 years and were not permitted to appear at any University Examinations before 1965 for using unfair means at the University Examinations of 1963, the period of their rustication be waived and that their 1963 Examination be cancelled.

Resolved further—that the above candidates be permitted to appear at the University Examinations of 1964, either as private or as regular candidates, in accordance with the relevant Ordinances.

A list of candidates who were rusticated for two years previously and in whose case the above resolution applies, is enclosed herewith.

Encl : As above.

Your faithfully,  
Illegible  
Dy. Registrar (Acad.)

List of candidates, rusticated for two years for using unfair means at the University Examination—1963

Sl. No.	Name and address of the candidate	Roll No. and Class.
1.	Sri Bharat Prasad Gupta, C/O Sri Ramji Ram Gupta, Chittoopur, B. H. U., Varanasi.	429 Admission
2.	Shri Hari Narain Singh, S/O Sri Jagdeo Singh, Shri Janki Rice Mill, Vill. & P.O. Nokha Shahabad (Bihar).	826 Admission
3.	Shri Shri Nath Savita, S/O Shri Raghu Nath Prasad, D. 53/26 Laxa, Varanasi.	187 B.Sc. Pt. II Physics Practicals
4.	Shri Triloki Nath Srivastava, C/O Sri Jagdish Lal Srivastava, B. 3/20, Shivala, Varanasi	9 I.Sc. (Botany)
5.	Sri Shyam Sunder Singh, S/O Sri Jagdish Pd. Singh, Vill. Mawaya, P.O. Chilh, Distt. Mirzapur.	228 LL.B (Previous)
6.	Sri Anand Pd. Srivastava, S/O S. D. Srivastava, H. No C26/47, Chotimaldaiba, Varanasi	30 B.Sc. (Pure)
7.	Sri Mangal Pd., S/O Sri Rajnath, Vill. Narai P.O. B.H.U. Distt. Varanasi.	39 B.Sc. Pt III
8.	Sri Ram Lal Ram, S/O Sri Aliyar Ram V, & P. Dhaurahara (Tikera) Distt. Varanasi	154 B.Com.
9.	Sri Ram Balchand, S/O Shri Bhagat Balchand, Ck 18/82, Victoria Park, Varanasi	102 B.Sc. (Old)
10.	Sri Ambrieh Gupta, S/O Shri Bhupendra Kumar Gupta, Seva-Upavana, P.O. B.H.U. Varanasi-5.	1 1st Yr. Int. Physics Practical
11.	Sri Devapriya Ghosh, S/O Sri N. K. Ghosh, T-77 Plot No. 4, Sidhgiribagh, Varanasi.	24 1st Yr. Int. Physics Practical
12.	Shree Nath Pandey, S/O Late Pt R. Pandey C/O Sri A. Pandey, Vill. Amaon, P.O. Fehuan, Shahabad, (Arrah).	803 M.A. (Prev.) History
13.	Sri Pradumna Narain Rai, S/O Babu Brahma Pd. Rai, Vill. & P.O. Reotipur, Distt. Ghazipur (U.P.)	15 Part I of IV Yr. Int. Mining.
14.	Shri Dharendra Mohan Gupta, S/O Shri P. C. Gupta, 118/413 Kaushalpur, Gunti No 5, Kanpur.	154 P.U.C. (Science)
15.	Sri Gopalji Kapoor, S/O Sri Radlalal Kapoor, 13/93, Pasbupteshwar, Varanasi	157 P.U.C. (Science)
16.	Sri Ram Sesh Tiwari, C/O Shri Suresh Chandra Tiwari, Vill. Danhm, P.O. Kopeha Distt. Shahabad (Bihar).	528 B.A. Pt. II
17.	Sri Ashok Kumar, C/O Sri K. L. Khosla, Indian Oxygen Ltd, C9, Najfagarh Road, New Delhi-15.	221 II Yr. Int Tech. Engineering.
18.	Shri A. K. Jindal, S/O Sri Ram Deo Gupta, Near Jwala Nagar, Beri Bagh, Saharanpur, U.P.	2 B.Sc. Chem. Engg. Pt. III
19.	Shri Dinesh Harkisan Das Kapadia, S/O Shri H. M. Kapadia, 28, Babujanj Road, Bombay-2.	14 IV Yr. Int. Engg (Civil)
20.	Shri Parmanand Das, K. 37/57, Gyal Das Lane, Varanasi, S/O Shri Mukund Das	61 B.Com. Pt. II

21.	Shri Ram Avadh Singh, S/O Shri Late Mahadeo Singh, C/O Shri Ram Narayan Singh, 113/80, Swarnpur Nagar, Kanpur.	B.A. (Old)
22.	Shri Ram Duler Singh, S/O Shri Ram Surat Singh Vill. & P.O. Khalipur, Distt. Jaunpur	689
23.	Shri Ram Ashry Rai, S/O Shri Dharmraj Rai, Vill. & P.O. Barki Ankorbi Via Nokha, Distt. Shahabad.	B.A. (Old) Politics
24.	Shri Uday Shankar Mishra, S/O Shri Ram Bilas Misra, Vill. Kushanan, P.O. Jamalpur, Distt. Jaunpur.	276
25.	Shri Dina Nath Pandey, S/O Shri Ram Narayan Pandey, Vill. Rasiyawn, P.O. Jamalpur, Distt. Jaunpur.	B.A. Pt. III
26.	Shri Jagdish Prasad Upadhyaya, S/O Late Shri Gaya Prasad Upadhyaya B.20/168, Bhelupura, Varanasi.	591
		B.A. Pt. II
		255
		B.A. (Old)
		279
		B.A. (Old)

## BANARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY

Office of the Registrar (Academic)

Ref. No. RAC/SCAC/56

August 2, 1963

Dear Sir,

I am to give below a copy of Resolution of the Standing Committee of the Academic Council dated 31.7.1963 for your information and necessary action.

"Considered the question of permitting such students as were rusticated for one year and whose examinations of 1963 were cancelled for using unfair means at their examination to join their respective courses of studies in the session 1963-64 as regular students.

The Standing Committee of the Academic Council resolved that the following provision be made :-

In the case of candidates whose examination results of 1963 only have been cancelled and who have been rusticated for one year, the period of their rustication be waived and that they be permitted to appear at their respective University examination of 1964 as private or as regular candidates, in accordance with the relevant ordinances."

A list of candidates who were rusticated for one year and in whose cases the above resolution applies, is enclosed herewith.

List of candidates rusticated for one year for using unfair means at the University Examination - 1963.

Sl No.	Name and address of the candidate	Roll No. & Class
1.	Sri P. N. Rastogi, C/O Sri Beni Madhava Prasad Rastogi, Vill. & P.O. Dhnapur (Varanasi)	191 LL.B (Previous)
2.	Sri Loka Nath Singh, S/O Sri Sarju Singh, Vill. & P.O. Chalanin, Via Sakaldiha Bazar, Distt. Varanasi.	203 P.U.C.
3.	Sri Ramji, S/O Sri Ram Nath Chaurasia, Shivpur, R. S. Varanasi Cantt.	47 B.Sc. Part III
4.	Sri Pillalamarri Sureshwar Rao, Poddapati House Rajgopalachari Street, Governor Pet, Vijayawada-2 (A.P.) S/O Sri P. Gopala Rao	183 B.Sc Part I
5.	Sri Surendra Shankar Shrivastava, S/O Sri Ram Kishore Lal, C-27/43 A. Jagatganj, Varanasi.	83 LL.B. (Final)
6.	Mohammad Unis S/O Maulvi Abdul Majeed, D 28/48, Madanpura, Varanasi.	143 B.Com.
7.	Sri Ravindra Kumar Gupta, S/O Sri Devi Prasad Gupta, 12/52 Kachaurigali, Varanasi.	911 Admission
8.	Sri Krishna Chandra Mankhand, S/O Sri Ami Chandra Mankhand, Koh-i-noor Stores, Lanka, Varanasi.	400 Admission
9.	Sri Ajaaja Kumar, S/O Sri Ayodhya Nath Srivastava, B 21/18 Kamachha, Varanasi.	768 Admission
10.	Sri Anup Kumar, S/O Pt. Markandey Pande 37/31, Banephatak, Varanasi.	777 Admission
11.	Sri Surya Narain Pd. Yadav, S/O Sri Balli Pd. Yadav Vill. Saone-Bahadurpur, P.O. Akhop Distt. Ballia	105 B.Sc. (Old)
12.	Sri Debabrata Chattopadhyaya, S/O Sri Sushil Chandra Chattopadhyaya, 16, Balaram Bose 1st Lane, Calcutta-2 W.B.)	17 I-Yr. Int. Tech.

13. Sri Ram Jeet Ram, B 83/80, Naria, Varanasi, S/O Shri  
Bhagwan Das
14. Sri Kanti Vardhan Sharma, D. 5/110, Gour Math, Meer-  
ghat, Varanasi, S/O Shri Baikuntha Nath Sharma.

31

III Prof. Pt. B  
(Ayurveda)

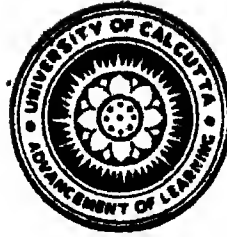
11

B.Com. Part I

Your faithfully,

Illegible

Dy. Registrar (Academic)



# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

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[No. 3

## INDIA'S ABIDING INTEREST IN SHAKESPEARE

K. LAHIRI

### I. SHAKESPEARE'S EMPIRE ABIDES

Shakespeare came to India along with the British commercial adventurers who laid the foundation of the Indian Empire. It was England of Shakespeare's days that sent the East India Company to trade with India. Eventually it built her eastern empire on the soil of this country.

The British have now left India, and their Indian Empire has been liquidated. 'The empire which Clive helped to found has disappeared after a few years of prosperity and many more years of turmoil'. Those that worked to build the empire and those who ruled over it, are all gone and forgotten even by their own people.

But Carlyle's prophecy has come true: The 'Indian Empire will go at any rate, some day; but this Shakespeare does not go, he lasts for ever' (*Hero as Poet: Shakespeare*). When the English took themselves back home from our shores, happily, they did not take their Shakespeare with them. They have left him behind. He is with us; he will remain with us. For he has become as much our Shakespeare as theirs.

The political domination of the British Colonial Power has been resented and thrown off; but the cultural conquest by Shakespeare's Imaginative Power has been accepted and fondly cherished. 'The empire which he founded on the mind and heart of the Indian people, shows no sign of decline, and indeed, with the passage of years, it is growing steadily in both extent and power.' In treasuring up Shakespeare India shows her appreciation of what is truly great in the realm of creative art, unaffected by any bitter memory of her past relation with the land of his birth. Shakespeare has entered the domain of our thought and imagination not as a name thrust from outside, but has been readily admitted into the inner sanctuary of our soul where his poetry found a spontaneous response. Nay, Shakespeare has been to India an emblem of international fellowship in the Commonwealth of Poetry.



Shakespeare has been to India, as to many other countries, a great integrating force among men. 'Though the world is so unsettled, yet Shakespeare lives more vividly than ever before in many countries far from his own land. Empires come and go, and politics change, but great literature offers a gift more lasting and of more worth. The secret of Shakespeare's appeal is a golden thread of excellence, nobility, and grace, not limited to any one country or any one way of life ; a deep spiritual nobility.'

Though the English themselves are 'a little reluctant to speak of the richer meanings in great poetry ; other nations are more ready ; and among those other nations, one of the most ready is, surely, this great subcontinent of India.' We in the East, with our long spiritual and philosophical traditions, appear often to be able to see more deeply into Shakespeare's plays than the English themselves. Shakespeare is no longer theirs alone ; he is ours, just as much, perhaps more.

With the ebbing of the supremacy of English in India, there has not been any decline in the quality of Shakespeare studies or in the ardour of Shakespeare students. It is hoped that no linguistic chauvinism and misplaced sentiments, parading under dubious colours of an aggressive nationalism, will precipitate conditions that will deny to the future generations of our country the wealth of Shakespeare's enduring wisdom and noblest art.

Even if and when English is officially 'scrapped', the future of Shakespeare in India is assured. Interest in him will never die out. When English loses its political status here, there will come a purer appreciation of Shakespeare's artistic worth. Only people who will be genuinely interested in his poetry will study him. With smaller classes, teachers will find it easier and more homely to come into closer intimacy with Shakespeare's world. Then we shall have in India a pattern of Shakespeare study similar to that obtaining in other advanced non-English-speaking countries. An English-knowing minority will read Shakespeare in original English ; the rest—a much larger number than at present—will read him and see his masterpieces in competent renderings in their own languages. And their pleasure and profit will be no less.

## II. SHAKESPEARE ACCEPTED BY INDIA

Shakespeare is now claimed by India as her own as by his homeland. On the occasion of the Tercentenary of his death in 1916 Rabindranath Tagore, her own poet, joined the chorus of universal acclamation :

'When by the far-away sea  
Your fiery disk appeared from behind the Unseen,  
O poet, O sun, England's horizon felt you  
near her breast, and took you to be her own.

Then at the silent beckoning of the Eternal  
You rose higher and higher  
till you reached the mid sky,  
making all quarters of heaven your own.

After the end of centuries,  
the palm groves by the Indian Sea  
raise their tremulous branches to the sky  
murmuring your praise.'

In the rich treasure house of Western literature that was opened to India by English education Shakespeare is the most precious jewel. 'At the very first confrontation with Shakespeare, Bengal took him over and absorbed him in her literary and histrionic tradition. Among the non-English-speaking peoples of the world who read Shakespeare, we can justly claim to have seen him from the closest quarter and to have known him best, because we read him in the original and not in translations, as the others do. It is not a processed Shakespeare that we read, but the untouched, unadulterated and undiminished original..... We have elected to read Shakespeare in the original English, and so reading him, we have taken our place among those who form, as it were, the inner circle of his devotees.'

In India Shakespeare is now about two centuries old. 'Educated Indians have had access to great literary masters of the world : Homer, Aeschylus, Virgil, Ovid, Dante, Petrarch, Lope de Vega, Moliere, Voltaire, Goethe, Wordsworth.....but none ever had a stronger claim to their homage than Shakespeare.' Whenever an educated Indian thinks of a poet other than Tagore, Kalidas, or Valmiki, the name that most readily leaps into his mind, almost intuitively from a subconscious fount, is that of Shakespeare. Our mental image of Shakespeare is as sacred as that of Tagore. And our understanding of Shakespeare, we need not feel apologetic to state, is not unworthy of our cultural traditions.

### III. SHAKESPEARE AND INDIAN RENAISSANCE

The influence of Shakespeare on the Renaissance of Indian culture in the Nineteenth Century is not always sufficiently appreciated. He has been a distinct contributing force in it. This glorious revival was sparked by contact with the effulgent mind of the West through poets like Shakespeare and Wordsworth, and political thinkers like Burke and Gladstone. They brought us the vitalizing touch of the European Renaissance, and it naturally gave birth to a new Romanticism among the Indians.

The Indian Renaissance started in Bengal largely under the inspiration of enlightened people in Calcutta who gathered round the University. And

successive generations of the products of the University of Calcutta continued to reap a rich and glowing harvest of this new dawning.

In the wake of Renaissance in Bengal, Shakespeare's dramas, sonnets and poems rang in college halls and literary circles, and were read with absorbing interest in every private study of the rising elite among Calcuttans. Suddenly he opened up before them 'an overpowering view of the crowded country which is the Shakespearcan world. Though pleasurable, it was a stunning experience, the like of which they had not had ever before.'

To generations of youths who flocked to the portals of the University of Calcutta for initiation into Western education in humanities the jewelled lines of Shakespeare were indeed a 'realm of gold' where they wandered in joy and wonder. For the students of literature he opened the window to a brave new world of heroism and high purpose. "In the Nineteenth Century Young Bengal felt the same on reading Shakespeare as Keats did on first looking into Chapman's Homer: it was a 'discovery of himself and of the world'; it was the start of an intellectual renaissance. In a sense Shakespeare has been one of the makers of modern Bengal."

Shakespeare's world, where every character and every situation is invested with authenticity and reality, infused into the students a zest for life. To young Bengalees Shakespeare represented a rich interest in and a vast experience of life, in both its refined and vulgar aspects: to them he seemed to revel equally in its nectar and in its filth; he was imbued with a great ardour and a robust sensuality; he could stoop to the most ribald jokes and rise to the noblest sentiments. So in every way Shakespeare humanized their souls. He knew and revealed to the astonishing gaze of the students human nature in all its aspects. He inspired young Indians to discover beauty in every aspect of life: beauty of the body and the senses, beauty of action, speech and intellect. And he infused into them an aspiration after high thoughts.

#### IV. SHAKESPEARE'S POPULARITY IN INDIA

That Shakespeare is universally popular among educated Indians is an undisputed fact. 'In a company of one hundred educated Europeans or Americans, hardly one may be found who knows anything more than the mere name of Kalidas, whereas there is no such person among Indians, whose acquaintance with William Shakespeare is not firmly entrenched, if he happens to be educated in the usual sense of the term.' During the two centuries that Shakespeare has been here he has rapidly attained this deep and wide popularity. 'There is no evidence that any one in India in the late Sixteenth and early Seventeenth Centuries had heard of Shakespeare. Nevertheless today, there is hardly an educated person in India who has not heard of the Elizabethan dramatist; there must be thousands who have read at least some of his works and have seen some of his plays

staged; there are many who have studied his works with intelligence, devotion and pleasure; some have made significant contributions to Shakespeare studies.'

Is this universal acquaintance with Shakespeare among Indians to a great extent the result of our obligatory acceptance, under British rule, of English and, for that matter, the study of Shakespeare? Is the wide interest in Shakespeare shown in this country at present primarily the creation of great teachers in the Nineteenth Century and the early Twentieth? 'It is hard to see how any Indian student can be genuinely interested in Shakespeare alone, if he has no interest in modern plays and poetry.' In any case, at any time, genuinely serious students of Shakespeare are bound to be just a few in our country. Is our enthusiasm for Shakespeare, then, so effusively shown nowadays during the Quater-centenary, no more than a mere convention, with no real significance?

Indians' love for Shakespeare cannot be purely conventional or fashionable. 'Unless our heart gave a loving response' to the nobility of the artist's creation, 'how could our emotions, passions and preoccupations be so thoroughly revolutionized by the Bard of Avon whom we Indians worship with no less reverence than what the people of the English-speaking world do?' In fact, Shakespeare study started in Bengal not according to any plan imposed by the British rulers, but it began spontaneously under natural inspiration and instinctive thinking in many directions of the Indians themselves.

A boy at school in the middle forms hears Shakespeare's name and pronounces it with the deepest reverence. Later as he makes a closer acquaintance with Shakespeare, the charm of the first confrontation is not dimmed in the least. 'The Indian students' love for Shakespeare is so deep that it persists in after life. If he happens to be in the U.K. for post-graduate studies or researches, he would be reluctant to miss any of the Shakespeare plays at the Old Vic' or a visit to Stratford, if he can afford it.

In an Indian city or town if a Shakespeare play is on in any cinema house in the locality, every college student and teacher will make it a point to see it, though some of them may not be at all regular cinema-goers. 'Every Indian home assigns a place of honour to Shakespeare in its collection of books.' The recent cheap edition, priced at Rupees Six only, of Shakespeare's Complete Works, brought out by the English Language Book Society, has been very much in demand among readers, mere book-collectors, and those purchasing copies for presentation purposes.

Since the introduction of Western education in India Shakespeare has been enjoying an exceptional popularity in this country for several generations. He has been accepted as a genius transcending geography and history. The cultivation of Shakespeare continues today and the interest in him is steadily growing.

## V. SHAKESPEARE'S INFLUENCE

For about two centuries Shakespeare's influence in this country has been continuous and wide-spread. During the second half of the Nineteenth Century and the first half of the Twentieth the educated Bengalees drank deep at the well-spring of Shakespeare. He has cast a spell on them—students, teachers and cultured people at large—and impinged on their minds so powerfully that they not only delighted in quoting from Shakespeare, but would even “swear by Shakespeare and dream with Shakespeare after ‘life’s fitful fever,’ and recite *ad galore* not only verses but chapters from Shakespeare.”

At the beginning the interest in Shakespeare started in the academic sphere. His dramas became an essential part of the syllabus for university examinations in the humanities and were studied in colleges. Whoever has taken a degree in the arts course, or at least read for it, has had the taste of a couple or more of Shakespeare's plays. Thus some knowledge of Shakespeare has become a part of his intellectual make-up.

We have grown up under Shakespeare's towering influence, not only in colleges and universities, but also in our homes and hearths, so that even our personal ideas and ideals have been coloured and moulded by Shakespeare's creations. Thus for many an Indian youth Shakespeare's heroines in his romances, like Rosalind, Miranda and Imogen, have become models of eternal fascination, whom he has sought to realize and attain in life. And Shakespeare has been a source of patriotic inspiration not only to the people of the British Isles but also to his Indian readers.

The reading and reciting of the famous speeches from Shakespeare's plays has been a part of training in elocution and literary taste, in the same spirit in which speeches of famous orators, like Burke, were memorized and delivered. ‘So deeply has Shakespeare's influence permeated us that whether or not we know all his works or understand them fully, his presence in our literary consciousness is a living presence. He has been our literary and aesthetic mentor in a very intimate sense.’

Apart from Shakespeare's all-pervasive permeation of the literary consciousness of educated people in this country, the direct results of his impact on Indian literatures may be seen from three angles; first, translations and adaptations of Shakespeare's works in Indian languages; second, critical writings, mostly appreciative, on Shakespeare by Indians in English and in Indian languages; and third, original literature in national languages produced under Shakespeare's influence. His dramas have been sporadically translated into Indian languages in the late Nineteenth Century and the early Twentieth by casual writers, and more systematically in recent times by professional writers of publishing houses. But competent renderings by men of talent belonging to the world of national drama and literature, and at the same time well-versed in English and in Shakes-

peare, are yet to come. Critical writings on Shakespeare have been contributed to by literary men here and there in Indian languages, and more regularly by academic people in English.

The greatest influence, however, has been on the Indian writers themselves in the development of the indigenous drama in many respects in plot-construction, characterization and technique. As the result of the study of Shakespeare for generations in the academic sphere and also for the wide interest in Shakespeare's works taken by people with pretensions to culture, Shakespeare has imperceptibly penetrated the Indian mind and stimulated the creative impulses of Indian authors in a rich and healthy manner.

His influence on drama has been particularly fertilizing. Shakespeare's plays have not appeared altogether strange and alien to Indians, since these have points in common with our traditional Sanskrit drama. Both tragedy and comedy in the modern revival of the theatre in India owe much to the Shakespearean examples. And Shakespeare showed the way in writing historical plays to writers like Madhusudan Dutt, D. L. Roy, and K. P. Khadilkar. Modern Bengali drama, for instance, is indebted in various ways to Shakespeare for inspiration. His models have had a lasting impact on the glorious productions of Dwijendralal Roy, Giris Chandra Ghosh and Amritalal Bose. Shakespeare's influence on the development of the professional stage has also been immense.

#### VI. THE QUATER-CENTENARY IN INDIA

India's abiding interest in and love for Shakespeare have been amply evidenced in the enthusiastic celebrations of the poet's Quater-centenary. Bengal, with the rest of India, paid her homage in a befitting manner to the immortal bard. In cities and towns, colleges and universities, clubs and associations, libraries and theatrical companies, people expressed, in modest or elaborate ways, their warmest appreciation and deepest gratitude to the poet who have been dominating our world for two hundred years. The celebrations almost assumed the proportions of a national festival.

The central celebration in Calcutta was organized by the elite of the society and held at Mahajati Sadan for five days, April 24 to 28, 1964. Many smaller endeavours were made by cultural associations in the city and its suburbs. In some district towns administrative officials and academic people collaborated in arranging suitable functions in their locality. The professional theatre, however, lagged behind in fittingly celebrating the Quater-centenary of the greatest dramatist of the world.

The programme of the Quater-centenary celebrations varied not due to any difference in enthusiasm but according to the resources of the organizers. Some had modest lectures and play-readings, others more ambitious drama festivals and exhibitions. Recitals of Shakespearean passages and performances of Shakespeare's plays in original English were

common features. Often favourite scenes, instead of entire plays, were presented. Sometimes these were supplemented with acting of Shakespeare's dramas translated in Indian languages like Bengali, Hindi, or Tamil, or even Sanskrit. In a few festivals there were entertaining folk dances and

India did not, however, send to the World Theatre Season in London any party to present plays of this country in paying homage to Shakespeare, as other countries of the world did during the Quater-centenary year. Only the visit to U.K. by a troupe representing the Children's Little Theatre of Calcutta happily synchronized with the celebrations of Shakespeare's Four-hundredth Birth Anniversary in his native land.

In functions organized at academic centres there were invariably erudite discourses by faculty members and eminent Shakespeare scholars. Some educational institutions delved into their libraries to improvise an exhibition of rare editions of and varied books on Shakespeare. The British Council at their several centres in India exhibited interesting pictures sketches, folders, various texts of Shakespeare's works, and critical publications on him. There were not, however, any exhaustive exhibits of prints, photographs, play-bills and booklets relating to Shakespeare's life and times.

Finally, souvenir volumes on Shakespeare were published by organizers of the Quater-centenary celebrations in educational institutions and outside. Regular journals brought out special issues devoted exclusively to Shakespeare.

'The Commemoration Volume published by the Quater-centenary Committee at Mahajati Sadan in Calcutta is an undisputed masterpiece of literary and artistic excellence, and will bear eloquent testimony to Bengal's love for Shakespeare, a love that transcends gratitude of a superficial type. It contains selections, in English and Bengali, from all that was ever penned during the last two centuries on Shakespeare or that was ever done into translation.' Vidyasagar, Madhusudan, Bankimchandra, Harachandra, Nabinchandra, Girischandra, Rabindranath, Ramendrasundar, Vivekananda, Dwijendralal, Aurobindo, and Brojendranath, to mention only a handful, all are there. There are also represented modern translators and critics of Shakespeare in Bengal.

Perhaps the most accurate barometer of the Quater-centenary's impact on the Indian cultural scene is the flood of requests to teachers and others who have the slightest pretension to knowing Shakespeare to contribute articles to Shakespeare Numbers of all sorts of periodical publications, from college magazines to technical journals. Even an industrial concern, like Indian Oxygen Limited, brought out an attractive Shakespeare Special of the organization's mouthpiece, *Oxygen News*.

# THE POSITION OF 'I' IN ADVAITA PHILOSOPHY

DR. DEVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYA, M.A., D.PHIL. (CAL.)

*Sripat Singh College, Jiaganj, Murshidabad*

We are to see how the 'I' or our individual empiric soul fares in the test of pure reason. We begin the discussion with the Mimāṃsaka view first to see how far it is reasonable in the test of pure reasons. According to Savara Swāmin the entity ensouling the body is inferred from the facts of breathing, winking of the eyes and so on. We can see the colour, size etc., of the body with our eyes wide open, but there are still other phenomena (like pleasure and pain) to be known by the person himself directly. The act of cognition must have an agent distinct from the act (carried out by the agent). According to the author of Tantra-Vārtik the Soul is omnipresent. Wherever we go, we find our bodies enlivened by the soul. It is useless to think that the soul cannot move with the body from one place to another place. The soul is obviously immaterial and so it cannot evidently have locomotion like material objects. The only alternative that remains then for the Mimāṃsaka to admit is that the Soul is Omnipresent. If the Soul be denied Omnipresence, it must either be atomic or be of the size of the body. If it be of atomic structure, we would have sensations only of that atomic part where the atomic Soul resides. But this is not the case. Again if it were of the size of the body, it would have been one with parts of the body and in case some parts of the body be lost, some part of the Soul itself would be lost. But this is also not the case.<sup>1</sup>

The Advaitin, however, is on agreement with the Mimāṃsaka on the point that the Self is distinct from the body. Ordinarily there are threefold arguments—moral, psychological and metaphysical—appealed to by the Advaitin to prove that the self is not identical with body. If the Jīva be one and identical with the body and dies with the death of the body then all moral lessons and Sāstric injunctions would be meaningless jargon. The unity of apperception proves indubitably that the Self is not fettered to the body. 'Jīva Brahma-ivanāparaḥ' which is the theme of all Advaitic metaphysical arguments to be proved clearly points out that the self is distinct from the body.

<sup>1</sup> Vide—Jhāṇ—Purva Mimāṃsa in its Sources pp. 32-35 and 37-39,



If the pure self be the body then with every loss and growth of the body the Self would also have a corresponding loss or growth. The body of our infancy surely dies at our ripe old age but the Self cannot suffer any such loss and enjoy any growth. That is why in spite of multitudinous changes we can say in our ripe old age that 'I am the same man' of boyhood and young age and puberty'. If the body be the conscious Self, the question will be whether the parts or cells of the body are each conscious self or the totality of the parts of the body are the sum of consciousness. The first alternative is untenable because innumerable cells of the body having innumerable separate bits of consciousness should never come to any decision whatsoever and all bodily actions will be arrested for ever (as in doubt or in indecision no action is possible). Again the sum total of the parts of the body cannot be the conscious self. In that case when we have a hair cut, some part of our body would be damaged and lost. But this is absurd. Consciousness is sometimes taken to be the epiphenomenon of the body. In this connexion the Advaitin points out that chemical integration and disintegration are always taking place within the body, but we do not feel or find any integration and disintegration within the conscious self itself. The question of the Advaitin is why with every integration and disintegration of bodily cells, fresh epiphenomena of consciousness do not come in and clash with each other? This question posed by the Advaitin is a perennial perplexing query to the opponent. If the conscious self were something changing with the changing body, then it could not have witnessed the past, present and guessed the future also. Unlike the body the conscious self is birthless and deathless. Hence we find like the Mimāṃsaka the Advaitin holds that body is not and cannot be the conscious self. But the distinction of the self from the body has led the Mimāṃsaka to think in a way and the Advaitin in some other way. For the Prābhākara Mimāṃsaka the self is only "Kartâ bhoktâ jado vibhuh"—the term 'jadoh' being used to signify that the self is distinct from the Jñāna Svarupa (*cf.* *Sa ca Jñanasvarupabhinnatvât Jadah, Jânâtîti Jñânâśrayatvena Sa bhâti, na jñânarupatvena*). According to Pârthasârathi Miśra the Self can be easily subject and object of perception. The Advaitin holds that this Mimāṃsaka description of the self relates itself to the empirical ego of the Advaitin. According to the Advaitin the empirical ego which is nothing but a thinking and feeling subject labours within empirical anirvacanīya appearances and is itself anirvā-ya. On the Advaitic principle the Pure subject by virtue of the Subjecthood cannot stand

before himself and become an object. But the empirical ego being only māyic and anirvacaniya appearance can be both the Subject and Object of Perception. For the Advaitin the pure self is always jñānaswarūpa and is never jñānaśraya and the empirical ego shines only against the background of the luminous timelessly Present Pure Consciousness which is the Pure self. In a word, the Advaitin distinguishes Pure Consciousness which is the Pure self. The Advaitin distinguishes between the empirical ego and the pure self and for him it is the Pure self that is the absolute reality and the empirical ego is māyic appearance like any other Objective appearance. The Mimāṃsaka philosopher certainly distinguishes the self from the body but he does not distinguish between the empirical ego and the pure self, the appearance and Reality. That is why, the Mimāṃsaka confounds the empirical ego with the pure Self and sometimes is found to shift the character of the Pure self to the empirical ego and *vice versa*. To explain further, according to Advaita Vedānta cognition cannot be any act and this cognition cannot inhere in anything as a quality. If the cognition be an act, it comes to be a temporal act. It was not before and it will not be in the future; it is only in the present. This temporal character of the cognition requires to be known and realized by some other act of cognition which is not an act in itself. If that cognition be also an act, indefinite regress will inevitably overtake us. If that second cognition can cognise without itself being an act why are we to admit anything as the act of cognition at all? Again, the empirical ego working out its own way within the bourne of time and space can not be omnipresent. In case of such omnipresence sense-organs will be rendered absolutely useless. If the empirical ego were really omnipresent as the Mimāṃsaka holds we need not take the pains of knowing anything lying at a distance. Pure self which is nothing but the Pure Being or the Pure Consciousness can be omnipresent in the sense that the pure self is beyond all space and time unlike the 'I' or the empirical self (which is the true self according to Kumārila Bhatta). The Advaitin says the empiric dress of objective limitations hanging on the Pure self can only be illusory. The pure consciousness may have illusory reflections in different minds, the effects of nescience and these reflections are the empirical egoities. The empirical selves are thus on the Advaitic view only illusory appearances and the roots of empirical illusions. In this connection it will not be out of place to quote Prof. K. C. Bhattacharya.<sup>1</sup> "We take a particular object

<sup>1</sup> K. C. Bhattacharya—The Advaitavāda and its Spiritual Significance contributed in *Cultural Heritage*, Vol. III (Published by B. K. Mission).

to be illusory as we believe in the objective world, but we could never conceive the illusoriness of the world itself unless we started with the illusoriness of the 'me'." Sri Aurobindo thinks similarly, "This is the illusion of ignorance which falsifies all realities. The illusion is called *ahamkāra*, the separative ego-sense which being conceived of itself as an independent reality". *Vide* Sri Aurobindo—*ISHA UPANISAD*, pp. 20-21). However, in reply to the further question how Brahman without any colour can have reflections in nescience the author of *Vedānta Paribhāṣā* points out, as colour though itself devoid of colour (or the sound, devoid of colour can be reflected in reverberation) can be reflected, so Brahman without any colour can be reflected in nescience and reflection of Brahman in nescience may be *jīvas*. But it is a matter of consideration that nescience is not any real entity and as such reflections in nescience are not any thing real but only illusory. Thus the individual in the form of an ego is an illusion and a product of basal ignorance.

In his *Tattwānusandhān* (pp. 114) Mahādeva Sarasvatī points out that individuals undergo five stages—waking, dreaming, profound sleep, swoon and death. The individuality traverses all through the states and suffer manifold changes and thus becomes unreal like any other changing material object. Ignorance characterises the 'I' as is evident from the statement 'I knew nothing during the dreamless sleep'. Our *jīvatva* consists of so many passing phases and is thus a product of ignorance and is illusory. Individuality arises out of the mixture of *Sākṣin* with the internal organ and as such it is unreal. In later Advaitic literature<sup>2</sup> we find threefold arguments tending to prove that individuality is false and *anirvācya*. (i) *Vyabhicārādarsanāt*—There are multiple changes playing in individuality. Change being unreal, individuality which is full of changes cannot be real. (ii) *Drśyatvāt*—feelings sensations etc. constituting our individuality happens to be objects of knowledge. Like all objects of knowledge individuality must be *anirvācya* appearance. (iii) *Vastvantara-Sambandha-janitatvācca*—different states of individuality are not in themselves different but are caused by some other thing or due to the contact with some other thing. That which is not self-caused but generated by something else can only be *anitya* and unreal because the Absolute Reality is never *anitya*. So we can see the Advaitic point that the individuality which is a *anitya* product (ephemeral entity)—a product of basal ignorance can only be illusory. Individuality is the root of

cosmic illusion. Prof. Hiriyanna (in his *Outlines of Indian Philosophy* p. 361) rightly says, "It, therefore, vitiates all our knowledge at its source. The whole of the Universe in the form in which it is experienced by us is due to this metaphysical error wherein the empirical is mistaken for the real and is an abstraction apart from its ground, viz., Brahman". Prof. Radhakrishnan wisely makes the statement to the effect that the true meaning of human existence is not within narrow limits of individuality but in the larger consciousness. As long as there is the trace of limited individuality the true self does not dawn upon him in as much it is individuality that corrupts our vision. Individuality is illusory and within the illusion of individuation the Absolute Reality cannot be reached and realised. However, the main point is that the pure self which is also the real nature of man has nothing to do with body or the individuality which is only illusory. Prof. Râdhakrishnan says, "man is not an assemblage of body, life and mind born of and subject to physical nature. The natural half-animal being with which he confuses himself is not his whole or real being. It is but an instrument for the use of spirit which is the truth of his being. To find the real self, to exceed his apparent, outward self, is the greatness of which man alone of all beings is capable" (*vide* *The Individual in East and West*—edtd. E. R. Hughes 1937 ; p. 113).

Padmapada<sup>3</sup> writes "the ahamkâra is a particular transformation (evolute) resulting from its having parameshvara as substratum ; it (viz., ahamkâra) is the substratum of Jñâna Sakti (thought-energy) and Kriyâ-Sakti (Kinetic-energy) ; it is the sole basis of agency and enjoyment (i.e., it gives rise to notions of doer and enjoyer) it is a light generated by its association with the unchanging intelligence (Caitanya) ; it is self-luminous (for it manifests itself as it exists, unlike pot. etc.—*Tattvadîpana*) and it is immediate Cognition (not inferred as held by the naiyâyiks). And due to its intimate relation with it (ahamkâra) the unchanging—Intelligence (Kutastha-Caitanya) has acquired erroneously indeed the vogue of enjoyer, though it is of the nature of the not-this and is the âtman entity". Furthermore, 'the ego-agency (ahamkartṛtva) that is attributed to âtman because of its intimate relation with the inner sense (antahkarana) is illusory only like the red colour of the crystal stone, due to the Super-imposition (of the red in the japâ kusum)'. In his *Anubhūti Prakāśi* Vidyâranya is also of the same opinion, Vidyâranya says it is nescience

which super-imposes the *Kartṛtva* of *ahamkāra* on Caitanya and transfers the luminosity of Caitanya to *ahamkāra* and thus an unreal knot of self and not-self in the form of egoity is developed (*ahamkārasya Kartṛtvam cityadhyasya tathā citāḥ. Sphurtime ca ahamkṛtau granthim Kuryān māyā tayordhruvam—Anubhūti Prakāśa* 6.67). Our *jīvātva* is a knot or tangle of matter and consciousness and it is not something real. The reality can have no trace of unreality in it. Because of this the knots of the heart are said to be loosened in final emancipation (*cf. Bhidyate hṛdaya granthiḥ*). The mixture of the *anirvācya* object with the subject-consciousness is only *anirvācya*. The internal organ pervading the body makes a distinction between the table and the individuality of *jīvātva*. Otherwise, the table and the me-consciousness are both unreal. The impression of the pot resides in the internal organ, which is the internal form of nescience and the pot which is also a modification of nescience lies extended in the external space. This is the difference between *jivahood* and the table. If the table be changing and be thus unreal, the individuality is also changing and is thus unreal. *Jivahood* is not and cannot be pure because like the pot it comes to be the object of knowledge and is *aswaprakāśa* and is thus material.

We may now be in a position to compare the Kantian Phenomenal self with the Samkarite individuality. Paton<sup>4</sup> substantiates the Kantian position on the phenomenal self. In Paton's language, "And just as we can know objects not as they are in themselves but only as they appear to us in space, the form of our outer intuition, so we can know ourselves not as we are in ourselves, but only as we appear to ourselves in time, the form of our inner intuition". In spite of the feeling of givenness of the phenomenal self it is not real in itself and our knowledge of the phenomenal self is no large exception to the knowledge of other material objects since both are phenomenal and stand on a par. But in this connection the Advaitin points out that the pure self of the Advaitin is not an unknown X but is axiologically immanent in all bits of experience. The Advaitic pure self which is a 'non-objective non-experiential super-object' and which is 'the referent in all acts of experience though by itself transcends the acts of experience' is never the empirical or psychological subject or me. To be explicit, there may be similarity of thought between Kant and Samkar on the point of the phenomenal self or the individuality but on the question of the ultimate

<sup>4</sup> Vide H. J. Paton—*Kant's Metaphysics of Experience*, Vol. II pp. 399-401.

reality Kant and Samkar are divided in their opinions. We may now enter into details regarding this. "Both Samkar and Kant accept an organizing foundational basis for the systematization of bits of experience into knowledge. But while the âtman, according to Samkar is a real entity and the subject of non-sensuous apprehension, the Kantian transcendental unity of apperception is a Synthesizing Construction or even a non-experienceable logical abstraction and is, at best parallel to the Vedântic Conception of the buddhi but never to that of the âtman while the âtman is an unchangeable real, Kant demolished the Cartesian notion of the substantialist character of the Soul-Substance. In his paralogism of rational psychology Kant maintained only the logical, non-substantialistic dynamic unitive character of mental life and operations, on the other hand, in the Samkarite conception the Substantialistic independent character is of the uppermost importance. While the âtman is the highest being whose essence is bliss and consciousness and which is intuited in the highest stages of Samâdhi, the transcendental Unity of apperception is a mere logical coordinating possibility and a contentless Pure form".<sup>5</sup> For Kant the transcendental unity is always a contentless pure form and is never the full and concrete Being-Consciousness of the Advaitin. For the Advaitin the âtman is not merely the logical co-ordinating possibility but the Reality. It is the Realization itself. Kant accepts only the epistemic validity of self-consciousness on the contrary, ontic reality of consciousness is realised by the Advaitin. The Advaitin sees his main argument in the fact that consciousness can be attempted to be cancelled with consciousness alone. So the consciousness is of foundational importance. However, in spite of the fundamental difference of opinions regarding the nature of transcendental unity of apperception and that of the pure self Kant and Samkar are both agreed on holding that the Phenomenal Self and the empirical self are appearances and the phenomenal self can not be the reality in itself.

Views of Samkar may also be compared with those of Prof. Ward. "The motive in Dr. Ward's case may be the completion of psychological investigation, and in Samkar's case the penetration of metaphysical reality, but their attitude to this great question seems to be wonderfully similar. They are both impressed at the outset by the impossibility of treating the pure Ego as an object among other objects. Now in this protest of Dr. Ward's against confusion

<sup>5</sup>Varma V. P.—Samkar and Kant—*Vedântakêśari* (April 1960, pp. 512-13).

between the empirical Me and the pure Ego and against the resulting attempt to treat the pure Ego as an object presentational or conceptual there seems to be an interesting parallel with Samkar's warning against transferring the qualities of the Subject to the Object, and of the Object to the Subject. According to him the two are opposed as darkness and light; they are the sphere of the real and unreal respectively. Confusion between them is both the result and product of false knowledge" (Dr. Urquhart—Samkar and Prof. James, Urquhart Commemoration Volume, pp. 89-90).

Now a question of some importance may be raised if the individuality or jivatva be changing and perishable, why it is repeatedly said in the Śrutis that the individual is no other than the Absolute Brahman. In his *Siddhāntaleśa Sangraha* Appaya Dikṣit answers this question in the following way with the help of an illustration, when we say that which you took for a tree is not a tree but a man, we do not mean the complete identity of man and the tree. We simply cancel the treeness and find out the man instead of the tree. The individual with his contradictory and illusory paraphernalia of individuality cannot be identical with the Absolute Brahman. The identity of the individual with the Absolute Brahman is only through the cancellation of already cancelled illusory individuality and there is no incongruity in this. As a matter of fact, individuals are according to standards of judgments many and one, infinite and finite. "The many, Plato means to say, in their distinction from each other are limited. Each is limited by the relations in which it stands to the others and to the whole, but in as much as it partakes of the whole it, limited from one point of view, is the whole and infinite from another. In short, all particular beings are both finite and infinite".<sup>1</sup> According to the Advaitin from the point of view obscured by ignorance individual is only limited finite, and is related to a society of individuals but from the transcendental (Pāramārthika) point of view the individual is not the limited finite individual but the eternal infinite Brahman. However, our main point remains the same that the individual with his individuality cannot be one and the same with the Absolute Brahman. Individuality or jivahood is only a self-discrepant, illusory and false appearance.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. H. Haldar—*Essays in Philosophy* (C. U. 1920), pp. 100-01.

# DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES

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The process of emancipation of nations has a historical tendency which moves from hope to disappointment. The sudden change, a necessary companion of emancipation, must of course result in a degree of disorganization. The emancipation of many colonial areas, especially those in Africa and certain parts of Asia were accompanied by rapid deterioration of social economic conditions and a political chaos. The rivalry of great powers in that area direct designs for expansion of some of the minor, newly established nations as well totalitarian empires had their effect. The neo-imperialism of the new and old authoritarian states, above all of Communist China, is of course a factor. In addition, the post-colonial nations have problems of their own, and disintegration is also a result of internal developments. The problem is complex both domestic and international. Our general approach to those problems was in spite of all not enough empirical, empirical in a sociological sense. We need of course more than empirical approach. But, we need an empirical workable approach and clear objectives, guided by humanist and democratic principles. Frequently, the newly emancipated nations have borrowed political institutions which do not fit at all to the native social conditions and tribal divisions as they do not have a counterpart in social institutions, political customs and values of the new nations which were sometimes loosely associated tribes.

Workable political institutions must fit the general cultural pattern of the society, its social structure, value systems and religious and educational ideals. At the same time, they should have provisions for rapid and non-violent change such as economic plans which were made for 3, 5, or 7 years. Political development, which is a condition of economic development, may also need long-range planning and stages, advance from one political stage to



the next from a relatively simple to a more complex one with less outside aid in the difficult business of government.

The process of emancipation is of course a kind of spontaneous revolution. Once a nation wins independence there is no time for discussion but an immediate need is present to translate this independence into a readymade existing political form. Those well developed democratic political institutions which can be borrowed may not fit to the needs of the new nations since they were cut for societies quite different in their social economic structure and for different political conditions. The general experience of breakdown of those superficially assimilated political institutions, at least in certain post-colonial countries, are an evidence of obvious difficulties. Different political institutions will not solve the problem but some may reduce the tensions and pressures. To avoid misunderstanding it is perhaps necessary to repeat that we do not suggest a return to traditional tribal government, authoritarian systems or the maintenance of the status quo and of the old class divisions. What we suggest here is that by proper assistance of the "withdrawing" colonial power (as was the case with many British colonies), or the assistance of regional international organizations, or last but not least proper agencies of the United Nations (all depending on local conditions) institutions should be set up based on fundamental principles of civil rights, political and economic democracy but adjusted to the needs and present levels of development of the countries involved. This may require a different pattern, at least in the initial stage, than the simple projection of Occidental patterns and Constitutions. The political institutions must have adequate support in a social, we may say sociological, base in addition to the economic one.

In some parts of Africa the new nations were formed on the basis of arbitrary administrative divisions which were a result of colonial conquests. In others the dominant loyalties are still tribal loyalties and national consciousness is either weak or limited to narrow educated social strata. In addition, we accept as an axiom that all political majorities, majorities in a given "political arena" supporting the same leadership or ideology are governable. Again, projecting an entire era of experience in the Western Cultural Area, it is frequently believed that all majorities are governable under a tested parliamentary system. A nation of an ancient culture, as South Viet Nam, supply evidence of difficulties and especially the

breaking down of Western democratic institutions under internal and external stress.

In fact, with exceptions India being both hopeful and noble a chain of military dictatorships spread widely over the Middle East, Africa and the shores of Asia. In some of these countries the process of nationalization is controlled by the military and it is geared toward political and military expansion rather than toward general improvement of social economic conditions of the working people and peasantry. Socialist slogans were widely used but at the same time economic conditions of the population did not improve and in many countries deteriorated greatly. Freedoms were not extended, opposition leaders were imprisoned while the new rulers made themselves presidents for life calling themselves benefactors. Domestic native exploitation may be as bad, if not worse, as the foreign one. The native dictators have an easy acceptable rationalization of their power, legitimacy for their actions in terms of nationalism and patriotism. At the moment of the great revolution in the colonial countries the approach was rather traditional. Modern political theory can no longer be separated from sociological and economic problems; an integrated method may suggest the ways to discover proper and constructive political mechanisms which could express dynamic social forces. We need both a more inventive and more imaginative spirit in political science, political planning in this area, and still a pragmatic, practical approach to the problems. With such an approach new institutions can be developed, even invented, rooted in democracy but suited to different value systems and different ethnic patterns. These new institutions may require specific provisions permitting continuous change and growth, and their working must also facilitate, even prompt, such social changes, especially changes in customs, native values and institutions which would permit economic advancement and development of free political institutions.

Without a progressive change of native institutions and values social progress and modernization is not possible. Thus, the process of social change is one of interdependence or mutual causation between those major variables. Perhaps time has arrived to discover or invent new types of institutions rooted in identical political values of democracy of individual freedom and social justice but better suited to societies of different cultures if those institutions which were borrowed by them are not workable. Above all we mean here a kind of transient institution which would

finally lead to fully developed democratic institutions. This is not a purely juridical problem which can be solved by able constitutional lawyers. It is not difficult to outline new constitutions on paper and draw political plans. However, it is difficult to develop workable and free political systems, systems based on the minimum use of compulsion and rooted above all on consensus. Such institutions secure a higher degree of continuity essential for an orderly social development. Development of such institutions requires, of course, proper political and social climate as well as proper distribution of political and economic power. In addition proper formulation and construction of such institutions also require proper skills. These skills today could be supplied by the cooperative effort of broad-minded jurists together with social scientists, anthropologists, sociologists, economists and political scientists who agree on a limited value system or objectives and have a pragmatic orientation toward social problems.

Who should do this advising? As was mentioned before an international organization might provide the answer. In certain cases a regional organization may be better suited than an international one. How may such a change be instituted? It seems that application of the concept of stages may be useful here. Such a basic change requires proper strategy. Any long-range strategy requires division into progressive stages in order to secure a gradual advancement from simpler forms and functions to more complex ones. Great Britain has applied such a strategy in most of its colonial areas with apparent success. There, transition was orderly and successful with the exception of a few cases where virtual dictatorships or unstable governments appeared. This experience is of great significance. By a method of stages an emancipated nation can move toward advanced political forms to democracy in a pragmatic way, in search of answers and solutions to its problems.

Furthermore, such changes may require new or additional types of legitimacy of power. The general will of the people, which is the basis of democratic legitimacy, in many cases of the emerging nations may not exist in the sense of definite, identifiable and informed majorities. National independence in nineteenth century sense is today a social myth. All nations of the world are interdependent; national sovereignty is limited by international systems without which a new nation cannot exist today. In fact a new nation is not fully independent just as no one is independent in modern society today.

We all depend on others and we depend on modern medicine and modern technology and science. A new, emancipated nation is dependent on the more advanced countries for medical assistance as well as economic and technical help. Emancipation, if it means anything, must mean responsibility, responsibility in simple terms such as providing a nation with sanitary conditions, potable water, protection against endemic diseases, to mention only a few elementary social obligations. Perhaps in such cases where a general public opinion and common denominator does not exist due to the absence of information and educational levels, disorganized or inadequate forms of social institutions, a new legitimacy derived from international organizations should at an initial stage substitute for the legitimacy based on the theory of general will until some kind of public opinion and democratic decision can be established. Here, again, the strategy of stages may permit after a certain period, say, 5 to 10 years, a move to a new political and administrative level based on legitimacy derived from a plebiscite, from the will of the majority, in addition to international recognition.

We have suggested here some general lines of approach which by no means are entirely new. What we have called "strategy of stages" has been successfully applied by forward-looking colonial nations in their policy of emancipation. International legitimacy today is also in a stage of continuous development. The American continent and provisions of the Organizations of American States are in this respect instructive. We may discover here beginnings of such a philosophy. The need for political institutions adjusted to native cultural patterns is, of course, an evident consequence of what we have learned from the contemporary study of societies, to mention the contribution of anthropology and sociology. Technical assistance programs today already employ various experts in social sciences. The problem requires a more conscious effort or a more adequate utilization of social sciences and practical, pragmatic approaches in those revolutionary changes.

The present general orientation of social sciences does not necessarily favour such an approach. A change is also necessary in the philosophy of social sciences. The extreme partisans of "scientism" favour solely an empirical research of "what is" and regard any incursion in the field "what should be" as non-scientific. The positivist formula of Pareto directs the logico experimental study only to the first area to "what is". No one denies significance of empirical

studies of the present existing social conditions and relations ; this of course, is fundamental in any scientific approach. But times have come where social scientists are needed and their rational thinking is essential for shaping the future. Hesitant beginnings have been made with the new tendencies of "applied sociology" or "applied anthropology" and "behavioral sciences." A major problem which appeared is the interests a social scientist should or may serve, a problem of moral commitments of social scientists.

A government composed only of experts and intellectuals, scholars and scientists is, of course, a dangerous tendency which may lead to a new elitarian type of society. But equally dangerous is a government without the assistance of experts, scholars and social scientists in their respective fields. Moreover, such a government is no longer possible in our times, at least in an effective democratic government of those nations which intend to control their destiny and move toward social and political betterment.

## AVINAS CHANDRA GUHA

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Avinas Chandra Guha came of a respectable family noted for culture and affluence of Ramchandrapur, Barisal. Though born in the purple, the only son of a rich father, Avinas Chandra hated pomp and luxury, he hated self-advertisement and publicity. All along his life, he was plain-living. By nature he was shy, serene and sweet.

After a brilliant academic career at the University, he joined High Court as an Advocate. Like many junior members of the profession, it took him long to get into practice, but unlike them he never wasted his time in Court in idle gossips on India *cum* world politics, he utilised his time in study of Law. He was a great Sanskrit scholar and Hindu Law was his favourite study. Soon his scholarship in Hindu Law was noised abroad and young Avinas was held as a specialist by his contemporaries, even Sir Rash Behari Ghosh, Golap Chandra Sastri, the giants of the Bar, appreciated his knowledge and consulted him in intricate matters on Hindu Law. Thereafter briefs flowed to him and there was hardly any case on Hindu Law on the Appellate Side in which Avinas Chandra was not engaged. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee held him in high esteem and appointed him as Professor of Hindu Law in the University Law College.

Once after the Puja holidays Avinas Chandra went to Barisal from his village house and met Asvini Kumar Dutt. In course of conversation Asvini Babu mildly rebuked Avinas Chandra for entertaining his guests with a *Nautch* party saying that he had never expected it from a Pundit moralist like Avinas Chandra. Avinas Chandra respectfully gave Asvini Babu a suitable reply quoting chapters and verses from the Sanskrit books in justification of *Nautch* (dancing) and proved that from mythological times not only in Hindu Society but in other societies also *Nautch* had been prevalent. Asvini Babu on hearing this cried out, “. . . no more of your *Slokas*, I am defeated. But don't you think Avinas, *Nautch* might bring disaster on young minds, so and so (referring to a local Young Zamindar) lost his character after a *Nautch*?” Avinas Chandra replied, “Yes, proper safeguards, must be taken in future against indecencies and obscenities in

a *Nautch*, but as an art you cannot condemn it, Sir." On another occasion both of them had a heated discussion about the correct interpretation of a passage in the *Upanishads*. It was agreed that the matter should be referred to Jagadis Mukherji, the Savant of Barisal. Jagadis Babu came and decided in favour of Avinas Chandra. Asvini Kumar affectionately embraced Avinas Chandra, saying, "Again, I am defeated".

Though Avinas Chandra did not openly associate himself with political activities of the time he made huge contributions through Asvini Kumar to political funds. He was ever responsive to the call of the suffering humanity, for some time he was the President of "Barisal Seva Samity" in Calcutta. His death was a loss to the legal profession, but an irreparable loss to Barisal and his memory is still held in great reverence by the surviving Barisal people mostly now in Calcutta. Barisal had reasons to be proud of a man like Avinas Chandra Guha.

# SHAKESPEARE AND THE INDIAN THEATRE AND DRAMA

A. R. BISWAS, M.A.

Ancient civilisation can decipher its alphabet in the light of a new civilisation. This was found true when India came in contact with England in the 18th Century. While the historical horizon had been expanding vastly in both the space dimension and the time dimension, India's historical vision had been contracting. English civilisation came to India's aid at this critical juncture of history. And this took place in the cultural plane mainly through Shakespeare, the myriad-minded dramatist and poet. The theatre and drama provided the necessary frame-work.

## I. *Theatre and Drama :*

The two terms 'theatre' and 'drama' need definition. The 'theatre' comes from Greek "*theatron*"—"theaomai" meaning 'behold.' In Greek, it signified neither a building nor a stage, but what the Romans called the "Cavea" and the moderns style as the "auditorium." Of course, the present-day "theatre architecture" comprehends both the area for the performance (stage) and the area for the spectators (auditorium). It is thus a gauge of two different conditioned factors: the style of the performance and the composition of the audience.

The "*drama*" is derived from Greek "*dramatos*," meaning "action". It is used in three senses—(i) most widely, it means any kind of mimetic performance; (ii) most specifically, it is a play written for the interpretation by actors; and (iii) more narrowly, it is a serious, realistic play not aiming at tragic grandeur. Generally drama is the art of expressing ideas about life so as to render that expression capable of interpretation by actors and likely to interest an audience assembled to hear the words and witness the actors.

A question thus inevitably arises as to the relation between the two. The interrelations of play and performance have been argued since the time of Aristotle. According to him, "the power of tragedy can be induced by spectacular means; but it is much better to produce it through the writing". Misunderstanding of this has led to two different viewpoints. Schlegel holds that a play requires the clarity of enacting; whereas Granville-Barker thinks that it is like an opera libretto: "with the dramatist, the words on paper are but the seeds of the play". But the truth lies midway. For the best appreciation, a play need be seen, read, seen again and then re-read. In other words, the theatre and the drama are complementary—one supplements the other.



## II. *Approach to Shakespeare :*

Shakespeare wrote both poems and plays. To get at their author, an integral approach is necessary. This integration pattern is a practical guide and this may be found in the terms "theatrical" and "dramatic" used in a specified critical sense (*Shakespeare* : A. Nicoll, 1952).

A "theatrical" play is eminently fitted for stage presentation but it cannot reveal characters animated with life. Here the author looks on action from outside. But in a "dramatic" play, the scenes are infused with a kind of inner spirit and the characters seem to assume the nature of real men and women. The "theatrical" mode is a passing vogue and the majority of world's plays belongs to this category; whereas the "dramatic" mode possesses the gift of immortality, conceded to a few. A comparison of *Richard III* (Act IV, Scene 2, lines 15-26) and *King John* (Act III, Scene-2, lines 59-67) makes this clear. The former shows the newly crowned King, soliciting Buckingham to act the murder and this is "theatrically" effective. But the artistry shown in King John's talks with Hubert about murder makes it "dramatically" effective. In the one is revealed the *craft*; in the other the *art*.

An approach to Shakespeare would thus lie through the Elizabethan environment. He was "of an age" and also "for all time". Here the age is as much important as his personality. Shakespeare is first an Elizabethan and then a world-figure. Truly has the German scholar Tieck said that Shakespeare is both immanent and transcendent. There is something in his works that ties him to the Elizabethan England; there is also something which transcends the limitations of time and place and establishes him over the great globe itself.

## PART I—THEATRE

### III. *Elizabethan theatre :*

"The specious times of great Elizabeth" "has become a cliché since Tennyson first coined the phrase. But the Elizabethan England had its limitations too. The romantic exaggeration of the age arises from the mistake of judging it by its exceptional men and women and not by the average. In an evaluation of this kind, the average is more important than the conspicuous exception.

Shakespeare wrote for the Elizabethan theatres : (i) the Theatre (1576) in Shoreditch; (ii) the *Curtain* (1577) nearby; (iii) Globe (1599) on the Bankside; and (iv) the Blackfriars (1608) at the monastery. The first three were known as "*Public theatres*" and the fourth as a "*private theatre*." The former were : (i) open to the air; (ii) built of wood; (iii) outside the city and (iv) within the city corporation's jurisdiction; whereas the latter had (i) indoor performance, (ii) artificial lights and (iii) higher prices for admission. The Globe was a summer theatre and the Blackfriars a winter theatre for Shakespeare's company.

A. *Public Theatre* :

From the details recorded by different writers, a " typical " Elizabethan play house may be reconstructed. E. K. Chambers' *Elizabethan Stage* (4 vols.) is a valuable guide here. .

(a) *Structure* :

De Witt in 1596 describes the Theatre, the Curtain, the Rose and the Swan as " amphitheatre " and Hentzner in 1598 adds that they are all " lignea." The Globe and the Hope were built on the same model. Prologues and epilogues often refer to the internal appearance of the auditorium as ' round ' ' ring ' ' Circuit ' or ' O.' The external outline was rather of a polygon as is evident from the ground plan of the Swan decagonal. Timber was used until the Fortune was rebuilt of brick in 1623 and Oak used for the Hope. De Witt gives 3,000 as the seating capacity of the Swan; but Wheatley calculates 2,000.

(b) *Frame* :

From the Fortune contract it is evident that the frame was 80 ft. square without; 55 ft. square within. This allows a depth of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  ft. for galleries.

(c) *Yard/proscenium* :

The floor had a space known as " Yard " inherited from inn yards, surrounded by galleries and open overhead. Spectators stood in the yard, the so-called " groundlings." Well into the yard, leaving space for groundlings on three sides of it, projects a quadrangular stage, marked " proscenium," which is a classical word for space in front of the scene. Breadth is greater than depth. The stage was 43 ft. wide and extended to the middle of the yard, a distance of  $27\frac{1}{2}$  ft. The level of the stage was some 3 or 4 ft. above the ground.<sup>§</sup> Two solid trestles acted as supports—there were no rails round the stage.

(d) *3-tier galleries* :

Circling the yard and raised above it were 3 tiers of galleries, each containing 3 rows of seats. The lowest gallery was 12 ft. high; next 11 ft.; and the uppermost 9 ft. Each of the two latter jutted out 10 inches beyond that below. This gives a total height of 32 ft. about  $\frac{3}{5}$  of the interior width of the house. The uppermost gallery had a roof, tiled or thatched. There were internal gallery partitions—4 gentlemen's rooms and 2 penny rooms. Platter in 1599 reports the distinction between standings and seats: One penny to stand on the level, one penny at an inner door to sit; one penny at 3rd door for one of best places with a cushion. Two-penny galleries were the resort of ordinary playgoers; fashionable playgoer was given a compartment in galleries to sit " over the stage " and on the stage.

(e) *Staircase/tire-house :*

The boarding between the yard and the lower gallery was overlaid with iron spikes to prevent groundlings from climbing over and shows two apertures to the right and to the left of the stage. From these, steps lead to the lower gallery itself and there was a passage to staircases behind by which upper galleries were reached.

At the back of the stage and forming a chord to an arc of circular aperture of the play house, runs a straight wall pierced by 2 pairs of folding doors. This wall is the "scene"; it is also in front of the "tire-house" or green room. The tire-house was not merely a drawing room and a store house. There came the author to rail at the murdering of his lines; the gallants to gossip and patronise the players; the book-holder who prompted speeches; the tire-men who fitted dresses and boards; the stage-keeper; and the grooms and attendants, waiting to draw curtain, to thrust out beds and to carry benches.

(f) *Pent-house roof :*

Two heavy columns support a pent-house roof which starts from the level of eaves of the "tectum" over the top gallery and descends in a steep slope to a level opposite to the middle of the 2nd gallery. Behind and above it rises a *hut* forming a super-structure to the tire-house. The pent-house can show "shadow" or heavens.

(g) *Actors :*

8 or 10 actors formed a company. They obtained a licence from a nobleman and were known by his name e.g. Earl of Leicester's men, Lord Admiral's men etc. The history of adult companies shows growth of two distinct interests, that of Henslowe and Alleyn and that of Burbages. The latter owned the Theatre, the Globe and the Blackfriars and controlled Shakespeare's company. This Company, first of Earl of Leicester's men, was known by names of its various patrons—Stranger's, Derby's, Hensdon's and Lord Chamberlaine's until in 1603 it became king's men. The play began at 2 o'clock and lasted for 2 hours at least, sometimes half an hour or even an hour longer.

B. *Private Theatre :*

The private theatre is different from the public in (i) structure, (ii) prices for admission and (iii) employment of boys as actors. The following are its other characteristics :

- (iv) width was not greater than 27 ft.—the whole space being 100 ft. by 52 ft. ;
- (v) Partitions were put up to screen off the tiring house ;
- (vi) Galleries were not mainly three ;

- (vi) Spectators sat in the "middle region," known as "pit," not earlier than Cockpit about 1,617;
- (viii) There were no lord's room; but "boxes" were at the Whitefriars;
- (ix) There were candles and torches;
- (x) In between Acts musical interludes were provided;
- (xi) Price of seats ranged from 6d. to 2s. 6d.

#### C. *Summing-up* :

Good plays need nothing more than the French writer's minimum "a plank, two actors and a passion". The Elizabethan theatre provided planks wherever the players could wish to go, high above or below, their hearers so as to take them into confidence and gather strength therefrom. Costumes of actors were stressed much more than the scenery. Hence there was no separation of the play into scenic units. This gave speed and focussed attention on the actors. It was a "platform stage," which gives the average person a bit of familiar everyday reality to hold on against the merciless ring of lights in the modern world. A variant of this is found in the modern "arena stage" which is poor man's existentialism. Yet after a certain point the analogy does not hold. The Shakespearean stage was not a blank open platform on which a lonely soul was spotlighted in an empty, insubstantial universe as the lone barren tree in *Waiting for Godot*.

#### IV. *Ancient Indian Theatre* :

In this connection, it is interesting, for purposes of comparison to get an idea as to the architectural nature of Ancient Indian Theatre as detailed by Bharata in his *Natya Sastra*. Ancient India recognises three types of Theatre as follows :

##### A. *Types* :

- (a) *Bikrista* or rectangular—it may be of 3 kinds :
  - (i) Large—162 ft. by 81 ft. (ii) medium—96 ft. by 48 ft. (iii) small—48 ft. by 24 ft. The 1st may be used in the case of gods; the 2nd in the case of kings; and the 3rd in the case of ordinary people. Of these the medium stage is fit for mortals.
- (b) *Chaturasra* or square—it may be of 3 kinds :
  - (i) Large—162 ft. each side; (ii) medium—96 ft. each side; (iii) small—48 ft. each side.
- (c) *Tryasra* or Triangular—it may be of 3 kinds :
  - (i) Large—162 ft. each side; (ii) medium—96 ft. each side; (iii) small—48 ft. each side. One text recognises a circular or *vritta* type also.

##### B. *Divisions* :

The theatre was divided into the following parts :

- (i) *Nepathyagriha* or Green-room, which has two doors leading to

**Rangasirsa.**

(ii) Rangasirsa—it lies in front of the green-room and measures 12 ft. by 12 ft.

It is used for (1) a waiting place of the characters about to enter; (2) a retiring place for characters about to leave; and (3) the decorative portion of the theatre.

(iii) Rangapitha—it lies in front of Rangasirsa.

(iv) Mattavarani—they are two on the right and left of the stage, measuring 12 ft. by 12 ft.

(ii), (iii) and (iv) form the stage proper.

(v) Ranga or Auditorium, where the spectators sit.

The stage was often a two-storied building. The upper story was meant for the representation of celestial dramatic action and the lower one for that of terrestrial actions. The Rectangular type (large) could accommodate about 20,000 men. This compares with ancient Greek auditorium of twenty or thirty or eighty thousand men. Of course, they had no roof and were mostly on hill-sides and sitting arrangements could be made on hill slopes.

The *Natyasastra* is silent about roofing and curtain. But there are indications in lines (2,94) and (2,97) that there was a roof; *Yavanika* occurs in (5,11—2), which suggests the use of curtain at the time.

**V. Theatre in Bengal :**

Most of the present day institutions of Bengal are due to the impact of the west and Bengali theatre is one of them. The Bengali stage, though a lineal descendant of the ancient Indian theatre, was renovated during the early English settlement in Calcutta. It is a characteristic of Englishmen that they carry their own institutions wherever they go. Hence the early English theatres rose out of their social gatherings in Calcutta.

**(a) English Theatre :**

(i) The earliest theatre in Calcutta was the *Play House* (1753) in Lal-bazar Street standing at the north-east corner of the Mission Row. Its position is indicated in Will's Map (1753). The English had thus a theatre some years before the East India Co. became the ruler of this country. It ceased to exist between 1781-84. (2) The *Calcutta Theatre*, built in 1775 at a cost of "one lac rupees" about 200 years after the *Theatre* (1776) was built by Burbage. It was called the *New Play House* located at the north-western corner of Lyon's Range behind the Writers' Buildings. It continued from 1775 to 1808. It consisted only of "pit" and "boxes," for which payment was Rs. 8 and a gold mohor. Miss Sophia Goldborne describes it in her "Hartley House" as follows :

"The house is about the size of the Bath theatre and consists of pit and boxes only, first an area in the centre, the 2nd a range of commodious,

enclosed or rather separated, seats round it, from one corner of the stage to the other....the pit was crowded with spectators. It was lighted upon the English plan with lamps at the bottom of the stage and girandoles at proper distances with wax candles covered with glass shades as in the verandahs to prevent their extinction”.

(3) *Mrs. Bristow's Private Theatre* (May 1, 1789) :

It is described in the Calcutta Gazette, May 7, 1789, as follows :

“ It was not merely an apartment in a house temporarily filled up for a single representation, but a distinct edifice completely furnished—in short a perfect theatre differing only from a public one in its diversions”.

(4) *Lebedeff's Bengali theatre*: A Russian adventurer, Herasim Lebedeff organised in 1795 Bengali performances with the help of a Bengali linguist, Goloknath Das. It was located in Doomtolla, a lane leading out of the Old China Bazar and decorated in the Bengali style. The lane lies between Chitpore Road and Chinabazar Lane and shoots off from Radhabazar just to the east of the Pollock Street and is identified as the Ezra Street in maps of Calcutta in 1852 and 1885.

(5) *The Chandernagore theatre* of 1808.

(6) *The Atheneum*, 1812.

(7) The Kidderpore Theatre of 1815.

(8) The Dum Dum Theatre of 1817.

(9) The Baitakkhana Theatre of 1827.

(10) The Fenwick Place Theatre.

(11) The Chowringhee Theatre, 1813. This exercised a great influence over the educated Bengalees and inspired them with the idea of having a stage of their own. It continued till 1839. Tickets were priced as Box Rs. 12; Pit Rs. 8. Door opened at 6 P.M. and closed at 11 P.M. It was destroyed by fire on May 31, 1839. The tragic end may be likened to that of the Drury Lane Theatre on February 24, 1809, and expressed in Byron's words :

In one dread night our city saw and sighed,  
Bowed to the dust Drama's tower of pride;  
In one short hour beheld the blazing flame,  
Apollo sank and Shakespeare ceased to reign.

(12) The Sans-Souci theatre : (August 21, 1839) started by Mrs. Leach at the corner of Government Place East, Waterloo Street. It was constructed by J. W. Collins, the structure measuring 200 ft. by 50 ft. with a handsome portico in front. The stage occupied 28 ft. in breadth, 50 ft. in depth, the space concealed from the audience above and below being appropriated to the green room and the like. The building was sold in 1846 and St. Xaviers' College stands now on this site.

(13) The Lewis Theatre : (September 28, 1872) located at the Chowringhee Road on the Maidan was built on the model of the English stage by Mrs. Lewis.

*Summing up* : The English stage was the fore-runner of the Bengali stage. It was patronised by Bengalis—both the Chowringhee theatre and the Sans-Souci theatre owed much to the princely liberality of Dwarkanath Tagore. It is no disparagement to the Bengali stage to say that it was due more to the influence of the English stage, especially the Elizabethan theatre with its subsequent modifications.

(b) *Bengali Theatre* :

The English theatres at Chowringhee gave birth to the Bengali theatre.

(1) *The Hindu theatre*, December 28, 1831. It owed its existence to Prasannakumar Tagore. It was the first attempt by a Bengali to have a stage in Narkeldanga. The India Gazette of March 31, 1832, records a letter from an English correspondent :

“The play commenced at half after 7....The dresses of the actors were superably rich and the scenery inferior to that of the principal theatres”.

(2) *The Shyambazar Theatre* at Nabinkrishna Bose's house, 1833. The performances continued from 12.30 P.M. to 6.30 A.M. To display thunder and lightning, Nabin Babu had apparatus/mechanical contrivances procured from England. He had no stage proper in his house and the spectators had to move to different places to witness different scenes.

(3) *The theatre at Chhatu Babu's house*, 1857 : Chhatu Babu was no other than Babu Ashutosh Dev. The stage wore a beautiful appearance and was a private theatrical, making an accommodation of about 400 persons. It gave an impetus to the setting-up of other private theatres, as for example, in the house of Purnachandra Mukherjee at Jonai (Hooghly) in May, 1858, and also of Charuchandra Ghosh in 1857. This was thus a landmark in the history of theatricals.

(4) *Vidyotsahini Theatre*, 1857 : This was set up in the house of Kaliprasanna Sinha.

*The Hindu Patriot*, December 3, 1857, says : “The stage was beautifully decorated and the theatre room was as nobly adorned as cultivated taste could dictate or enlightened fashion could lead to. The peculiar characteristic of our theatrical is the absence of dramatic opening which belongs to the romantic school of the modern drama. We have the Old Grecian way of opening the play by the appearance of the Manager of the stage, who explains to the audience the nature/character and the incidents of the performances.”

(5) *The Belgachhia Theatre*, July 31, 1858 : It owed its birth to the enthusiasm and munificence of Raja Pratapchunder Singh/Iswarchander Singh of Paikpara. This was the first *permanent Bengali stage*. It was to Bengal what the Globe was in England during the Elizabethan age. It marked a new era in the history of the Bengali stage. Says Michael M.S. Dutt : “Should the drama ever again flourish in India, posterity will not forget those noble gentlemen, the earliest friends of our rising National Theatre.”

(6) *The Metropolitan Theatre* April 23, 1859 : It was located at Sundariapati.

(7) *The East Bengal Stage*, 1860 : It is associated with the performance of Dinabandhu Mitra's *Nildarpan*.

(8) *The Pathuriaghata Theatre*, 1865. It was started by Jitendramohan Tagore. It was not a specious house, but a beautifully got up one. The scenes were well painted, especially the drop-scene which was "ablaze with aloes and waterlilies and was entirely oriental".

(9) *The Sovabazar Private Theatrical Society*, 1865 : Kaliprasanna Sinha was its Chairman.

*The Hindu Patriot*, February 11, 1867, says : "The scenes were well painted, particularly the garden scene. As for the concert the amateurs did not follow the beaten track of the Belgachhia and Pathuriaghata theatres."

(10) *The Jorasanko theatre*, 1867 : It was due to G. N. Tagore, J. N. Tagore and S. P. Ganguli, who were inspired by Gopal Uriah's *Jatra*.

(11) *The Bowbazar Vanga Natyalaya*, 1868 : It was exhibited through the efforts of Chunilal Basu and Baladeb Dhar. A correspondent of the *National Paper* says : "The stage was beautiful, scenes were in accordance with requirements."

(12) *The National Theatre*, 1872 : A group of young men of Baghbazar established the first public theatre in Calcutta. It was housed in the outer courtyard of Madhusudan Sanyal's house on the Chitpur Road, which was engaged at a monthly rent of Rs. 40. The first performance was *Nildarpan*.

(13) *Bengal Theatre* (August 16, 1873) at 9/3, Beadon Street : Started by Saratchandra Ghose/Beharilal Chatterjee and erected on the model of Lewis Lyceum Theatre Hall.

(14) *The Great National Theatre*, December 31, 1873 : Built of wood after the pattern of Lewis theatre at Chowringhee under the supervision of Dharmadas Sur, the proprietor being Bhubanmohan Neogi.

*Summary* : These were the earlier attempts to establish a Bengali stage. The structure/size became, however, fixed with the establishment of the public theatre in 1872. Henceforth the theatres that were set up followed the set pattern towards which these theatres were moving. So to trace the influence of Shakespearean theatre in Bengal, it is not necessary to survey the subsequent history of the Bengali stage. It becomes thus imperative to single out the directions in which this influence operated.

#### VI. *Shakespeare's influence on the Bengali theatre :*

##### (a) *Later developments of Elizabethan stage :*

The earliest theatre established in Calcutta was the *Play House* (1753). It is thus necessary to trace the subsequent developments of the Shakespearean theatre. Modern researches have revealed that there were 3 types



of theatres in Shakespeare's time : the public play house ; the private play house ; and the Court. Shakespeare was associated with Lord Chamberlain's men, who owned not only a ' public ' play house, but also a ' private ' house and some of Shakespeare's plays are likely to have been penned for ' court ' or other performances, probably influenced by the masque. The Elizabethan stage was known as the " apron-stage ". The typical Restoration play house differed from that of the Continent in this. Just as in Italy, the scene space developed out of the *periaktoi* set within the archway, so in England, the scenic part of the stage developed from that room in which Shakespeare had shown Ferdinand and Miranda playing their amorous game at chess. It is through the proscenium doors that the actor came and went. An approach was made to the modern " picture-frame " setting for a play. In the 18th century, one pair of proscenium doors was cut away, the former upper doors made lower doors and the front door on each side converted into a stage box. Besides, the special costumes were designed for Shakespearean plays. The 19th century gave little to scenic artistry : the main tendencies may be summed up in the words " spectacular " and " antiquarian ".

(b) *Shakespeare's arrival in Calcutta* : The first English theatre was built in the middle of the 18th century. It is thus natural that the Elizabethan stage as modified up to date should be operative as influence over the Bengal theatre. Through this, Shakespeare arrived here.

(i) *Structure/size of theatre* : It is evident that the Calcutta Theatre consisted of " Pit and Boxes ". Miss Sophia Goldborne says in *Hartley House* : " It is lighted upon the English plan with lamps at the bottom of the stage and girandoles at proper distances with wax candles covered with glass shades as in the verandahs to prevent their extinction."

(ii) *Plays of Shakespeare performed* :

A. At the Calcutta Theatre were played the following :

- (1) Richard III on February 25, 1788.
- (2) Henry IV, Part I, on February 8, 1788.
- (3) Henry IV, Part II, on February 22, 1788.
- (4) Hamlet.
- (5) Julius Caesar.

B. At Mrs. Bristow's private theatre :

- (6) Mrs. Bristow appeared in the male part of Lucius, the page of Brutus, in *Julius Caesar*.

C. At the Wheler Place Theatre was performed on May 5, 1797 :

- (7) *Catherine and Petruchio*, a comedy in 3 Acts as altered by Garrick from Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew*.

D. At the Chowringhee Theatre were played :

- (1) *Henry IV* on July 23, 1814 ; (2) *The Merry Wives of Windsor* on September 25, 1818 ; (3) *Macbeth*, 1814 ; (4) *Othello*.

E. At the Sans-Souci Theatre were played :

(11) *The Handsome Husband*, an after-piece of the *Merchant of Venice* on November 2, 1843.

(12) *Othello* on August 17, and in September, 1848.

(c) *Shakespeare on the Bengali stage* :

Two events contributed to Shakespeare's influence over the theatres of Bengal : (1) the establishment of Calcutta as the capital of British India in 1774 ; and (2) the setting up in Calcutta of the Hindu College in 1817. These helped the spread of English education amongst the Indians. And through this, England offered her Shakespeare.

(1) The Hindu Theatre of Prasannakumar Tagore opened on December 28, 1831, with a part of *Julius Caesar*. (2) On March 30, 1837, the students of Hindu College and Sanskrit College played under the supervision of Dr. Wilson : (i) Shakespeare's Seven Ages from *As You Like It* and (ii) *The Merchant of Venice*. (3) In 1852, the students trained by Jeffroy and Roshi staged *Julius Caesar* at the Metropolitan Academy. (4) On February 16 and 24, 1853, students of David Hare Academy staged a portion of the *Merchant of Venice*. (5) The students of Oriental Seminary acted the plays of Shakespeare as follows :

(i) *Othello* on September 26, and October 5, 1853.

(ii) *The Merchant of Venice* on March 2 and 17, 1854.

(iii) *Henry IV* (1st part) on February 15, 1855.

(6) *Julius Caesar* was staged at Baranashi Ghose Street at the house of Pyarimohan Bose on May 3, 1854.

(d) *Theory of stage* :

(i) *Theatre/jatras*.

The above survey of the theatres in Bengal makes it clear that the theatre was influenced by the Shakespearean stage. In fact, the theatres were modelled on it. The English theatres were of English origin. The Bengali theatres were set up on the English pattern, as is evident from the history of the Bengali and the Great National Theatres. Besides, costumes of actors and scenes were added to the theatre to make it more attractive.

It is interesting to see that the Bengali theatre did not develop out of the Native *Jatra*. A *Jatra* resembles a drama in many things in its outward form : but it has no scene, curtain or stage. Moreover, it abounds in songs. Its spirit is thus different from that of a theatre. The end of *Jatra* is to play upon some popular feelings and emotions ; whereas a drama creates characters in relation to a situation. So, action is the soul of a drama ; but amplification of sentiments is the keynote of a *Jatra*. Bharata's *Natya Sastra* mentions *Jatra*. These may be likened to the "Mystery" and "Miracle" plays of Europe. The *Jatra* and the *Theatre* might have a common origin, but one has not evolved out of the other. As says A. B. Keith in his *Sanskrit drama*, p. 16 : "The dramas of the classical age are, in a sense, out of the main line of the development of the drama and the popular side has survived through ages in a rough way in

the Jatras, well-known in Bengal, while the refined Vedic drama passed away without a direct descendant."

(ii) *Later theatres of Bengal :*

I. *Last quarter of the 19th century :*

The subsequent theatres were patterned after the public stage set up in 1872. The theatres of the seventies of the 19th century, namely, (1) the National Theatre (1872); (2) the Oriental Theatre (1872) in Krishna Dev's House at 22, Cornwallis Street; (3) the Bengal Theatre, (August 1873); (4) the Great National Theatre (December 31, 1873); and (5) the Indian National Theatre (August, 1875). Thereafter came the following theatres which more or less followed the set pattern :

(1) The *Star Theatre* (1885), sponsored by Gurumukh Roy. The *Kohinoor* and *Monomohan Theatres* came later on.

(2) The *Emerald Theatre* (1887).

(3) The *Beena Theatre* (December 10, 1887) at 38, Mecchuabazar Street.

(4) The *Emerald Theatre* (June 8, 1889).

(5) The *Minerva Theatre* (January 28, 1893) at 6, Beadon Street.

It was destroyed by fire as were the Chowringhee and the Sanssouci Theatres, but was rebuilt on October 18, 1922.

II. *3 decades of 20th century :*

The first three decades of the 20th century saw the establishment of public theatres and private clubs that went a long way towards the development of the theatrical art.

A. *Public Theatres :*

(1) The Art Theatre (June 30, 1923). It made a name by staging *Karnarjun*.

(2) The Madan Theatre (December 10, 1921).

(3) The Natya Mandir (August 6, 1924). Sisirkumar Bhaduri staged *Sita* and made himself famous.

(4) The Monomohan Theatre.

B. *Clubs :*

(1) The University Institute (1891) was established with Bankimchandra Chatterjee as its President and continued even in the 20th century.

(2) The Evening Club at the junction of Cornwallis Street and Kailas Bose Street.

(3) The Old club at the junction of Wellington Street-Bowbazar Street.

(4) The *Bichitra* at Jorasanko (1916-17) : it was converted from a home school into a club and Akademy through the efforts of Rathindranath Tagore and Abanindranath Tagore built up a great library of modern European books with their own collections.

### III. Thirties and after :

The theatres brought in a wave of new activities. Satu Sen was associated with *Vanderbilt Theatre* of America. On October 28, 1930, Sisirkumar Bhaduri had been to the Baltimore Theatre where he staged *Sita*. The stage in Bengal was reformed with improvements in technique. By 1930 there were three theatres living : Star ; Minerva ; and Monmohan. Thereafter the following made their names :

(1) The *Rungmahal* (August 8, 1931). Satu Sen introduced the first revolving stage while staging *Mahanisha*.

(2) The *Natyaniketan* : Probodhchandra Guha staged *Janani* with the wagon stage.

(3) The *Srirangam* (January 10, 1942).

(4) The *Bharatiya Gananatya Sangha* : it helped the establishment of peoples' theatre after the 1943 Bengal famine. Bijan Bhattacharyya's *Nabanna* reminds one of *Durbhiksha-damana-Natak* by Jadunath Tarkaratna and *Ananda Math* by Bankimchandra Chatterjee of by-gone days.

(5) The *Little Theatre Group* (1950) formerly known as the *Amateur Shakespeareans* at the time of the Independence (1947) of India.

(6) The *Children's Little Theatre* (C.L.T.).

(7) The *Biswaroopa* (November 11, 1957) theatre.

(8) The *Theatre Centre* (December 15, 1960).

Of these, the Little Theatre Group has been responsible for the revival of Shakespeare on the stage, after Sisirkumar Bhaduri's playing of *Hamlet* in March, 1909. This was really remarkable. The Little Theatre Group has staged (1) *Romeo and Juliet* (August, 1947); (2) *Richard III* (1947, 1951); *The Merry Wives of Windsor*; and (4) *Othello*.

#### (iii) Subsequent improvements :

Time is a great innovator. As ages roll by, new innovations are added to the old. This is specially seen in the improvements effected in the stage : (1) the *apron stage*, an extension outward of the stage proper ; (2) the *revolving stage*, on which due scene is set while another is being played ; (3) the *wagon stage*, devised to facilitate production and to maintain illusion, the action being reminiscent of the working of a lift ; (4) the *sliding stage*, segments of which are brought into position from the wings. The revolving stage was used in *Tatinir Bichar* ; the wagon stage in Anurupa Devi's *Ma*. The former was due to Satu Sen and the latter to Probodhchandra Guha. Both the stages were simultaneously used in *Srikanta* at the Star Theatre. Satu Sen is also responsible for the introduction of mood-lights in *Jharer Rate*.

#### (iv) Play as communication of play-wright's mind :

There were 2 theories current in Elizabethan England : (1) Aristotle's *Mimesis* dating from the publication in 1570 of a commentary on Aristotle's *Poetics*, written by an Italian, Lodovico Castelvetro ; and (2) play as expression of the author's mind. Shakespeare followed the latter theory.

Once the play records the emotions of the characters as well as the playwright's reactions to the persons/situations, it can inspire the audience by its words. Hamlet marvels at the perfections of man: "In Action how like an angel" (II, ii). Now "action" was used to denote the voice, face, body and limbs in the art of stage-playing and rhetorical delivery.

(e) *Theory of acting :*

The great difference between modern and Elizabethan emotional acting lies in the greater experiences of the latter : Its gesture and speaking were often incompatible with modern notions of civilised behaviour. "Rhetorical delivery" associated with an actor consists of 2 parts, though in practice, they are one : (1) the speaker wanting to express emotion must be able to mime ; (2) he must be able to enable his listeners to experience the literary quality of his pronouncements. The former is called Action and the latter Pronunciation.

The noticeable feature of Elizabethan stage was that it laid stress not on *scenery* so much as on *costumes*, so that the eye was focussed on the actors. The ancient Indian theatre, too, avoided artificial scenery and tried to communicate the meaning of the play and call forth the sentiment (*Rasa*) in the spectators through the costume and make-up of the actors and their rhythmic movements, summed up in the theory of four representations : *Angika* (physical) ; *Vachika* (vocal) ; *Aharyya* (costumes/ make-up) ; *Sattwika* (temperament).

The great difference between a ' platform stage ' and a ' picture-frame ' stage lies in the relationship of the actor to his audience. It is not a question of realism or lack of realism. When the spectators saw a real actor, they imagined an imaginary prince, the real chair suggested an imaginary one : the audience was asked to imagine, to respond to an aesthetic experience as a result of seeing a stage and the character-actings. Says H. N. Dasgupta in his *Indian Stage*, Vol. I (p. 286), about the performance of *Vidyasundar* at Nobin Babu's Theatre in Shaymbazar : " The scene of Sundar seated on the banks of a tank under a Bakul tree was shown in the tank within the garden of Nobinbabu. The stately council chamber of Beer Singh, the Raja of Burdwan, was shown in his drawing room and the thatched cottage of Malini in another part of the house."

Boys played the common parts in Shakespeare's day. This was also the situation in the early days of Bengali theatres. It was *Saratbabu's Bengali Theatre* (1873) that introduced for the first time female actor, 78 years after Lebedeff's theatre (1795) and 40 years after Nabin Babu's theatre (1833).

VII. *Shakespeare on Indian stage other than Bengali :*

Bengal became the chief sponsor of Shakespeare. Her example was followed by other theatres of India. Bombay is the gateway to India of Shakespeare. Since 1860 Marathi, Gujrati, Hindi and Urdu versions of Shakespeare's plays have been staged.

(i) *Gujrati Theatre*: Gujrat had, from the 14th to the 18th century, no stage worth its name. The *Bhabais* existed and these were performed by wandering players in villages as farces. There were also *Garabi* dances. These catered to the vulgar taste and a reaction came from a *Katha Samaj*. Ranchhodbhai Udayram became its leader and started the *Shakespeare Kathasamaj*. *Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *The Merchant of Venice* were staged. The Parsees were much advanced in matters of the theatre. The Gujrati company as a business concern was started in 1878. Here the growth of the theatre from the amateur to the professional paralleled that of the National Theatre of Bengal, 1872. The Parsees innovated both the stage and the costume. *Measure for Measure*, *Hamlet* and *Romeo and Juliet* were staged by Kavasji Khatau's Alfred Natak Mandeli during 1898-1904.

(ii) *Marathi Theatre*: The Marathi language grew mainly in Poona and Bombay and its theatre was next only to Bengal's. The first Marathi drama was staged at Sangli in 1843. *Harikatha* is similar to Bengal's *Kathakata*. The 19th century had other types of entertainment: (i) *Lalit* which is a "variety performance"; (2) *Gondhol* similar to *Lalit*; (3) *Bahurupce* meaning those who can immitate anybody; and (4) *Dashavatar* in which 10 incarnations of Vishnu are depicted. Besides, there was a variety known as *Tamasha* which introduced an actor in female role on the stage for the first time.

The Marathi stage was very poor in scenes and scenic representations. Hence actors had to depend very much on the high type of acting for the success of their performances. Ichala Karanjikar Natak Mandeli staged in 1867 Marathi *Othello*. In 1872, the students of a school in Poona performed *The Merchant of Venice*. The Natak Mandeli later on staged *Cymbeline* and the *Comedy of Errors*. In 1881 were performed in Poona *Othello*, *Cymbeline* and *King Lear* by Aryodharak Natak Mandali: Govind Deval's *Othello* (zunrarav) was staged with Deval as Othello and Patkar as Iago. Shahunagarwasri Natak Mandali had 2 outstanding actors in Gavapatrav Joshi and Balabhan Jog. The former hero-acted Hamlet, Othello, Macbeth and the latter acted as Lady Macbeth and Desdemona. Kalkar's *Tratika* (1892) or *Taming of the Shrew* attracted audience.

(iii) *Hindusthani Theatre*: The Parsees staged in Bombay Hindi versions of Shakespeare's play during the period 1910-30. "Cheap music, pompous scenes and high-strung dialogues" were its chief features. Aga Kashmir, Srikrishna Hasrat, Batab, Mehi Hasan, Radhashyam and others adopted Shakespeare in Hindi or Hindusthani. Prithiraj had an instinct for life. The community technique of the folk theatre had its contribution here. Through it were possible the joint efforts of actors and audience. This provided an opportunity for the build-up of a theatre of which Lope de Vega spoke: "The company was like some faces, not a perfect feature in it, but because of the harmony with which they are united, the face is beautiful."

The Hindi Shakespeare Mancha performed Hindi *Macbeth* in 1958 and Hindi *Othello* in 1963.

(iv) *Urdu Theatre* : The earliest drama is *Inder Sabha* by Amanat. Since 1856 the Parsi theatrical companies catered for the amusement of the public. Banarasi, Talib and Lakhnair are the chief play-wrights of these companies. Aga Hasbir Kashmiri has been called the "Marlowe of Urdu". The early Urdu version of Shakespeare's play staged in 1898 was Kavasji Khatau's.

(v) *Tamil Theatre* : In Tamil, the *Drishya Kavya* is a harmony of music, dance and poetry. There is no attempt at bringing back to life the old *Street Drama* except in its special form of *Bhagabantamala*. P. S. Mudaliar is remembered as a reformer of the stage and a translator of Shakespeare's play. The Madras Dramatic Society was formed in 1875 by the English and Songli Theatre of Maharashtra which showed some performances in 1880. This gave an impetus to Krishnacharyya of Bellary who started the first amateur society of South India, the *Sarasa Vinodini Sabha*. *Dashavasattam* was staged by them. Drama is here called *Nadakam*. A Tamil *As You Like It* was first staged in 1902. Other Shakespeare plays were also staged : *Othello* (1905); *Cymbeline* (1907); *Hamlet* (1906); *Romeo and Juliet* (1909); *Macbeth* (1927); *Julius Caesar* (1932).

(vi) *Andhra Theatre* : The Telugu poets did not take to the stage for a long time. The *Bhagavatam* parties were the dramatic societies. These actors not only acted and danced as in the *Kathakali* of Malavar, but also sang and conversed. With the advent of English education, the educated *Andhras* (Telugu speakers) demanded dramas in Telugu, similar to those in English. Meanwhile the Parsi theatrical companies from Dharwar toured the country and showed their plays. This gave an impetus and two dramatic societies were started : (1) the Sarasavinadini Sabha of Bellary and (2) the Sugunavilasini Sabha at Madras. The latter dramas in South India languages were staged. Vireslingam translated Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* and *Commedy of errors*.

(vii) *Kannada Theatre* : The impact of English in the 19th century brought in its wake the three-fold processes of translation, imitation and original creation in Kannada literature. Gokak has rightly said that here "Shakespeare presided over the birth of the Kannada blank verse play, tragedy and historical drama". *Romeo and Juliet* was staged on the Kannada stage. In the hero's role appeared A. V. Varadacharya who was dubbed by Anie Besant as the "gifted actor."

(viii) *Malayalam Theatre* : There was a tradition in Malayalam of considering drama as literature, as a *drishya kavya* in the style of Kalidasa, Bhavabhuti and others. With the advent of western education, a new interest in acting plays developed. E. V. K. Pillai deserves mention as a dramatist influenced by Shakespeare. As early as 1866, K. Umman Philipose translated *Comedy of Errors*.



(ix) *Sanskrit Theatre* : Sanskrit has been receptive to western influence. In the new upsurge of creative activity Shakespeare claimed attention of votaries of Kalidasa, Sudraka and Bhavabhuti. As early as 1877 '*Bhranti-Vilasa*' became Sri Saila Dikshitar's sanskrit translation of Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*. Recently *Venice-Banijam* was staged at Calcutta under the direction of Dr. J. B. Chowdhury.

(x) *Panjabi Theatre* : The most neglected part of Panjabi writing is the drama. This is due to the fact that there is no organised stage. So a playwright can either read his plays or have them broadcast. The histrionic art does not consist in either. Iswar Chander Nanda's Panjabi *Merchant of Venice* was first to be staged (1928).

(xi) *Assamese Theatre* : The Assamese have a rich tradition both in theatre/Drama. The medieval *Ankiya Nat* even now holds the field. Drama in the modern sense is a gift of the west. Assamese dramas are of 2 classes : (a) originals and (b) translations or adaptations from Sanskrit or English. For serious dramas, the authors turned to Shakespeare's (i) *Comedy of Errors* ; (ii) *Macbeth* . (iii) *Romeo/Juliet* ; and (iv) *Othello*. The 1st Assamese comedy of errors was staged in 1888.

(xii) *Oriya Theatre* : Dance was an inseparable part of the Oriya drama as it was of Oriya social life itself. Now the Odissi dance is a survival of some proto-Bharata Natya from which sprang not only Bharata Natya, but Kathakali, Kuchipudi, a number of Attamas and the dances of Siam, Java and Bali. In 1908 Jagannathballava Ghoshe's *Premika-Premika* was published as a translation of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*.

(xiii) *Sindhi Theatre* : In other lands, poetry and drama often go together ; but in Sindhi drama has lagged behind while poetry has forced ahead. Mirza Ali Beg's Sindhi *Shah Elie* (or *King Lear*) is the 1st play of Shakespeare to be staged.

## PART II : DRAMA

### VIII. Shakespearean Drama

Drama is not only the portrayal of action but the action itself. Drama and theatre appear to be two, but are one. Their union is the aim of the stage. All the paraphernalia of the theatre—dance, music, players' acting, spectators' expectancy—beckon toward the figure known as drama, which impersonates a conflict. Says A. Dulles in his '*Drama*' (1926) : "The match is not easily to be arranged, for the minx called theatre flaunts her paint box and powder-puff too freely, while the austere grey-beard Drama gathers his dignified role about him and expresses a conventional distaste for things 'theatrical'."



*(a) Types :*

The types of drama are not imposed by the dramatist on the theatre ; but they are reflectors of the spectators' mood and echoes of his voice. Their origins lie deep in folklore. Two main varieties are the Comedy and the Tragedy. Comedy originated in the festivals of Dionysus and its name is derived from the 'Komos,' a merry chant of the revellers, whose pranks were worked up into the nature of farce. Tragedy means 'goat song' and comes from 'trag oidia'—it recalls the hymn sung by the dancing chorus at the sacrifice of the sacred animal on the altar of Dionysus. In tragedy there is a clash between forces, physical, mental or both ; in comedy there is a conflict between personalities, between the sexes or between an individual and society. Ultimately it is the impression that the drama makes on the audience which determines the nature of the type. In tragedy, the impression is dark and we are deeply moved ; in comedy, the impression is light and less penetrating and our sympathies are not freely called into play.

Two other types may be distinguished : Farce and melodrama. Farce comes from the Latin, "farcio" (*'I stuff'*) and it means the type of drama "stuffed with low human and extravagant wit." It came to be applied to 3-Act plays. Melodrama comes from Greek 'melos' (*song*) and French 'drame' (action) and originally signified only a serious drama wherein a number of lyrics were introduced, becoming equivalent to opera. It is characterised by sensationalism and lack of characterisation. Song, show and incident are its chief features whereas buffoonry and extravagant plot-development are those of the farce. It is the absence of the spiritual as opposed to the physical which mark these types not from fine comedy and fine tragedy.

A fifth type may be distinguished. This is due to Shakespeare's example. It is the history or Chronicle play. In the Folio Shakespeare's work is divided into 3 kinds : comedy ; history ; tragedy. The Chronicle History flourished during the last 15 years of Elizabeth's reign and owed its popularity to the fervour of Armada (1588) patriotism. The newly awakened national spirit made the people quick to discern a topical interest in the records of bygone struggles against foreign aggression and civil disunion. This may be styled as the Biographical drama, characterised by loose structure and diffuse style. The Histories claimed this exemption from severer canons of art because of their political interest.

*(b) Comedy :*

The middle ages developed two forms of comedy—the Satyric and the Romantic out of the Latin grammarians of the 4th century, e.g., Evanthius, Diomades and Donatus. The Satyric concerns a middle way of life, town-dwellers, humble and private people ; it teaches what is to be

avoided. The Romantic expresses the idea that life is to be grasped and includes love-making and running-off with girls. Vincent de Beauvis defines comedy in his "*Speculam maius*." Comedy is a kind of poem which transforms a sad beginning into a happy ending. This is also Shakespeare's basis—a tale of trouble that turns to joy. It is not only the shape of a human comedy, but also of ultimate reality. The story of the universe is itself a Divine comedy as Dante saw it : starting in Hell, it moves upwards into Paradise, through Purgatory. This finds expression in human terms in Chaucer :

As when a man hath been in poor estate,  
And climbeth up and waxeth fortunate,  
And there abideth in prosperity,  
Such thing is gladsome, as it thinketh me.

—The knight comenting on the Monk's Tale.

The Renaissance viewed comedy in a different light : the Satyric sprang into prominence and found its sponsor in Ben Jonson. Punishment and deterrence became its business : comedy became an instrument of social ethics. Hence Jonson knotted his cat-o-nine-tails ; Shakespeare reached for his Chaucer.

In Shakespearean conception of comedy, love is the core of it. His comedies end in multiple marriage and these are all marriages of mutual love, which is, like him "gentil". Love is eventually an aristocratic experience, i.e., an experience possible only to natures capable of refinement. It is an Eden world, but the apples are still in blossom. Secondly, this conception yielded a narrative structure of adventures leading out of trouble into joy. Thirdly, his comedy may be "polysemous, that is, of several meanings" as noted by Danse in his "*Epistle to can Grande*." The Merchant of Venice is an example. The play may be seen as a presentation of justice and Mercy, of the old/new law and what not. *The Tempest* is a classic of allegories in this respect.

(c) *Tragedy* :

(i) *Nature* :

The Shakespearean tragedy is a tale of suffering and calamity leading to death. His heroes are highly placed so that their fall may prevent a contrast. Calamities do not befall but proceed from men's actions which are expressive of the doer. It is not the tragedy of weakness but of weakness betraying strength ; character, action and suffering are in a necessary concatenation. There is the outer conflict ending in the hero's death and the inner conflict of his soul. The heroes are exceptional beings, but not eccentrics—they are of the same stuff as ordinary men but intensified.

Desire, passion will attain in them terrible force. They are one-sided and identify their whole being with one object or passion. This is a tragic trait and a fatal gift which has a touch of greatness when it is joined to nobility of mind. Shakespeare reveals this in Hamlet (I, iv, 23-36) :

So, oft it chances in particular men,  
That for some vicious mole of nature in them,  
As in their birth—wherein they are not guilty  
Since nature cant choose his origin—  
By their o'er growth of some complexion,  
Oft breaking down the pales and forty reason,  
Or by some habit that too much o'er—leavens  
The form of plausible manners ; that these men—  
Carrying, I say, the stamp of one defect,

Shall in the general censure take corruption  
From that particular fault.

(ii) *Tragic world* :

The tragic world is one of action, to which accidents and character contribute, but this is a moral world and necessity. Agents are responsible for their actions and the catastrophe is the return of the action on the agents. There is justice but not the poetic justice : it is simply the good and the evil. Evil is the main spring of the convulsion ; it not only destroys others, but also man himself. And yet evil is within the order and in expelling it, the order loses part of its own substance. Hence tragedy is the waste of the good involved. Tragedy is man's answer to the universe that crushes him so pitilessly—

We wonder at ourselves like men betrayed  
Suffering is permanent, obscure and dark,  
And shares the nature of infinity.

(iii) *Catharsis* :

The function of tragedy as given by Aristotle in his "*poetics*" is to effect proper Katharsis or purgation through pity and fear. Tragedy is a vent for emotions of pity and fear. It excites emotion only to allay it. Pity and fear when artificially stirred expel latent pity/fear taken from the real life. When passion is spent, a pleasurable calm comes in and an emotional cure is wrought. Each of the emotions is defined in the "*Rhetoric*" as a form of pain. Fear is "a species of pain arising from an impression of impending evil which is destructive in its nature". Besides, evil is near, not remote and the persons threatened are ourselves. Pity is "a sort of pain at an evident evil in the case of somebody who does not deserve it". Pity turns

into fear where the object is so related to us that the suffering seems to be our own. Thus pity/fear are correlated feelings. In psychological analysis fear is the primary emotion from which pity derives its meaning. The essential tragic effect depends on maintaining an intimate alliance between pity/fear. The requirement of Aristotle is pity/fear and merely one of them. Pity through its kinship with fear, is preserved from eccentricity and sentimentalism. Fear, through its alliance with pity is divested of a narrow selfishness. The spectator is lifted out of himself; he becomes one with the tragic sufferer and through him with humanity at large.

The katharsis is thus a refining process : it is the universalising process that eliminates the purely personal. The spectator is brought face to face with the inevitable, however unexpected it may be. It is in this transport of feeling, which carries a man beyond his individual self that the distinctive tragic pleasure resides. Pity/fear are purged of the impure element which clings to them in life. The net result is a noble emotional satisfaction. Tragedy is thus a representation of human unhappiness which pleases us by the truth with which it is seen and the skill with which it is connected. The work-a-day world seems a purposeless chaos ; but the world of tragedy is symmetrical. Destiny, Says E. L. Lucas, scowls upon man : his answer is to sit down and paint her where she stands.

(iv) *Tragic patterns :*

Shakespeare indicates 3 tragic patterns : (1) External tragedy, such as *Titus Andronicus* ; (2) Psychological tragedy, e.g., *Richard II* ; and (3) Cosmic tragedy, e.g., *Romeo and Juliet*. The 'external tragedy' has its obvious and acknowledged villain, whose deeds of blood and ravishment may bring authentic thrill of horror to the gross nerves and imagination. But the actual organisation of society is so far advanced as to leave little room for the obvious villain. Besides, he is not an essential factor in the production of tragedy. It is the clash of forces that make for and against righteousness in man's heart, which yields the tragic thrill. So says Meredith,

In tragic life, god wot  
No villain need be : Passions spin the plot ;  
We are betrayed by what is false within.

This is the "psychological tragedy," as for example, *Julius Caesar*, *Hamlet* ; *Antony and Cleopatra*.

Thus in the course of literary evolution, the external tragedy gives way to the 'psychological tragedy'. But there is a third grade, attainable only by the gods or titans of literature. This is "cosmic tragedy". From the contemplation of good/evil in the individual soul, the philosophic mind

passes to that in the totality of things. Raised to this plane, tragedy ceases to be a mere record of the pity/fear of the facts of human nature and takes shape as an arrangement of heaven, a grave and unflinching exposure of eternal laws which make of man nothing more than an outraged toy. *King Lear* and *Macbeth* are the examples. Hence, the 3 patterns may be designated as : tragedy of villainy ; tragedy of character and the tragedy of fate.

(d) *Poetic drama* : Shakespeare wrote 5 books of verse and 38 dramas. The connecting link between them is poetry. In other words, poetry is their common platform. His dramas are thus poetic dramas, i.e., dramas written in poetry. As such they are distinguished from prose dramas. Drama, it is said, is an imitation of life, of reality. But reality is not so simple ; it is like a set of chinese boxes, an inner one still fitting inside the last one opened. Roughly speaking reality is two-fold : Outer and inner. The outer reality consists of deeds/words, whereas the inner reality in the passion, motive and conscience of character. The prose drama concentrates on the former and the poetic drama on the latter. Secondly, the two types differ as to their dramatic effect. Dionysus is the god of drama—a wine-drunken god. Hence “*Intoxication*” is what is wanted in a drama. And this is best provided by the poetic drama : dramatic poetry is to experience as wine is to the grape. Prose is the un-intoxicating utterance of common experience, whereas in poetry the utterance is fermented into metre and heady image. Thirdly, poetic drama exhibits character at a higher pressure than actuality. The laws of exaggeration/simplification are put into a design. The lowest grade of character begins where real life leaves off. The current of life flows through characters at a fiercer strength and their resistance, too, is fiercer as for example, *King Lear*. In a prose drama a murderer may exclaim at the sight of blood in his hand : “Good Lord, it won’t come off ;” : But in a poetical play, he gives out that his bloody hand would “the multitudinous seas incarnadine”. The function of poetry in a drama may thus be summed up in the words of Aber Crombie : “It is to be the alcohol to which the human organism answers with an intoxication of sense, mind and emotion, bringing them into a unity of triumphant, delighted self-consciousness, bright enough to turn for a while this obscure fate of life into some clear nature lit through and through with ourselves.”

(e) *The Grand style* :

A common Shakespearean drama is a *five-acter*, divided into scenes. But most of them when played had 2 or 3 short passages in the action. With a turbulent crowd standing round the stage, impatient and prone to speak, delay was dangerous. Hence, both the playing and speaking were much swifter than is usual today. In Shakespeare’s hands, Marlowe’s “mighty line” became more and more flexible and attained perfection of expression

in every direction, great and small, tragic and comic. It is nearer to the Longinian "sublime", called by G. Saintsbury the "Grand style". It has such a force that it can transmute the subject and transport the hearer, Transport and transmutation are its characteristics. This style comes in easily with the simplest of words. Examples are—

(i) A horse ; a horse ; my kingdom for a horse : (Richard III, V, 5).

(ii) Absent thee from felicity a while (Hamlet, V, 2).

(iii) Never, never, never, never, never (King Lear, V, 3).

Shakespeare wrote one lac lines, of which 28,000 are in prose ; 7,000 in rhyming verse, and 65,000 in blank verse. A blank cartridge contains no bullet, so blank verse is not loaded with rhyme. It is a verse of a particular kind ; Verse in lengths of 5 repeats of the same pattern of an unstressed syllable followed by a stressed. Two patterns are thus noticeable : a small unit of foot and a bigger one of line. A varied verse differs from regular verse and also from prose. Regular verse has one rhythm ; we know what is coming next. Prose has also one rhythm ; we do not know what is coming next, because the rhythmical pattern is completed only with the end of the sentence. In a varied verse we do not know what is coming next, but we know what would come next if the verse were regular. Such a verse has two rhythms : (i) a strict basic beat ; and (ii) a freer movement, though not so free as to break away from the first. It is contrapuntal rhythm, compounded of two melodies, that is found here, as for example, in Ariel's speech (The Tempest, I, 2, lines 196-206) :

I boarded the King's ship ; now on the beak,  
Now in the waist, the deck, in every cabin,  
I flam'd amazement. Sometime I'd divide,  
And burn in many places : on the topmost,  
The yards, and bowsprit, would I flame distinctly,  
Then meet and join.

VIII. *Bengali dramas* : The Bengali drama proper was born in the 19th century—some were translations/adaptations of Shakespearean dramas ; some were patterned/print after them ; and some were original.

(a) *Translations and adaptations* :

(1) *Bhanumati Chittavilas* (1853)—adapted by Hara Chandra Ghosh from the *Merchant of Venice*. Long says : "Shakespeare's ideas, but given in a Bengali dress ; well and ably done". Bhupendranath Vandyopadhyay's "*Saodagar*" is another version staged in December, 1915.

(2) *Charumukha Chittahara* (1864)—rendered into Bengali by Hara Chandra Ghosh from *Romeo and Juliet*. Hema Chandra Vandyopadhyay had another version in 1895.

(3) *Nalini Vasanta* (1868)—is an adaptation of the *Tempest* by Hem Chandra Vandyopadhyay.

(4) *Sushila-Vira Sinha* (1868)—Adapted by Satyendranath Tagore from *Cymbeline* with Indian Setting. Chandra Kali Ghosh had another version known as *Kusum Kumari Natak* (1868).

(5) *Sushila Chandraketu* (1872)—rendered into Bengali by Kanti Chandra Vidyaratna from *Twelfth Night*. It was an adaptation.

(6) *Bhrama Kautaka* (1873)—adapted to Indian conditions by Venimadhab Ghosh from the *Comedy of Errors*. Iswarchandra Vidyasagar had already published it as a story in prose with Indian characters and background under the title "Bhranti Vilasa" (1867).

(7) *Rudrapal Natak* (1874)—is an Indianised version by Haralal Roy of *Macbeth*. Some scenes were translated by Rabindranath Tagore, e.g., speeches of the witches in 1880 and published in *Bharati*. Girish Chandra Ghosh, the well known actor and dramatist gave a translation which was staged in the Minerva Theatre (Calcutta) in 1892.

(8) *Amar Sinha* (1874)—translated by Pramathanath Basu from *Hamlet*.

(9) *Bhim Sinha* (1875)—adapted by Tarini Charan Pal from *Othello*. Debendranath Basu's version was staged at the Star Theatre in 1919.

(10) *Madan Manjan* (1876)—adapted from the 'Writer's Tale' by Viharilal Adhya.

(11) *Sarat Sasi Natak* (1882)—adapted from Mid-summer Night's dream by Nilratan Mukhopadhyay.

(12) *Bhisakduhita* (1888)—is a novel based on *All's well that ends well* written by Gobinda Chandra Ray.

(13) *Tin Bhagni* (1897)—a prose adaptation by Satischandra Datta from *King Lear*.

(14) *Anangarangini* (1897)—adapted by Annadaprasad Basu from *As you like it*.

(15) *Julius Caesar* (1899)—translated by Haraprasad Sastri from *Julius Caesar*, and staged on January 27 at the University Institute.

Another translation was made by Jyotirindranath Tagore in 1907.

(16) *Vinimaya* (1909)—adapted by Virendranath Ray from *Measure for Measure*.

(17) *Oleopatra* (1914)—translated by Pramathanath Bhattacharyya and staged at the Minerva Theatre.

(18) *Veronar Bhadrayugal*—translated by Sourindramohan Mukhopadhyay from the *Two gentlemen of Verona*.

(19) *Chamundar Sikhsa* (1922)—adapted from *The Taming of the shrew* by Nagendranath Raychaudhuri.

(20) *King John* (1916)—a story for children by Asoke Guha made from the play.

(21) *Richard III* (1961)—a story for children made by Asoke Guha from *King Richard III*.

(22) *Much Ado about nothing* (1961)—a story by Asoke Guha from the play.

(23) *Henry the Eighth* (1962)—a childrens' story by Asoke Guha from the play.

(24) *Coriolanus* (1962)—a childrens' story made by Asoke Guha from the play.

(25) *Timon of Athens* (1962)—a story for children by Asoke Guha from the play.

(26) *Titus Andronicus* (1962)—a story for children by Asoke Guha from the play.

(27) *Merry Wives of Windsor* (1963)—a childrens' story by Asoke Guha from the play.

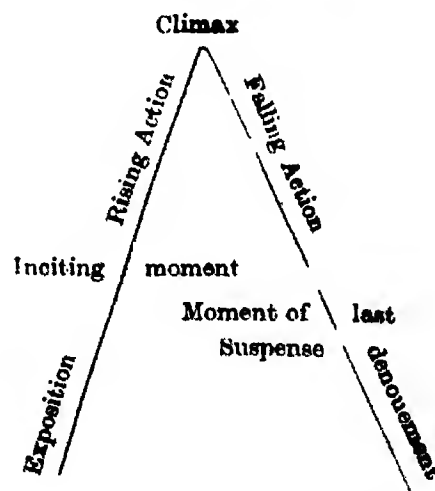
(28) *Loves' Labour Lost* (1963)—a story made by Asoke Guha from the play.

(b) *Revival of Shakespeare* : *Hamlet* was staged by Sisirkumar Bhaduri on March 17, 1909, at the University Institute. With the Independence of India (1947) the "Amateur Shakespeareans" came into prominence. Since 1950, they have been known as the Little Theatre Group. They staged (i) Scenes from *Romeo and Juliet* in August, 1947 ; (ii) *Richard III* (1947) ; (iii) *The Merry Wives of Windsor* ; (iv) *Othello* ; (v) *Macbeth* ; and (vi) *The Merchant of Venice*, the latter two in translations.

(c) *Shakespearean Model* : The Shakespearean drama became the model in Bengal so far as its construction was concerned. This operated in the following spheres :

(i) *Dramatic design* : Each drama has a plot through which runs a "dramatic line". This line is marked by 5 characteristics : (i) Initial incident originating conflict ; (2) Rising Action in which conflict grows in intensity ; (3) Climax of crises at which one of the contending forces gains an upperhand ; (4) Falling Action or Denouement in which movement towards success is marked out ; and (5) Conclusion or Catastrophe in which conflict is brought to a close. G. Freytag (1816-95) has a "pyramidal structure" of 5-act drama, symbolised in the following figure :

This natural 5-fold structure of a dramatic story accounts for the division of a drama into 5 acts. This division reached the modern stage through the Latin tragedies of Seneca, which exercised an enormous influence over the Renaissance dramas in England. This had its basis on the normal division of a Greek tragedy into (1) a Prologue ; (2) 3 Episodes ; and (3) an Exodus—5 parts in all. Latin comedies were also broken up into 5 acts in the 16th century.





It may be noted here that the *Natya Sastra* mentions 10 types of dramas of which the *Nataka* is the most important. The Indian *Natakas* open with prologues and are divided into Acts, the number of which must not be less than 5 or more than 10 (XX, 57). These Acts, however, are not a set of clearly divided scenes as in modern compositions. An Act consists of a series of more or less loosely connected scenes which due to its peculiar technique could not be separated from one another. It is marked by 3 characteristics : (1) Only the hero is to be made prominent (XX, 18) ; (2) It only includes those incidents which can take place in course of a single day (XX, 23) ; (3) It is not to include representation of events relating to facts of excessive anger, favour and gift and the like (XX, 20-1).

(ii) *Adoption in Bengali Drama :*

(1) This model has been followed in the first original Bengali drama, viz., *Bhadrarjun* (1852) written by Taracharan Sikdar. The author writes in his preface : "This book has been written in a very new style. This drama has become almost European in the development of action and incidents. I have not adopted the dramatic action of a Sanskrit play, e.g., Nandi, the arrival of Sutradhar and actor on the stage, their prologues and other actions, etc."

(2) *Kirtibilas* (1852) : Jogendrachandra Gupta says in his preface that he has directly followed the model.

(3) Michael M. S. Dutt in a letter to Gourdas Bysack writes : "I am aware that there will, in all likelihood, be something of a foreign air about my drama. Remember that I am writing for that portion of my countrymen whose minds have been more or less imbued with western ideas and modes of thinking ; and it is my intention to throw off the fetters forged for us by a servile admiration of everything Sanskrit."

The 5-act division of drama became thus well established and the subsequent history of Bengali drama followed them.

(iii) *Tragedy :*

Ancient Indian drama does not recognise tragedy. No tragic incident can take place in course of the play, because, death is never allowed to be represented on the stage. In fact, nothing indecorous is allowed to be staged in the sight or hearing of spectators. As a result, the early Bengali tragedians had to go in for tragedy to Shakespeare.

(1) This is evident from the preface to *Kirtibilas* (1852), the first Bengali tragedy, written by Jogendrachandra Gupta : "Indian pundits imagined that it was not proper to end a play by keeping a religious man in sorrow. But it is only a mistake on their part."

(2) Umeshchandra Mitra wrote his *Bidhava-Vivaha-Nataka* (1850) and claimed that this was "the attempt made to introduce the regular tragedy

into Bengali drama". But this is not correct as *Kirtibilas* was the first tragedy. The author gave reasons as to why he followed the tragic muse in his second edition (1857):

"Our national idea of the purposes of drama is that it should only amuse. With purpose to limited, the drama would not be an effective instrument of social reformation. A comedy can never well attempt to alter popular opinions. A tragedy in most cases can, and that for obvious reasons."

(3) *Nildarpan* (1860) by Dinabandhu Mitra is a 5-act tragedy, directed against the abuses of the indigo-planters.

(4) *Krishnakumari* (1861) by Michael Madhusudan Dutt. It is really the first tragedy in Bengali.

(5) *Prafulla* (1889) by Girischandra Ghosh. This is a domestic tragedy.

It would appear from above that the Shakespearean tragedy became the model in Bengali and it showed developments from external tragedy to psychological tragedy and therefrom to cosmic tragedy.

(iv) *Comedy* :

Not only did Shakespeare lead in tragedy but he also gave an impetus in the development of comedy. Aristotle spoke of tragedy ridding us of pity and fear; his theory of comedy is unfortunately lost. It may be answered here that comedy did perform the same service for (1) a malice, the *Schedenfreude*, which makes us desire to abuse and ridicule our neighbours and also (2) the *appetites of sex*, "the good gross earth" at the roots of human nature. Both these functions as modified by Shakespeare are found in the earliest Bengali comedies.

(1) Ramnarayan Tarkaratna's *Kulin Kul Sarvaswa* (1854) was the first social comedy given to the Bengalees to point out the glaring evils of polygamy.

(2) Michael M. S. Dutt wrote 2 comical farces—(1) *Ekey Ki bale Sabhyata* ? (1860) and (2) *Burho Saliker Ghare Roa* (1860).

(3) Dinabandhu Mitra's *Sadhabar Ekadashi* (1886) is unique in this. Here the character of Nimchand is portrayed with an eye to the comic spirit involved in it. He says, "I read English, write English, talk English, speechify in English, think in English and dream in English". The author wrote two other comedies. *Biye Pagla Buroh* (1866) and *Jamai Barik* (1872) which are also interesting.

(4) The comic muse found its sponsor in Amritlal Bose. Here the Romantic comedy was transformed into a satirical one. *Chorer Upor Bat-parhi* (1876), *Vibaha-vibhvat* (1884) and *Chatujje and Barhujje* (1886) are worth mentioning in this connection.

(v) *Verses and prose :*

Following Shakespeare the early Bengali dramatists used verse and thereafter prose. It is through verse that the poetic drama came into fashion. The fruit of a poetic idea dramatically conceived is what a poetic drama is. This aims at producing a series of situations or moments : these result in emotional expression more akin to a lyrical poem than to a speech in a novel. Hamlet's "To be or not to be" is comparable to Tennyson's "Break, break, break".

Giris Ghosh led the way in this direction. *Jana* (1893) is his best. Her soliloquy is all poetry :

Just as in darkness deep  
Atoms move and shout  
Involute is Nature in inert matter,  
The cirrhus smokes at crack of doom,  
And burns in thunder.

This is done in a special rhythm known as 'Gairishi rhythm'. It was formerly used in Kaliprasanna Sinha's *Hutam Pechar Nuksha* (1862), Brajmohan Roy's *Danava-bijaya* and Rajkrishna Roy's *Haradhanu bhanga* (1881). But Girish Ghose's credit lies in specially adopting it for the stage. It is a variant of Madhusudan's blank verse, suiting the needs of character. For dramatic action neither Dinabandhu's *payar* (couplet) nor Madhusudan's 14-syllabled *Amrittrakshar* was suitable. Hence Girish forged this new weapon. This is comparable to Shakespeare's transformation of Marlowe's 'mighty line'.

It was a fashion with the 19th century dramatists to use verse in drama just as it was in the age of Shakespeare. This vogue continued up to the end of the century. Even Rabindranath Tagore was influenced by this. *The King and the Queen* (1889) which was staged on June 7, 1890 on the Emerald Theatre, is written in blank verse. It was subsequently changed into *Tapati* (1929) where the medium is prose. *Visarjan* (1890) was staged on June 26, 1926 on the Nityamandir Theatre on Cornwallis Street. It is written in variable blank verse. Prose also occurs in a very few places. It is a tragedy. In a colloquial style is written '*Lakshmi's Pariksha*' (1897). This opens up new vistas in the dramatic possibilities of the common tongue as used in verse. *Vidaya Abhisap* (1911) was staged at the Minerva Theatre on August 9, 1913 and written in verse.

(vi) *Dramatic conventions :* There were certain dramatic conventions which were followed in Bengali dramas. Some are found both in Bharata's *Natya Sastra* and Shakespeare's plays ; but the direct impetus is due to the latter.

(1) *Dramatic unities :* The 3 unities of time, place and action are ascribed to Boileu : "Let the stage be occupied to the end by a single com-

pleted action which takes place in one spot in one day." This is neo-classician and adhered to in tragedy but romantic drama ignored this. In fact, Shakespeare jumped over time and place, the *Winter's Tale* being an example of excess. In two cases—the *Comedy of Errors* and the *Tempest*—he confines his plot to one day and practically to one spot. *The Tempest* is remarkable in the almost complete correspondence of stage—time with actual time. Of course, the unity of action is observed in the inter-weaving of plots and sub-plots.

The Bengali dramatists had Shakespeare as their model in this respect. Dinabandhu Mitra's *Nildarpan* (1860) shows 'unity of time' confined, not to 'one day' but to 20 days : Act I—3 days ; Act II—1 day ; Act III—2 days ; Act IV—4 days ; Interval—4 days ; Act V—4 days. Place-unity is confined to Golak Basu's house, Sadhucharan's house, Saheb's kutti, Indrabad kutchery and jail. Hence, the two unities of time and place have been disregarded in the romantic way. There is one great action which combines 3 streams—the Basu family of Swaspur, the oppression of the ryots and the behaviour of the indigo-planters—and carries them forward to the ocean.

(2) *Soliloquy* : One of the direct means to self-revelation is the soliloquy. Shakespeare accepted this as it was a convenience and a freedom. It could be directly used to tell a story : the character turned to something like a chorus. In *Hamlet* it has been of immense help. So it is in *Macbeth*, *King Lear*, *Othello*. Enobarbus is a chorus in *Antony and Cleopatra*. Michael M. S. Dutt follows Shakespeare in this respect just as other dramatists of Bengal. Ibsen was the first dramatist in the west to omit soliloquy from the drama, because in real life people do not use it. A man may murder a thought, but he does not shout aloud so as to be audible a hundred yards away.

(3) *Dramatic hedging* : It is a technique by which the dramatists redeem the unpleasant elements in their character by showing their peculiar position and thereby restore them to our sympathy. This is shown by Shakespeare in the characters of Shylock and Brutus. Jyotirindranath Tagore has redeemed Vairabacharya in his *Sarojini* (1875) and Rabindranath Tagore his Raghupati in *Visarjan*.

(4) *Mask* : The Elizabethan masque had been a simple affair of dress-up, tableaux and mime. A variant of this is seen in Kiranchandra Bandyopadhyay's *Bharat Mata* (1873) and *Bharate Yavan* (1874). Bharatmata appears in masque.

(5) *Ghost* : The ghosts appear in *Julius Caesar*, *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*. The supernatural in Shakespeare has a reality in the conventions of the time. Girishchandra Ghose's *Chanda* (1890) and *Kalapahara* (1896) introduce the supernatural, which have a spiritual reality as well.

(6) *Clown/Fool* : Shakespeare makes a distinction between a clown and a fool. The former is unintentionally funny because of his ignorance

like Dogberry. The latter is a professional jester at the court and chosen because of his sharp wit. Examples are Touchstone, Feste and also Fool in *King Lear*. The character of Bidushaka is similar to the Fool and used by Girish Ghose in his *Jana* and others in their dramas, for example, in Amritalal Basu's *Harischandra* (1898).

(vii) *Influence :*

Shakespeare's influence may also be traceable in the similarity of characters and situations in Bengali dramas. Examples are :

(1) In *Kirtibilas* (1852) Jogendra Gupta shows traces of *Hamlet*—the two heroes are similar.

(2) Michael's Gada in *Burho Saliker Ghare Roa* (1860) reminds one of Lancelot Gobbo of the *Merchant of Venice*.

(3) Dinabandhu Mitra's Jaladhar and Jagadamba in *Nabin Tapaswini Natak* (1863) are taken from the *Merry Wives of Windsor*.

(4) Kalipada Bhattacharyya's *Prabhabati* (1871) shows traces of the *Merchant of Venice*.

(5) *Hamlet* casts its shadow over Lakshinarayan Chakrabarti's *Nanda Vansochhed* (1873).

(6) Selim in Jyotirindranath Tagore's *Ashrumati* (1879) is reminiscent of *Othello*.

(7) Some incidents and situations have been imported from *Macbeth* and *Romeo and Juliet* into Umesh Chandra Gupta's *Hemnalini* (1874).

(8) Traces of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* are noticeable in Jyotirindranath Tagore's *Punarbasanta* (1899).

(9) The influence of *As You Like It* is traceable in the latter part of Girish Ghose's *Maner Matan* (1901).

(10) Blockman Fish in *Bouma* (1897) by Amritalal Basu is patterned after Christopher Sly of the *Taming of the Shrew*.

(11) Shakespeare was a Romantic dramatist, concerned more with emotional appeals of characters. This was possible in drama through the medium of verse. In the use of prose and verse he showed very nice distinctions according to the ranks of speakers as also according to their disposition of mind. Besides, he was an actor-dramatist. All these characteristics find fulfilment in Girishchandra Ghose of Bengali. The latter declared : "The great poet Shakespeare is my ideal. I have followed in his footsteps" (Kumudbandhu Sen's *Girish Chandra and Dramatic Literature*, p. 38).

Shakespeare's influence is thus traceable in Girish Ghose's plays in (i) 5-act division of plays ; (ii) conflict of passions—revenge, madness, tyranny, conspiracy, lust, adultery and jealousy ; (iii) fool and jester ; (iv) use of verse and prose ; and (v) Gairishi rhythm. But analogy should not go far. Girish is not so subtle in his delineation of characters as

Shakespeare : the former remains at the outer fringe of reality whereas the latter goes inside as well.

(ix) A : Translations/adaptations in languages other than Bengali :

(i) *Assamese*

(1) *Bhenicara Saoda* (1850), translated by Jajneswar Sharma from the *Merchant of Venice*.

(2) *Bhramaranga* (1889), translated by Ratnadhara Baruah and others from the *Comedy of Errors*.

(3) *Chandraballi* (1910), translated by Durgeswar Sharma from *As You Like It*.

(4) *Bhrimdarpa* (1917), an abridged translation of *Macbeth* by Devananda Bharali.

(5) *Amarlila* (1922), from *Romeo and Juliet* by Padmadhar Chaliha.

(6) *Dhurnuha* (1931), from the *Tempest* by Jajneswar Sharma.

(7) *Ranjeeet* (1935), from *Othello* by Sailadhar Rajkhova.

(8) *Lear* (1950), from *King Lear* by Dulalchandra Barathakur.

(ii) *Gujarati*

(1) *Vapha par Japha* (1888), from *Cymbeline* by Bahmanji Navorajaji Kabaraji.

(2) *Ascharyakakara Bhulavani* (1892), from *Comedy of Errors* by Maganlal Harilal Parikh.

(3) *Julius Caesar* (1898), from the play of the same name by Narbhesankar Pranjivan Dave.

(4) *Chandra Raman* (1906), translated from *All's Well That Ends Well* by Narbheshankar Pranjivan Dave.

(5) *Thay teva thaio to gam vacheche rahie* (1906), from *Measure for Measure* by N. P. Dave.

(6) *Othello* (1907), from the play of the same name by N. P. Dave.

(7) *Venice—no vepari* (1911), from the *Merchant of Venice* by N. P. Dave.

(8) *Karkasha par Kabu* (1912), from the *Taming of the Shrew* by N. M. Shukla.

(9) *Romeo and Juliet* (1913), from the play by Kalvanraj Vrajray Desai.

(10) *Denmark—no Rajkumar* (1917), from *Hamlet* by N. P. Dave.

(11) *Tandave Nritya* (1947), from *Macbeth* by Apabhai Motibhai Patel.

(12) *King Lear* (1959), from the play of the same name by Rajendra Raval : a novelised version.

(13) *Tempest : Cymbeline* (1959) by Ramesh Jani : a novelised version.

(14) *Baramirat* (1959), by Karsandas Manak from the *Twelfth Night* : a novelised version.

(15) *Winter's Tale* (1960)—by Profulla Thakor : a novelised version.

(16) *Much Ado About Nothing* (1960)—by Karandas Manek : a novelised version.

(17) *Antony and Cleopatra* (1960)—by Suresh Dalal : a novelised version.

(18) *As You Like It* (1960)—by Janak Dave : a novelised version.

(19) *Midsummer Night's Dream* (1962)—by Rajendra Raval : a novelised version.

### (iii) Hindi

(1) *Bhram Jalak Natak* (1879)—adapted from *Comedy of Errors* by Ratnachande. This is lithographed and is the earliest known translation.

(2) *Durlava Bandhu Ya Vamsapur Ka Mahajan* (1880)—adapted with Indian Setting by Bharatendu Harish Chandra from the *Merchant of Venice*.

(3) *Sharad Ritu Ki Kahani* (1881)—from a *Midsummer Night's Dream* by Mitra Vilasa Press.

(4) *Sahasendra Sahasa* (1893)—from *Macbeth* by M. P. Chaudhari.

(5) *Othello* (1894)—from the Bengali version by Gadadhar Sinha.

(6) *As You Like It* (1897)—by Gopinath Purohit : a prose translation.

(7) *Prembila* (1898)—by Gopinath Misra from *Romeo and Juliet*.

(8) *Tuphan* (1902)—from the *Tempest* by Jagannath Prasad Chaturvedi.

(9) *Snehapariksha* (1903)—from *King Lear* by Pandit Badrinarayan : a prose translation.

(10) *Jayanta : Bhalabhadresh Ka Rajakumar* (1912)—from *Hamlet* by Ganapati Krishna Gurjar.

(11) *Julius Caesar* (1915)—from the play by Lala Sitaram : a prose translation.

(12) *Raja Henry Pancham* (1915)—by Lala Sitaram.

(13) *King Richard II* (1915)—by Lala Sitaram : a prose translation.

(14) *Bagula Bhagat* (1915)—a novelised version from *Measure for Measure* by Lala Sitaram.

(15) *Manamohan Kajal* (1915)—from *Much Ado About Nothing* by Lala Sitaram.

(16) *Honhar Upanyas* (1915)—from *Pericles* by Govindadasa.

(17) *Vyarthi Savdeha* (1916)—from *Winter Tales* by Govindadasa.

(18) *King John* (1923)—adapted into Hindi by Avadhesapati Varma.

(19) *Cymbeline* (1925)—by Lala Sitaram.

(20) *Nisphal Prema* (1958)—by Raghav Rangey from *Love's Labour Lost* : a prose translation.

(21) *Parivartan* (1958)—from the *Taming of the Shrew* by Raghav Rangey : a prose translation.

(22) *Barahavim Rat* (1961)—from the *Twelfth Night* by Kuladip Kapur : a prose translation.

(iv) *Kannada*

(1) *Bhrantivilasa* (1876)—by B. Venkatacharyya from Isvarchandra Vidyasagar's Bengali version of *Comedy of Errors*.

(2) *Macbeth* (1876) by D. B. Channabasappa.

(3) *Jayasinharaaja Charitre* (1881)—by M. S. Puttanna from *Cymbeline*.

(4) *Kamalksha Padmagandhiyara Katha* (1881)—by B. B. Venkatesha from *Romeo and Juliet*.

(5) *Raghavendra Rao Nataka* (1885)—by G. K. Churamuri from *Othello*.

(6) *Panchali Parinayam* (1890)—by A. Avandarao from the *Merchant of Venice*.

(7) *Chandamaruta* (1893)—by Karnataka Granthamala from the *Tempest*.

(8) *Gayyalayannu Sadhu Madnivike* (1897)—from the *Taming of the Shrew* by B. Somanathayya.

(9) *Satimani Vijaya* (1897)—by B. Samanathayya from *All's Well That Ends Well*.

(10) *Kusumkara* (1897)—by M. R. Annaji Rao from the *Two Gentlemen from Verona*.

(11) *Hemachandraraj Vilasa* (1899)—by M. S. Puttanna from *King Lear*.

(12) *Hamlet* (1905)—by Anandaraya.

(13) *Manjuvani* (1914)—by N. Srikantha Sastri from *Winter's Tale*.

(14) *Pramilarjuniya* from *Midsummer Night's Dream* by M. L. Srikanthesgauda.

(15) *Kamalavati Parinaya* from *As You Like It* by V. Shamaraya.

(16) *Julius Caesar* (1931)—by T. Tatacharya Sharma from the play of the same name.

(17) *Jack Cade* (1959)—by D. V. Gundappa from *King Henry VI* : only selections.

(18) *Dvadasa Ratri* (1960)—by Masti Venkatesayyanagar from the *Twelfth Night*.

(v) *Malayalam*

(1) *Almarattam athava are nalla kalisallapam* (1866)—from *Comedy of Errors* by K. U. Philipose.

(2) *Varshakalakatha* (1883)—from *Winter's Tale* by K. Chidambara Vadhyar.

(3) *Kamakshi Charitam* (1883)—from *As You Like It* by K. Chidambara Vadhyar.



- (4) *Simhala Nandan* from *Cymbeline* by K. C. Vadhyar.
- (5) *Romeo and Juliet* (1890) by Tabias Zacharias.
- (6) *Pariklesaraja vinte katha* (1891)—from *Pericles* by P. Velayudhan.
- (7) *Kalahimi Damenakam* (1893)—from *Taming of the Shrew* by K. V. Mappila.
- (8) *Lear Natakam* (1893)—by A. G. Pilla.
- (9) *Hamlet Natakam* (1897)—by K. K. Tampuran.
- (10) *Avivekathalundaya Apathu* (1903)—by K. P. Pilla from *Othello*.
- (11) *Oru Putiya Savitri* (1905)—by K. C. Vadhyar.
- (12) *Vasantikasvapnam* (1907)—by C. U. Variyar from *Midsummer Night's Dream*.
- (13) *Manam pole mangalyam* (1919)—by C. P. Thomas from *Twelfth Night*.
- (14) *Richard Tritiyam* by K. C. Vadhyar.
- (15) *Aranya Preman* (1931)—from the *Tempest* by V. T. S. Menon.
- (16) *Venice le vyapari* by A. G. Pilla from the *Merchant of Venice*.
- (17) *Prataprudriam attave Strisahasam* (1933)—by K. C. Vadhyar from *Macbeth*.
- (18) *Julius Caesar* (1953)—by P. S. Nayar.

(vi) *Marathi*

- (1) *Othello namake natakacha Marathi Bhasantar* (1867)—by M. G. Kolhatkar.
- (2) *Sheras Savvasher* (1867)—from the *Taming of the Shrew* by S. P. Pandit.
- (3) *Strinyayachaturya Nataka* (1871)—from *Merchant of Venice* by A. V. Patkar.
- (4) *Vijoysing* (1872)—from *Julius Caesar* by K. G. Natu.
- (5) *Bhural* (1872)—from *Comedy of Errors* by V. R. Mohani.
- (6) *Tempest natak yache Marathi Bhasantar* (1875)—by N. J. Kirtana from *Tempest*.
- (7) *Atipidcharita* (1881)—by G. M. Ranade from *King Lear*.
- (8) *Sashikala ani Ratnabela Nataka* (1882)—by N. B. Kamitakar from *Romeo and Juliet*.
- (9) *Sudhanva (Manipurcharaja)* (1883)—by R. V. Phadke from *Pericles*.
- (10) *Mohvilasit* (1881-82)—by V. M. Mahajani from *Winter's Tale*.
- (11) *Vikar Vilsit* (1883)—from *Hamlet* by G. G. Agarkar.
- (12) *Two Gentlemen of Verona* (1885) by D. M. Kher.
- (13) *Vallabhanunaya* (1887)—from *All's Well That Ends Well* by V. M. Mahajani.
- (14) *Taranatak* (1888)—from *Cymbeline* by V. M. Mahajani.
- (15) *Madhuyaminiswapna Nataka* (1888)—by K. N. Athalye from *Midsummer Night's Dream*.

- (16) Veshvibhram Natak (1891)—by K. P. Gadgil from *Twelfth Night*.
- (17) Jayajurav Natak (1891)—by B. R. Nanla from *King Richard III*.
- (18) A Viramaniani Shringar-sundari (1893)—V. B. Kelkar from *Antony and Cleopatra*.
- (19) Athens Ethil Timon Navacha Umrav (1895)—by C. A. Limaye from *Timon of Athens*.
- (20) Manajirav (1898)—by S. M. Paranjape from *Macbeth*.
- (21) Kapidhwaj Othva Kapat—Prabhava Nataka (1904)—by L. N. Joshi from *King John*.
- (22) Raja Raghunathrav Athva (1904)—by H. B. Atre from *Henry VIII*.
- (23) Chaturgadchya Vinodi Striya (1905)—by P. G. Limaye from *Merry Wives of Windsor*.
- (24) Rajachagaj (1906)—by P. G. Limaye from *Much Ado About Nothing*.
- (25) Premgumpha Natak (1908)—by Natyakala Pravartak Sangit Mandali from *As You Like It*.
- (26) Samanshasan Natak (1910)—by Natyakala Provartak Mandali from *Measure for Measure*.
- (27) Pancham Henry Charit (1911)—by K. B. Belasare.
- (28) Bandacha Prayaschitt (1915)—by N. G. Limaye from *King Henry IV*.
- (29) Manasinha (1944)—by M. V. Phatak from *Coriolanus*.

(vii) Oriya

- (1) Premika-Premika (1908)—by J. B. Ghosha from *Romeo and Juliet*.
- (2) Tempest (1924)—by B. C. Raychowdhuri.
- (3) Hamlet (1934)—by A. K. Vandyapadhyay.
- (4) Tuve Yepari Bhalapao (1954)—by Jai Hind Book Depot from *As You Like It*.
- (5) Bhavisara Vanika (1954)—by Jai Hind Book Depot from *Merchant of Venice*.
- (6) Othello (1959)—by M. Manasinha.

(viii) Punjabi

- (1) Othello (1911)—by T. Singsevak.
- (2) Bhul Bhulaiyan (1912)—by M. Singh Vaid from *Comedy of Errors*.
- (3) Dukhi Raja (1927)—by Balvant Singh from *King Lear*.
- (4) Shamusah (1928)—by J. C. Nanda from *Merchant of Venice*.
- (5) Jion Bhava (1945)—by Nihal Singh Ras from *As You Like It*.
- (6) Macbeth (1958)—by Sant Singh Selkhon.
- (7) Vadhu Vipath Ambala (1958)—by Kartar Singh Sapda from *Much Ado About Nothing*.
- (8) Athens da vasi Timon (1961)—by Ujagar Singh.

(ix) *Sanskrit*

- (1) *Bhrantivilasa* (1877)—by Sri Saila Dikshit from *Comedy of Errors*.
- (2) *Varantikasvapnam* (1892)—by R. Krishnamacharya from *Midsummer Night's Dream*.
- (3) *Othello*—by Rajaraja Varma.
- (4) *Yathabhinatam* (1956-7)—by Udyanpatrika.

(x) *Tamil*

- (1) *Hamlet* (1869)—by V. V. Pillai.
- (2) *Venice Vartakan* (1874)—by Venugopalachariar from *the Merchant of Venice*.
- (3) *Prachanda Marutam* (1880)—from *Tempest* by V. V. Pillai.
- (4) *Romeo Juliet enpavarkalutaya Katai* (1885)—by P. V. R. Raju.
- (5) *Makarajan Katai* (1886)—from *Cymbeline* : a novelised version. *Sarasangi* (1897)—is another translation by T. R. S. Chettiyar.
- (6) *Rosalind Charitram* (1887)—from *As You Like It* by Natesha Shastri.
- (7) *Pertira Charitram* (1887)—from *Winter's Tale* by Natesha Shastri.
- (8) *Vayola Charitram* (1892)—from *Twelfth Night* by S. M. Natesha Shastri.
- (9) *Natuvenirkkanavu* (1893)—from *Midsummer Night's Dream* by S. N. Aiyar.
- (10) *Takamyuraippola Mannuyurai Ninai* (1893)—from *Measure for Measure* by S. M. N. Shastri.
- (11) *Saguna Sukesar* (1899)—from *Two Gentlemen from Verona* by C. R. Aiyangar.
- (12) *Othello enra Moriyai* (1903)—by A. Madhavayya.
- (13) *Bibhram Vinasam* (1905-06)—from *Comedy of Errors* by A. Venkatacharyya.
- (14) *Vikatasundari* (1906)—from *Taming of the Shrew* by A. K. Pillai.
- (15) *Lear Meharajan* (1914)—by C. K. & Sons.
- (16) *Macbeth* (1914)—by C. K. & Sons.
- (17) *John Mannan* (1921)—by A. P. Chettiyar.
- (18) *Koneri Arasakumaran* (1930)—from *King Henry* by P. S. Madaliyar.
- (19) *Virasimhan* (1951)—by A. K. Adittar from *Julius Caesar*.
- (20) *Viramurasu* (1957)—from *Much Ado About Nothing* by Shamukha Sundram and P. Tandavasayan.

(xi) *Telegu*

- (1) *Ceasar Charitram* (1876)—by V. Vasudev Sastri.
- (2) *Venice Vaniya Natakam leka Suhrut Subhashitanu* (1880) by G. Srirammurti.

- (3) *King Lear* (1890)—by M. K. Chetti.
- (4) *As You Like It* (1891)—by M. M. K. Chetti : a prose translation.
- (5) *Jayadratha Natakam* (1894)—by V. Padmanabharaju from *Othello*.
- (6) *Macbeth anu Natakam* (1895)—by C. Sivaramkrishnanna.
- (7) *Susena Vijayam* (1898)—from *Cymbeline* by J. H. Rao.
- (8) *Sri Raghudeva Rajiyamu* (1899)—by J. R. Bhavanarayana from *Pericles*.
- (9) *Malativasantam* (1899)—by T. V. Venkatachalamu from the *Tempest*.
- (10) *Saundrya Satimani* (1904)—by T. R. Bhavanarayanadu from *All's Well That Ends Well*.
- (11) *Pratitundu* (1916)—from *Hamlet* by V. S. Sarma.
- (12) *Bhranti Vilasamu* (1927)—by Venkataparvati's Varaka Vulu from *Comedy of Errors*.
- (13) *Viharalila* (1933)—from *Twelfth Night* by D. G. Rao.
- (14) *Sumitra Charitram*—from *Winter's Tale* by K. Viresalingam.
- (15) *Kumaredvaya Vilasamu*—from *Two Gentlemen of Verona* by K. Vireslingam.
- (16) *Dasa Kesari Vilasamu*—from *Timon of Athens* by K. Viresalingam.
- (17) *Gayyalini Sadhu Cheyuta*—from *Taming of the Shrew* by K. Viresalingam.
- (18) *Malati Madhukaram*—from *Romeo and Juliet* by K. Viresalingam.
- (19) *Bhanumati Kalyanam*—from *Much Ado About Nothing* by K. Viresalingam.
- (20) *Dharmakavachopakhyanamu*—from *Measure for Measure* by K. Viresalingam.
- (21) *Coriolanus* (1962)—by Lakshikantamohan.
- (22) *Antony-Cleopatra* (1962)—by Lakshmikantamohan.

(xii) Urdu

- (1) *Tazir-i-venice* (1884)—from *Merchant of Venice* by N. M. Fateh Ali.
- (2) *Aina-i-rozgar* (1888)—from *Taming of the Shrew* by A. H. Khan.
- (3) *King Lear* (1893)—by Lala Sitaram.
- (4) *Jahangir* (1895)—from *Hamlet* by Umrao Ali.
- (5) *Jafar* (1895)—from *Othello* by A. H. Khan.
- (6) *Mashuqa-i-farang* (1896)—from *Romeo and Juliet* by J. P. Barq Sitapuri.
- (7) *Fardanendva Miranda* (1896)—from *Tempest* by M. S. Khan.
- (8) *Bhul bhulaiyam* (1896)—from *Comedy of Errors* by Firoz Shah Khan.
- (9) *Yarun ki milnet barbad* (1899)—from *Love's Labour Lost* by M. Salaiman.

- (10) Murid-i-shak (1900)—from *Winter's Tale* by M. S. Agha Haqr.  
 (11) Junun-i-vafa (1900)—from *Titus Andronicus* by A. L. Shed.  
 (12) Diparir (1901)—from *As You Like It* by Charandas Bakshi.  
 (13) Cymbeline (1902)—by M. A. Azir.  
 (14) Jami-i-ulfat (1903)—from *Midsummer Night's Dream* by M. A. A. A. Kekoravi.  
 (15) Shahid-i-nar (1904)—from *Measure for Measure* by M. S. A. Hasr.  
 (16) King Richard Sivram (1906-07)—by N. P. Batab.  
 (17) Antuni and Kalabatrah—from *Antony and Cleopatra* by I. Dehlari

(xiii) *Sindhri*

The contribution of the "D. J. Sind College Amateur Dramatic Society" is noteworthy in this connection. The translation of "King Lear" by Mirza Kelich Beg is considered the best.

B. Comparative estimate of entries in different languages :

The National Library (Calcutta) publication—"Shakespeare in India" (1964)—has given the following figures (p. 11) :

Language	No. of entries			
Assamese	..	..	..	15
Bengali	..	..	..	128
Gujarati	..	..	..	34
Hindi	..	..	..	70
Kannada	..	..	..	66
Malayalam	..	..	..	40
Marathi	..	..	..	97
Oriya	..	..	..	7
Panjabi	..	..	..	13
Sanskrit	..	..	..	7
Tamil	..	..	..	83
Telugu	..	..	..	62
Urdu	..	..	..	48
				<hr/> 670

(x). *Ancient Indian Dramatic Theory*

Bharata's *Natya Sastra* (4th Century A.D.) is a theatre on dramaturgy according to which the Sanskrit plays were written. Some say, Bharata is not the name of the man. A. K. Kumarswami says in his *Dramatic History of the World*, p. 187 : "Bharata consists of 3 syllables. *Bha* stands for *Bhava*, which is gesticulation ; *Ra* for *Raga* which is vocal music ; *Ta* for *Tala* which is keeping time by means of cymbals. These are known

as Bharata. This gives prominence to gesticulation or action". Nandikeswar's *Abhinaya Darpana* (13th century) is another work giving information as to acting. From these, an idea as to drama can be gathered.

#### (a) *Meaning of Natya*

'Natya' is ordinarily translated as 'drama'. But etymologically it means 'dance' as is evident from the root 'Nrit'. In Harivamsa (2nd century) there occurs an expression "Natakam nantruh" (i.e., they danced a play). Hence natya means dance, drama or their fusion, as India did not recognise one without the other. Natya and Natak are synonymous. It is distinguished from "Nrityam", which is without gesticulation. In Nritya on the other hand rasa (flavour), Bhava (Gesticulation) and Byanjana (suggestiveness) occur.

The terms *rupa* or *rupaka* (representation) and *preksha* (spectacle) denote dramatic works and are characteristic of Indian drama. Here the emphasis is on the spectacle, and not on the action as in the Greeks. Secondly, this drama depends on dance, song and instrumental music. Hence the *Natya Sastra* gives the following definition of a Natya :

"A mimicry of the exploits of gods, the Asuras, kings as well as of householder in this world is called drama". (I, 120).

#### (b) *Indian Drama*

This description of the Natya falls in line with Cicero's view that "drama is a copy of life, a mirror of custom, a reflection of truth". This is Aristotle's mimesis. Indian drama is an imitation (Anukriti) of situations (avasthana), i.e., action and reaction of the dramatis personae under the circumstances that arise as the plot develops. The representation is made by 4 kinds of induction (abhinaya): (i) bodily motion; (ii) voice, (iii) costume; and (iv) expressions. Acting and mimetic dancing coincide; the gestures state meanings and manifest moods (bhava) with a view to the testing of their flavour (rasa) by the audience.

Dramas are classified according to the subject (vastu), the nature of the hero and the predominant flavour. Of the 10 forms, Nataka is the most perfect. The plot has 5 parts: seed; expansion; episode; incident; denouement. The action has 5 corresponding situations: taking hold; effort; promise of success; assurance of success; fruition. Finally, there are 5 conjunctions (sandhi): protasis (mukh); epitasis (pratimukh); fetus (garvha); delivery (avamarsha); and gathering-up (samhiti).

#### (c) *Difference between Sanskrit/English Drama*

(i) The Sanskrit drama presents events leading to the identification of spectator with the focus of the situation: the same feelings are assumed

in the spectator and the focus. The English drama transports the spectator from ordinary situations to the dramatic situation so that he views the central figure objectively.

(ii) There is less action in Sanskrit drama, because it is the presentation of a basic mental state at its highest relishable pitch through successive stages. The English drama has more action because it tries to present aesthetic figuration for the arousal of social feelings/emotions which can only be stirred by action.

(iii) In Sanskrit drama the appeal is to the highest aesthetic senses viz., eye/ear, and not to taste and touch. In English drama all the senses are appealed to.

(iv) The highest level of aesthetic experience is Ananda. At this level, the self shines in its aspect of Ananda. There is no affection of even the basic mental state in its universality. The universalised aesthetic objects sink back into the subconscious. This level is Rasa (flavour) which is the objective of Sanskrit drama.

But the kathartic level is lower than this. It is here that the self is affected by Sthayi bhava (the basic mental state). Here object shines as distinct from subject yet both are universal. It is the level of indeterminacy but not of complete indeterminacy or immediacy. This is the pattern of Aristotelian *Katharsis*. Recently there has been a change in this attitude. John Gassner in his "*Katharsis and the modern theatre*" has pointed out that there can be no complete purgation for the spectator without "enlightenment" following upon the experience of "pity and fear". This "enlightenment" moves forward to Indian Ananda.

#### (d) Influence

Dr. V. Raghavan has summed up the position in his address at the drama seminar of the Sangita-Natak-Akademi as follows :

"In the classic Chinese drama presented in gesture and song, there is not only the preservation of codified system of Gati or gaits but a considerable part of our angika or chitrabhinaya. The Chinese classics, the Nohi of Japan, the Bohon of Thailand, the Ramayana dance of Laos, the Cambodian ballet, the Burmese poye and the Ceylonese Kandyan dance preserve for us chapters of Bharata's *Natya Sastra*."

#### (xi) Play Production

(i) An author writes his play but cannot himself convey to actor its meaning. A man of the theatre interprets this meaning to players and he is called the producer. He thus stands midway between the author and the players. The theatre is an institution, potentially influential and this can be used for the advancement of modern civilisation. The Greek drama was the tragedy of impotence whereas the Elizabethan drama was the

tragedy of power. And Shakespeare played a major role here. He was the actor and manager and as such aware of the problem of Shakespeare the playwright. If Shakespeare the poet writes:

Not marble ! nor the gilded monuments  
of princes, shall outline this powerful rhyme,

his problem of performance lives also.

### (ii) Actor

Acting is largely determined by the theatrical style which encompasses the players. The theatrical style is of two kinds : presentational and representational. The former is suggestive rather than photographic—it stylises the showing of character and events. It projects the dramatic story by expressive means. The Greek theatre had its formalism—formal moods and costumes, heavily soled boots and the like. The representational production seeks to show events and reactions as in life : it seeks to create the illusion of actuality. Actors' virtues are : (i) dignity of stage presence ; (ii) ability to speak verse or prose with precision and understanding, and (iii) capacity to interpret the emotional nature of his character. His craft consists in *temperament*, that is, the capacity to feel emotion and *technique*, that is, the capacity to express it. With these the actor creates his character. Hence the art of acting is greater than the actor : it lifts him above the level of the amateurist. Various are the styles of acting : (i) star system with the star's tendency to "upstage" the rest of the cast ; (2) ensemble acting regarding the entire performance as a unit ; and (3) Stanislavsky system at the Moscow Art theatre. The third is the method of psychological *naturalism* which sets the actor to find within himself the justification of the words/deeds of character : to free himself of muscle tension ; to build himself into the situation.

### (iii) Producer

The producer reads the play and becomes its critic and spectator. Stage directions do not exist for the producer. He examines characters of the play and thinks about them in relation to the available human material. The casting of the play is his next business.

The dimensions of a scene and its entrances are determined with reference to movements. The make-up and costume of actors are visualised. He follows the maxim : "Every movement like every line, should have a meaning and a movement in the midst of a line destroys the effect of the words." Dialogue he considers and then the rehearsal. "The theatre" says A. Duke in his *Drama*, "is continually proving itself greater than the playwright. When plays become too life-like or too argumentative or too prosaic, the theatre naturally rebels against them. There is only one way



of producing *A Doll's House* or *the Arms and the Man*—it is the author's way. But there are diverse ways of producing *A Midsummer Night's Dream* or the *Twelfth Night*."

One fact emerges from the history of Elizabethan dramas : it is the dependence of authors on the number of actors available. The part of Jacques in *As You Like It* was an insertion made by Shakespeare when Barbage had grown too old to act Orlando. Secondly no women appeared on the public stage and boys played their parts. Cleopatra alludes to it while describing the ignominy of being led to Rome :

The quick comedians  
Extemporally will stage us and present  
Our Alexandrian revels : Antony  
Shall be brought drunken forth and I shall see  
Some squeaking Cleopatra boy my greatness  
I' the posture of a whore.

(iv) *Indian Scene*

Girish Chandra Ghosh of the Bengali dramatists is the most Shakespearian of all. It was Vivekananda who commented on *Bilwamangal* (1886) : Girish had out-Shakespeareed Shakespeare in this drama. He was an author, a producer and an actor. Such a combination gave a speciality denied to many. In the production of Shakespeare's plays Thomas Betterton, the Chief actor of the Restoration period was supported in play-production at Drury lane by his wife. David Garrick held his sway over the London stage from 1741 till his death in 1779 though "he acted Macbeth in a bagwig and Hamlet in a contemporary Court dress". Later came Mrs. Siddons, England's greatest tragic actress, who performed with her brother J. P. Kemble. Edward Kean started at Drury lane in 1814 a more impassioned school of acting. Coleridge says of him that to see him act is "like reading Shakespeare by flashes of lightning."

The Bengal stage can also boast of Keshab Chandra Ganguly, Ardhendu Sekhar Mustafi, Girish Ghose, Surendranath Ghose, Sisir Kumar Bhaduri, Ahindra Chaudhuri, Durgadas Banerjee and Nirmalendu Lahiri. They helped production of plays. Of course the earlier Shakespearean Romanticism gradually gave place to Realism. Rabindranath Tagore also appeared in the role of Valmiki on February 26, 1886 while his *Valmiki Prativa* was staged.

(v) *Universal appeal*

A dramatist needs actors/audiences to realise himself. Hence he must come to terms with the theatre of his day. A play which has never found a theatre, actors and audiences is really no play at all. Now a dramatist transcends the limitations of time and place if he treats the eternal verities

of human life. Hence his ideas must be taken from the common stuff; they need not be rebellious and revolting. The playwright works in the concrete and with instances. It is thus unlikely that he will be an original thinker. Somerset Maugham points this out in "The summing up."

"The only ideas that can affect them when they are welded together in that unity which is an audience are those common-place, fundamental ideas that are almost feelings. These, the root ideas of poetry, are love, death and destiny of man. The great truths are too important to be new."

This is what Shakespeare does and that is why each succeeding generation sees therein its own lineaments. So did the Bengali theatre and its dramatists in their early days.

### XV *Theatreland*

A play lives in the theatreland. Says Peter Ustinov in his Preface to his *Plays About People*: "No plays have survived their epochs unless they fulfilled two cardinal requirements. Firstly, the flow of wit or emotion had to be continuous/unpredictable. Secondly, they had to be practically designed to give actors the widest possible scope for the interpretation of nature.....The two basic requirements are really only one requirement, because the nature of acting/the nature of play-wrighting are indivisible". Both Aeschylus/Shakespeare compressed their treatment of themes in the conventional form. Although the world is a stage, all the citizens in the world were neither players nor presentable material for play characters. Emotion rather than intellect was the main ingredient; love was of primary importance; the "triangle" in life appeared. This theatreland has varied appeals: (i) a factory of thought; (ii) a prompter of conscience; (iii) an elucidator of social conduct; (iv) an admonition against despair/dullness; and (v) a temple of the ascent of man. A playwright holds his mirror up to nature: he also says with Romeo: "I will be a candle-holder and look on". This applies as much to Shakespeare as to the Indian dramatists.

Shakespeare influenced the Indian theatre and dramatists. But it is not true to say that India had no originality at all. This she had and in plenty. Shakespearean influence had been the greatest up to the end of the 19th century; it lingered diminishingly up to the twenties of the 20th century. It was received through the "Little Theatre group" (1950) which continues the tradition of the "Amateur Shakespearians". The 20th century brought in Ibsen and Chekhov. Still the native tradition modified the influence and made it its own. Rabindranath Tagore adopted the tragic ending of Shakespeare in his "King and Queen" (1890), but the feeling is Indian. Years ago, Michael M. S. Dutt wrote: "No real improvement in the Bengali Drama could be expected until blank verse was introduced to it." This Tagore did in his drama, wherein prose was also used.

Redemption is brought about by self-sacrifice : Conflict and sadism are resolved in the transformation of the Being of a dearer relation. So is the case with Joy Sinha of *Bisrjan* (1891) also written in Blank verse. This verse is a mixture of Michael's blank verse and also of Gairishi rhythm.

Rabindranath's originality is traceable in *Kaler Yatra* (1932), *Seshbarsan* (1925), *Sarodotsav* (1908) and *Falguni* (1914). Here the dramatic technique is Indian and at the same time global. Goethe's *Faust* in his prologue for the theatre brings out the distinction between the dramatic and the poetic :

Manager : More closely view your patrons of the night !  
The half are cold, the half are rude.  
One, the play over, craves a game of cards ;  
Another a wild night in wanton joy would spend.

Poet : Depart : elsewhere another servant choose  
What ! shall the bard his godlike power abuse ?  
Man's loftiest night, kind nature's high bequest ;  
For your mean purpose basely, sport away ?

Rabindranath's *Kaler Yatra* (1932) reads as follows :

Soldier : What will you do, poet ?

Poet : I will sing to the *tala*.

In *Falguni* (1916) he says—"we need no scenery—we require men's heart where we will raise pictures with melodies."

### XV Epilogue

Shakespeare has survived these 400 years. His present portrait deserves mention. Various have been the experiences of readers. To Viscount Grey of Fallodon the impression has been of awe : "I felt almost afraid to be alone in the room with him—as if I was in the presence of something supernatural." Darwin "read Shakespeare and found it so intolerably dull that it nauseated him." This shows that the purely analytical habit of mind has a withering effect on imagination. The scientific advancement has led to psychological analysis of Ibsen and other dramatists and given birth to social and realistic dramas. The cinema has had its influence ; so also has radio with three fields of projection embraced by the composite theatre arts—(i) the spoken drama, the stage ; (ii) the visual drama, the cinema ; (iii) the aural drama, the radio—the basic dramatic idea undergoes radical change to suit particular uses of each. It goes without saying that these have affected Shakespearean plays. Still it is Shakespeare who keeps "in the highway of life," because he sees life steadily and sees it whole :

All pains the immortal spirit must endure,  
All weakness which impairs, all griefs which bow,  
Find their sole voice in that victorious brow.

The Indian theatre and drama has not at present the same Shakespearean influence as it had in earlier years. It is drifting apart and gradually coming to its own. True it is that a nation is known by its theatre. Calcutta can claim only four theatres : Biswarupa ; Minerva Theatre ; Rangmahal ; and Star Theatre. This compares unfavourably with cinema houses which number 90. It is thus necessary that the following steps should be taken to extend the theatrical art and encourage dramas :

(a) Open air theatre should be established in big parks of the town as well as in big huts in the mofussil.

(b) There should be a theatre Hall in each municipality.

(c) A state theatre should be established so as to eliminate commercialism.

(d) A cooperative publishing society should be founded to publish dramas.

In this connection Hamlet's words naturally come to the mind : "The play's the thing." But we might add, transposing a well-known line of Kipling : "The plays are more than the writer of the plays." For the plays are indeed the *celestial omnibus* of Forster where we may discern all kinds of climate and landscape as also the mysterious people who inhabit these regions.

# THE FINAL CURVING

RUBY ZAGOREN

Wind's voice has deepened,  
Its breath grown colder  
For days have shortened,  
The year grown older.

The sky has sobered,  
Its back is stooping  
From weight of weather's  
Incessant trooping ;

And none, impartial,  
Escapes observing :  
He too is caught in  
The final curving.

# VOICE OF THE HAUNTED RUINS

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## I

The first half of the nineteenth century is almost barren in dramatic production. A few melodramas and farces, however, keep the stage engaged while the audience are few and irregular, and when dramatic performance of serious plays is monopolised by Drury Lane and Covent Garden. On the whole, the standard of drama and enthusiasm of the reader and audience are deplorable.

All the great romantics tried their hands on drama with little or no success. Wordsworth's solitary experiment with drama, *The Borderers* (1797 ?) written in blank verse, in spite of its Gothicism of atmosphere and sincerity of mood is too much influenced by Shakespeare's *Othello* and *King Lear*, Mrs. Radcliffe's *Romanse of the Forest* and Godwin's *Things as they Are*. Conflict in this play is more on the spiritual plane than based on action. It resulted from the clash between Godwinism and personal experience. The story element is not well fabricated and the central idea is always hidden under the overwhelming mist of improbability. The play, 'though powerfully written is decidedly wanting in theatrical quality.'<sup>1</sup>

Of the four plays, written by Coleridge, *Remorse* (1798) and *Zapolya* (1817) deserve to be mentioned. *Remorse*, like *The Borderers*, is a play, the action of which is stagnated by protracted dialogue. The influence of Schiller and of the Gothic drama are readily detectable in this play which has an abstract theme—the progress of the soul towards remorse. *Zapolya* is a close imitation of Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale* though occasionally reminiscent of *As You Like It*, *Cymbeline* and *The Tempest*. Southey collaborated with Coleridge in writing *The Fall of Robespierre* (1794)<sup>2</sup> and himself wrote *Wat Tyler* (1794), a play expressive of crude republican enthusiasm, which was attacked in the House of Commons.

Byron wrote five tragedies of which *Sardanapalus* (1821) is the most characteristic of the author. This is a poetic drama which delineates the character of Sardanapalus, the voluptuous and effeminate King of Assyria. The author's strength and sympathy are profusely illustrated here and it contains certain memorable passages conveying hatred against war. There are touches of greatness and sincerity in the drama but judged as a whole it is ineffective and never comes into comparison with Shelley's *The Cenci* (1819) which is one of the greatest illustrations of dramatic perfection rarely

<sup>1</sup> Herford, *The Age of Wordsworth* (1922), p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> Act I by Coleridge, II & III by Southey.

achieved in the romantic age. It is one of the finest poetic dramas in the range of English Literature. Primarily a drama of emotion, there has been a blending of classical elements, Gothic *accoutrement* and romantic elements in the play. Based upon the sordid tale of an Italian incest, omnipotent in mischief, and the vengeance of his humiliated daughter and wife upon him, the drama has immense possibilities even in the present times. But the authorities of theatres, who highly admired the play, were sensible enough not to perform it on grounds of immorality. *Prometheus Unbound* (1818) and *Hellas* (1821) are famous for their magnificent poetry and soaring flights of superterrestrial imagination, but earthly stages have no capacity to produce them; they are to be set in the frame of the entire universe.

Keats' best, *Otho the Great* (1819) is too weak to be mentioned; Scott's dramatic career is equally fragile. More impressive, however, were the dramas of Miss J. Baillie (1762-1851) and J. S. Knowles (1784-1862). George Colman the Younger (1762-1836) and O'Keeffe (1746-1833). In spite of their lacking in the poetic gift, these dramatists ruled the stage which was gradually plunging into the abysmal depths of decadence.

Such was the frustrating background which drew from Beddoes the adverse comment that drama had become a 'haunted ruin'. He loathed revivalism and was inclined to original creation, to beget a definite type of drama. 'Say what you will,' he said. 'I am convinced the man who is to awaken drama must be a bold trampling fellow—no reviver even however good. These reanimations are vampire-cold. Such ghosts as Marlowe, Webster, etc., were better dramatists, better poets I dare say, than any contemporary of ours, but they are ghosts. With the greatest reverence for all the antiquities of the drama, I still think that we had better beget than revive.....Just now the drama is a haunted ruin.' Himself thoroughly read in the dramatics, old and new, Beddoes despised the loathed condition of contemporary drama and set sails on the unknown oceans to explore new regions of sensibility through the medium of drama. *Death's Jest Book*, completed about the year 1829, is a bold experiment with the theme of the immortality of the soul—a subject which preoccupied him since his apprenticeship period as a physician. The experiment was bold enough, and, as is natural in all such cases, obscure to those minions who pretended to be his promoters in England. It was most unfortunate for English drama that the script of *Death's Jest Book* was sent back for revisions to its author in Germany. It was a terrible shock to him, a shock from which he never recovered in life. He revised the text time and time again but it was not published till one year after his death, in the year 1850.

This play is difficult to judge as a whole for frequent revision-work done upon it. There are three distinct versions of the play and the available text may be made out of one of these versions. The theme of the play is not vengeance of dead Wolfram as many critics have suggested. It is rather a drama of crime and retribution, Duke Melveric, who caused the

death of the father of Isbrand and Wolfram, and dishonours of their sister, is the point of attack. Isbrand and Wolfram enter the service of Melveric to take vengeance upon him; Isbrand poses there as the court fool and Wolfram as a knight. Wolfram is sent to rescue Melveric from captivity among the robbers of the African coast. He carries out the mission with success and meets the Duke there in love with Sibylla whose affection has been already given to Wolfram. Contention arises, and Melveric tries to kill him by a poisoned cup and then, when Wolfram has gone to release him from a band of outlaws, Melveric repays his generosity by stabbing him to death. Melveric returns to the country where he is followed by Wolfram's ghost and the play ends mysteriously with the death of all principal characters. In the final scene the ghost of Wolfram leads Melveric off to the sepulchre.

There are weird supernaturalism, charnel-house scenes and strange medley of conspiracy in the play, but the interest is never lost. A 'willing suspension of disbelief', prompted by the strange power of the dramatist, overwhelms the reader who goes on enjoying a sensational episode written in beautiful poetry. The play presents almost nothing derivative. Though in the use of macabre it is reminiscent of Webster and other Elizabethan dramatists, there is the unmistakable sign of originality all through the play. One can easily dismiss Beddoes as a mere creator of—

"Fantastic beauty--such as lurks  
In some wild poet when he works  
Without a conscience or an aim."

but not very comfortably, I suppose. The charge of the absence of objective correlative has been brought against him; so has suffered Shakespeare. A patient and minute examination of his works easily proves that he was really worthy of high recommendations from the greatest poets of the Victorian age—Tennyson and Browning. About 1850 critics proclaimed him as a writer of the highest order, magnificent in diction, terse and close in expression, various and beautiful in modulation, displaying imaginative resource of the highest reach, and sweeping the chords of passion with strong and fearless hands. He never lacked sincerity, never indulged in a borrowed trick. All he wrote was spontaneous—that which came direct from his heart.

## II

Beddoes has been called 'the last Elizabethan'; the first of the moderns in an age of romantic exhaustion; a link between Shelley and Browning. Almost obscure in his lifetime, he is slowly gaining in recognition as a dramatist, a revolutionary thinker and a poet of considerable excellence. Poets in the past and present have been thinkers and dramatists. But seldom do we find complete and phenomenal fusion of these three in one person. Beddoes the dramatist is inalienable from Beddoes the poet and thinker. The man



who cut open an artery in his left leg in order to put an end to a physical existence which he thought as a hindrance to his spiritual growth and aspirations, who could write lines like—

“Wilt thou cure thy heart  
Of love and all its smart  
Then die, dear, die ;  
’Tis deeper sweter  
Than on a rose bank to be dreaming  
With folded eye ;  
And then alone, amid the beaming  
Of love’s stars, thoult meet her  
In eastern sky.”

is not a lunatic. He is charged with the maddening frenzy of poetry and its passion. He is, to a considerable extent transcendental in his approach to the problems like immortality of soul and futility of existence. His entire life is devoted to express the meaninglessness of this drab and weary life where youth and love, mind and body—all suffer inevitable consumption. In his poetry he dramatised this vision of absolute barrenness and coldness of life and so he did in drama. Like Shelley, whose ardent follower he was, he believed that there is one source of the entire spiritual existence, which is the soul of the universe, and that the thirst for knowledge is the spiritual longing to return to the undiscovered region whence we come. He firmly believed in the immortality of the soul, in the true German spirit, and became the ‘prophet of a richer life in death’. Mr. Donner has rightly observed that his suicide was an act of faith, and that his self-inflicted death was ‘the triumphant close of a career devoted to the discovery of the physical and spiritual proofs of man’s survival in another sphere. There are few artists, or none at all, who could delineate death in its superb grandeur, who took death as a duty :

“The mighty labour is to die : we’ll do’t  
But we’ll drive in a chariot to our graves,  
Wheeled with big thunder o’er the heads of men.”

(*Torrismond*, 1, iv., 215-17)

Through death man ventures to discover new regions of the *Great Unknown* ; why then an ignominious death at the time when blood is freezing cool ? He took a worthier course and died experimenting the beauties of death, surely expecting enfranchisement from the physical limitations of the world ; from utter loneliness and yearning of humanity for love and friendship ;

“In the December world, with men of ice  
Cold sirs and madams ;”

(*Torrismond*, 1, ii, 84-5)

and to escape from ‘the bitter past and untasted future’.

It is interesting, and not very difficult to find out the root of his fascination for death. Born on the 30th June, 1803, at 3, Rodney Place, Clifton, Thomas Lovell Beddoes, the second child of Dr. Beddoes, the eminent physician and a close friend of Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey, experienced death for the first time at the age of only five and a half years, when his father died. But that was too faint a memory. It was not till May, 1824, the date of his mother's death that the frailty of human existence set him to thinking till the theme of death grappled his entire sensibility. The elements of corpses and charnel houses, scenes of horror and incest were present even in his earlier works; but that was mainly due to contemporary literary fashion. After his mother's death, a terrible and unbearable loneliness and horror seized him. Henceforth his mind was forcibly turned in the direction of the problems of death and its solution. As an ardent student of Medical Science he was constantly in pursuit of the organ of immortality; but this, and his exalted hope of finding the positive proof of man's survival after death turned futile. He worked on, with avidity, for every shadow of a proof or probability of an after-existence, both in the material and immaterial nature of man. But immortality, like touchstone ever eluded his expectant grasp and he plunged deep into the recesses of despair—in fact the lofty edifice of his life-long aspirations dashed violently to the ground, and he lost all interest in living physically. When the world of objective experience failed to offer him a clue to immortality, he switched over to the subjective world of intuition, and, floating on the viewless wings of poetry, endeavoured to bridge the gulf between life and death and to give "permanent expression to the longing in his heart for a love greater than worldly love and a truth deeper than the transitory truth of mortal life."

### III

The genius of Beddoes is chiefly lyrical and his dramas are excellent examples of what we call poetic drama. Poetic dramas have been written in all ages, but their production in the Romantic age must have a special significance. The mighty Elizabethans had a primitive directness about them:

"The cheereful Cock (the sad night's comforter),  
Wayting upon the rysing of the Sunne  
Doth sing to see how *Cynthia* shrinks her horne,  
While *Clitie* takes her progresse to the East:  
Where, wringing wet with drops of silver dew,  
Her wonted tears of love she doth renew."<sup>1</sup>

Or,

"O thou art fairer than the evening air,  
Clad in the beauty of a thousand stars:

<sup>1</sup> Kyd's *Cornelia*, Actus Tertius i, ll. 1-6.

Brighter art thou than flaming Jupiter  
 When he appeared to hapless Semele;  
 More lovely than the monarch of the Sky  
 In wanton Arethusa's azur'd arms;"<sup>1</sup>

Or,

"Helen must needs be fair,  
 When with your blood you daily paint her thus."<sup>2</sup>

Kyd, Marlowe and Shakespeare—all were masters in poetic diction and gifted with the richness of blank verse. They used poetry in their dramas for various reasons. First, they found the rich legacy of blank verse ready to use; secondly, the sonority and eloquent majesty of poetry so engrossed the sensibility of the audience in the Elizabethan age that technical flaws did not come to their notice. Thirdly, prose in the sixteenth century did not attain that amount of perfection which is required in drama. But the Romantics used poetry for more profound reasons. They were steeped in thoughts which could not be expressed adequately through the medium of prose. They dealt with superterrestrial issues like immortality, evolution of soul, enfranchisement of soul, and exalted visions. Poetry was, therefore, their indispensable vehicle. The Elizabethans were first dramatists and then poets, the Romantics were first poets and then anything else. The Elizabethans used poetry for public enjoyment, the Romantics used it to escape from their individual emotions, to release the accumulated force of abstract meditations which constantly haunted their mind. Whatever form they took up, poetry or drama, they poured in intense lyrical ecstasy.

Beddoes, who ardently shared the Romantic impulse, was impregnated to the innermost core of his being with that form of moral disquietude which characterised the greatest Romantics. His dramas and poems were inextricably set in one spiritual pattern. The astonishing miracle of intuitive divination, soaring flights of imagination and the spontaneous, figurative quality of his language easily qualify him as one of the greatest writers of English poetic drama. How far his dramas are successful on the stage is a different issue but the complete and phenomenal fusion of poetry and drama is something unique in him. The solemnity and grandeur of lines like

"I yearn and hirst and ache to be beloved  
 As I could love, through my eternal soul,  
 Immutably, immortally, intensely,  
 Immeasurably."

Or,

"I soak my heart's dear roots in wine  
 And the warm drops roll up and down my blood,

<sup>1</sup> Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, Scene XV, ll. 96-101 (Ed. Osborne).

<sup>2</sup> Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* (Act I, Sc. i).

Till every tendril of my straying veins  
Ring with delight."

Or,

"Let me forget to love  
And take a heart of venom : let me make  
A staircase of the frightened breasts of men,  
And climb into a lonely happiness."

are nothing short of the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings.

What he tried to express in drama :

"Here I'll lay me  
And let life fall from off me tranquilly"

(*Death's Jest Book*, IV, iii, 163-4)

he developed in poetry :

"One sits upon the strong and rocky life

.. .. .

lo, upon his head

Drops a pin's point of time : tick, quoth the clock  
And the grave snaps him."

Again compare :

"Let me then wander  
Amid (their) banquets, funerals and weddings,  
Like one whose living spirit is Death's Angel."

(*Death's Jest Book*, II, iv, 170-72)

and

"Fear me now :

I am a devil, not a human soul."

(*The Last Man*).

When Veronica and Torrismond exchange their hearts, Veronica's passionate oath makes the whole scene impregnated with the spirit of union :

"Henceforth remember thou  
How in this azure secrecy of night  
And with what vows, we have dedicated  
Ourselves, and our eternity of being  
Unto each other in our Maker's presence."

This is certainly great poetry and an illustration of genuine dramatic passion. The sincerity of emotion, and modulation of verse have been perfectly blended with dramatic movement. Again, when the Duke in *Death's Jest Book*, in awful incantation, conjures up the spirit of Death in the following lines :

"Now Death, thou shadowy miser,  
I am thy robber, be not merciful  
But take me in requital."

the weird image of the expression 'thou shadowy miser' reminds us of the most effective masters of image. The entire atmosphere is charged with

dramatic suspense and poetic eloquence. This is what might be called the spirit of Poetic Drama.

#### IV

Arthur Symons seems to be right in his observation when he says that Beddoes is a 'monumental failure, more interesting than many facile triumphs.' But even the ruins of great things are great. It is true that Beddoes did not adhere strictly to the accepted dramatic fashion of the day; true, he was incapable of conceiving a coherent plot or creating convincing characters and situations. Almost all his characters speak the language which is prompted by the queer imaginings of an artist, who, like his own creation Siegfried, found 'man tired of being merely human.' They are always ghostly in their remoteness from flesh and blood. Beddoes really failed to delineate the periphery of human existence, for, whatever he said was expressed in terms of soul and eternity—always elusive to the pulsation of life. But this does not necessarily lead to Mr. Symons' other observation: 'as a writer of regulation poetic drama, he cannot be considered successful.' As a matter of fact, Beddoes' genius is essentially lyrical and he excelled in a type of spectral dramatic phantasia broadly reminiscent of Webster and Tourneur. But we should not fail to notice the phenomenal success of his immature creation '*Brides' Tragedy*'. Thirty years after the rejection of the script of *Death's Jest Book* Landor had to remark, perhaps most reasonably: 'Nearly two centuries have elapsed since the same wealth of genius as *Death's Jest Book* was given to the world.' *Death's Jest Book* is not an Elizabethan play. It is chronologically romantic and historically modern. It conveys the fire of the dramatists' soul which was saturated with the problems of spirit, immortality, rebirth—problems eternally unsolved. The Elizabethan outline of the plot is incompatible with the speculative central theme which embodies the oscillations of a very sensuous and disturbed mind. This disturbed mood is the clue which may lead to an understanding of the play. Wolfram, Isbrand, Mandrake, Sibylla—all are victims of a disturbed psychosis. The play is essentially an instance of poetic drama because it is a *necessary* pretext of his poetry (compare Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral*). The songs and dialogues of the characters do not give us human voice, but they give us the inmost essences of their personality. If Beddoes failed to find 'objective correlative in terms of action', he certainly found out the true objective correlative of *his* thought in the sweeping blank verse of the play.

Beddoes aspired for stage-success. He wrote to Kelsall, "you are, I think, disinclined to stage: now, I confess that I think this is the highest aim of the dramatist; and should be very desirous to get on it. To look down on it is a piece of impertinence, as long as one chooses to write in the form of a play, and is generally the result of one's great inability to produce

anything striking and affecting in that way." He expected that *Death's Jest Book* would stir a sensation in the literary world. He could never imagine for a moment that the play would not even reach the press and that his friends who had encouraged his juvenile efforts would be instrumental to suppressing his finest achievement. It was very possible that a public which rejected Shelley and Keats might also reject Beddoes for seeming obscurities. Apprehending this, Bourne and Procter who were less adventurous and who knew the public and the press better, requested Beddoes for substantial revisions. This meant the wholesale recasting of a mould which was possible only if the metal was changed. Kelsall, who knew his friend well, wanted it to be published immediately, but he could not change decisions taken by a Power mightier than that of Bourne and Procter. Had the play been published in 1829, there could be mis-interpretations, even scornful criticism by reviewers, but English drama would be richer. What was confused and hazy in *Death's Jest Book* could come to light in the later works of the author. That this is not a meaningless expectation can be proved by comparing an early poem of Beddoes to a later poem. It is interesting to note the confused ideas and rigmarole of consonants in the earlier poems of Beddoes as in the lines written about the year 1829 :

"Let the sceptred break their pyramids.  
An earthquake of the buried shake the domes  
Of arched Cathedrals, and o'erturn the forests,  
Until the grassy mounds and sculptured floors,  
The monumental statues, hollow rocks,  
The paved churchyard, and the flowery mead,  
And ocean's billowy sarcophagi.  
Pass from the bosoms of the rising people  
Like clouds ; Enough of Stars and Suns immortal  
Have risen in heaven : to day in earth and sea  
Riseth mankind." (*Doomsday*).

· The clear vision and the spontaneous rhetoric of a later poem :

"Young soul, put off your flesh, and come  
With me into the quiet tomb.  
Our bed is lovely, dark and sweet ;  
The earth will swing us, as she goes,  
Beneath our coverlid of snows,  
And the warm leaden sheet.  
Dear and dear is their poisoned note  
The little snakes of silver throat,  
In mossy, skulls that rest and lie,  
Ever singing 'die, oh, die.'" (*The Phantom Wooer*).

give us indications that gradually the poet was becoming more and more clear and tangible.

As to the faults of construction, it does not matter much on the stage. The plots of many Shakespeare-plays are wildly conceived. The audience whose attention is held and delighted by a succession of strange and striking incidents clothed in splendid speeches of rarely-surpassed poetic grandeur cares least whether the play is technically perfect or not. Like Shakespeare and Marlowe, Kyd and Webster, Beddoes could have laughed away the scorns of the over-fastidious drama-critics of the age, floating on the mounting waves of general applause. But it was destined that the publication of *Death's Jest Book* should wait till 1850 and Beddoes should be accorded appreciation after death.

In the year 1907 Lytton Strachey, the atheistic critic, announced prophetically :

"It would be foolish, in the present melancholy condition of the art of dramatic declamation, to wish for the public performance of *Death's Jest Book*; but it is impossible not to hope that the time may come when an adequate representation of that strange and great work may be something more than 'a possibility more thin than air' then, and then only, shall we be able to take true measure of Beddoes' genius."

There are reasons to believe that the time has come. More than half a century has elapsed since the verdict of Strachey was given, and we have experienced in the meantime plays like *Man and Superman* (Shaw), *A Phoenix Too Frequent* (Fry), *Dierdre and Purgatory* (Yeats), and *Murder in the Cathedral* (Eliot). There has been more spiritual exercises in these plays than physical, and the stage has received them. It is therefore not unusual to think that there is a sound possibility of success for a properly-produced Beddoes' play, particularly *Death's Jest Book*, the intense and agonised voice of

## Reviews and Notices of Books

**Yugācārya-Vivekanandah**—By Swāmī Apūrvānanda, published by Swāmī Sambuddhānanda, Secretary, Vivekānanda Centenary Celebration Committee. Pages—100. Price Rs. 8.

The author of the book under review has paid a befitting tribute to the sacred memory of Swāmīji by communicating his life and teachings to the public through the medium of Sanskrit, the most favourite language of Swāmī Vivekānanda.

The author lays proper emphasis on the central teachings of Swāmīji. A few examples will convince the readers of the fact that the Sanskrit verses add a new grace to the words of Swāmīji. They are as follows:—

- (1) Mānave mānave mānyā Divyatū Yāditaḥ -thitā ।  
Prakṛṭikarāṇam tasya Dharma ityu cyate budhaiḥ ॥
- (2) Avāpya jñānamīśasya Cintanam tasya nityaśah ।  
Pratyakṣam tena sambhāṣā Procyate dharma lakṣaṇam ॥
- (3) Snehaḥ sampūrṇe samsāre Sthitaprāṇeṣu nirīnalaḥ ।  
Udārataḥ tathā teṣu Dharmasya ukaṣaḥ smṛtaḥ ॥
- (4) “Mā jātu vismaratu-nicajātayaḥ, mūrksa darīdra ajñāścarmakūrā,  
malaparīṣkārakā api tavaiva bhrātaraḥ. Tavaiva raktam teṣu”  
etc. etc.
- (5) Uccair brūta, “Bhāratīyā mṛttikā mama svargaḥ, Bhāratīyam  
Kalyāṇam mamaiva Kalyāṇam” etc. etc.

Swāmīji laid much more emphasis on the spread of education among the neglected masses, the removal of social barrier, e.g., untouchability, etc., the establishment of fraternity among the people of India, the assimilation of lofty and noble ideas from other cultures and so on. He does not prescribe the cult of renunciation for the people of India at large. This book is sure to give a rude shock to the conservative mind of India. If a reaction sets in, the mission of the author will be fulfilled.

But the concluding portion of this book which sums up the teachings of Swāmīji in Sanskrit verses is not as forceful as the writings of the Buddhist reformers of the middle ages. If the author revises his book, the spirit of Swāmīji will be reflected in the Sanskrit verses. I shall fail in my duty if I do not point out the mistakes made in the use of idioms by the author in some places. I like to draw the attention of the author to one glaring mistake which misrepresents the saying of Swāmīji, viz., “Sāhasamava lambadhvam”. The word sāhasa in Sanskrit is not synonymous with ‘sāhasa’ in Bengali language. Sāhasa in Sanskrit denotes rashness.

J. B.



## **Ourselves**

### **HIS HOLINESS THE POPE SCHOLARSHIPS**

The President of India has been pleased to place at the disposal of the University of Calcutta a sum of \$ 10,000 out of the sum of \$50,000 paid by His Holiness the Pope during his last visit to India for distribution among five Universities in this country. This sum is to be utilised for the institution of a number of scholarships to be known as 'His Holiness the Pope Scholarships' open to really poor and needy students for undertaking Post-graduate studies in any branch of learning. Merit will not be the only criterion for the award of this scholarship. The sum equals to Rs. 47,597.95P in Indian currency. The President desires that this sum be invested in proper securities which would fetch a good return. The corpus of this fund should remain intact and only the interest should be disbursed every year by way of scholarships. Model rules to govern the grant of the scholarship have been framed in consultation with the Ministry of Education, Government of India. A report has to be sent each year for the information of the President of India as regards the manner in which the interest of the fund is utilised.

The University has accepted the offer with thanks.

### **BRAHMANANDA KESHAB CHANDRA SEN MEMORIAL LECTURE FOR 1965**

It has been decided to appoint Brahmananda Keshab Chandra Sen Memorial Lecturer for the year 1965.

The lectureship, a biennial one, carries an honorarium of Rs. 750 only. The lecturer is to deliver a course of not less than two lectures in Bengali or in English on some topic connected with Comparative Religion as the Syndicate of the University of Calcutta be pleased to direct.

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. Sushil Kumar Maitra and Dr. D. M. Datta are the lecturers for 1959, 1961 and 1963 respectively.

### **SRI D. P. GHOSH**

Sri D. P. Ghosh, M.A., has been appointed Reader and Head of the Department of Museology as well as honorary Officer-in-charge of Asutosh Museum for a term of two years with effect from 1st April, 1965.

### **SIBLEY SCHOLARSHIP FOR 1961**

Sri Somesh Chandra Bhattacharjee, B.E., has been appointed Sibley Scholar for 1961 by the University Syndicate on 31st March, 1962. The award was made for advanced study in Electrical Engineering abroad. The value of the scholarship was then at the rate of Rs. 350 per month. The Senate of the University of Calcutta, however, increased the value of the scholarship in its meeting on 22nd August, 1964, to Rs. 700 per month by making the award a biennial one instead of annual. This will be in effect from 1966.



## Notifications

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. GSRD/1/ORD/65

It is notified for general information that the Syndicate at their meeting held on 19th September, 1964, made the following Ordinance relating to enhancement of salary of all part-time teachers of the University which was accepted by the Senate on 6th March, 1965.

"All part-time teachers of the University who are drawing salary not exceeding Rs. 200 per month and served the University for at least ten years be given an increment in salary of Rs. 50 per month with effect from 1st June, 1963.

Senate House,  
The 19th April, 1965.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
*Registrar.*

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification No. C/2244/154 (Aff.)

It is hereby notified for general information that the Calcutta Girls' B.T. College has been affiliated in compulsory subjects, in English, Bengali, Sanskrit, History, Mathematics, Social Studies and Economics as Contents and Methods subjects and in Mental Hygiene, Pre-Primary Education, Educational and Vocational Guidance, Education in Ancient and Modern India and Mental and Educational Measurement as Elective subjects to the B.T. standard from the session 1965-66, i.e. with permission to present candidates in the above-mentioned subjects at the B.T. Examination in 1966 and not earlier.

Senate House, Calcutta,  
The 5th May, 1965.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
*Registrar.*

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification No. C/2887/94 (Aff.)

It is hereby notified for general information that in extension of the affiliation already granted, the Kharagpur College has been affiliated in Mathematics to the B.A. and B.Sc. Honours standards with effect from the commencement of the session 1965-66, i.e. with permission to present candidates in the above-mentioned subjects at the B.A. & B.Sc. Part II Examinations in 1966 and not earlier.

Senate House, Calcutta.  
The 19th May, 1965.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
*Registrar.*

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification No. C/2372/155 (Aff.)

It is hereby notified for general information that the Jogesachandra Chaudhuri College has been affiliated in English, Bengali, Hindi, Urdu, Elements of Economics and Civics, Commercial Geography, Sanskrit, Logic, History, Mathematics and Commercial Arithmetic and Book-keeping to the Pre-University Arts standard, in English, Bengali, Hindi, Urdu, Tamil, Economics, Political Science, Philosophy, Sanskrit and Education to the B.A. Pass standard and in English, Bengali, Hindi, Urdu, Tamil, Economic Theory, Economic Problems of India, Commercial and Industrial Law, Accountancy, Business Organisation, Secretarial Practice, Commercial Mathematics, Economic Geography, Advanced Accountancy, Auditing, Advanced Banking (including Banking Law and Practice of Banking), Currency and Foreign Exchange to the B.Com. Pass standard for the Day shift and in English, Bengali, Hindi, Urdu, Elements of Economics and Civics, Commercial Geography, Sanskrit, Logic, History, Mathematics and Commercial Arithmetic and Book-keeping to the Pre-University Arts standard, in English, Bengali, Hindi, Urdu, Tamil, Economics, Political Science, Philosophy and Sanskrit to the B.A. Pass standard and in

English, Bengali, Hindi, Urdu, Tamil, Economic Theory, Economic Problems of India, Commercial and Industrial Law, Accountancy, Business Organisation, Economic Geography, Secretarial Practice, Commercial Mathematics, Advanced Accountancy, Auditing, Advanced Banking (including Law and Practice of Banking), Currency and Foreign Exchange to the B.Com. Pass standard for the Evening shift from the session 1965-66, i.e. with permission to present candidates in the above-mentioned subjects at the Pre-University Examination in 1966, B.A., B.Com. Part I Examinations in 1967 and B.A. and B.Com. Part II Examinations in 1968 and not earlier.

Senate House, Calcutta.  
The 24th May, 1965.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
*Registrar.*

### CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. 2/ORD/65

It is notified for general information that the Syndicate, at their meeting held on 25th June, 1964 made the Ordinance fixing the enhanced rates of remuneration payable to Examiners, Paper-setters, Tabulators, Scrutinisers, Moderators, Head Examiners, and Invigilators, as set out in the accompanying papers, was accepted by the Senate on 6th March, 1965.

The enhancement had been given effect from the examinations held in the financial year 1963-64.

Senate House, Calcutta-12,  
The 11th May, 1965.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
*Registrar.*

The rates of remuneration payable to Examiners, Paper-setters, Tabulators, Scrutinisers, Moderators, Invigilators and Head Examiners, etc., for different examinations be fixed as follows :

Name of Examination

Rate of Remuneration

#### Pro-University

(a) Examiners' remuneration	.87 per theo. full paper
(b) Paper-setters	48.00 per full paper
(c) Moderators	24.00 Do.
(d) Tabulators	450.00
(e) Scrutinisers	125.00 per 1000

#### Three-Year Degree Course Part I

(a) Examiners' Remuneration	1.12 per theo. full paper
Pass	1.37 Do.
Hons.	48.00 per full paper
(b) Paper-setters	(Pass & Hons.)
(c) Moderators	24.00 Do.
(d) Tabulators	650.00
(e) Scrutinisers	125.00 per 1000

#### B.A., BSc. Part II

(a) Examiners' Remuneration	1.12 per theo. full paper
Pass	1.37 Do.
Hons.	48.00 per full paper (Pass & Hons.)
(b) Paper-setters	
(c) Moderators	24.00
(d) Tabulators	650.00
(e) Scrutinisers	125.00 per 1000

#### B. Com. Part I

(a) Examiners' Remuneration	1.12
(b) Paper-setters	48.00
(c) Moderators	24.00
(d) Tabulators	450.00
(e) Scrutinisers	125.00 per 1000

## B.Com., Part II

(a) Examiners' Remuneration	1.12
(b) Paper-setters	48.00 per full paper
(c) Moderators	24.00 Do.
(d) Tabulators	550.00
(e) Scrutineers	125.00 per 1000

## LL.B.

Examiners' Remuneration	1.62 per full paper
Tabulators	300.00

## Old B.A. &amp; B.Sc.

Examiners' Remuneration	1.12 per theo. paper (other than Hons.) (100 marks)
Paper-setters	48.00 (Pass or Hons.) (100 marks)
Moderators	24.00
Tabulators	700.00
Scrutineers	125.00 per 1000
Old B.Sc. (Practical)	3.00 for each Pass or Hons. candidate per paper of 100 marks.

## Old B.Com.

Examiners' Remuneration	1.12 per paper (100 marks)
Paper-setters	48.00 Do.
Moderators	24.00
Tabulators	700.00
Scrutineers	125.00 per 1000

## Head Examiners' Remuneration

1. Pre-University	350.00
2. Three-Year Degree Course	350.00
3. B.Com. Part I	350.00
4. B.A., B.Sc. Part II	350.00
5. B.Com. Part II	350.00
6. Old B.A., B.Sc.	350.00
7. Old B.Com.	300.00 in group subjects.

## Invigilators' Remuneration

Full day	8.50 per day
Half day	1.75 per day
Half day for 4 hours	2.25 per day

## General

Fees for a Stipendiary Moderator in each paper is fixed at half the fee for setting that paper.

Fee for re-examining an answer-script is fixed at half the fee admissible for examining it.

Fee for Head-Examiner for looking over a script (of the 5% allotment or 10% in P.U. Practical subjects) is equal to the fee admissible for examining it. But no fee will accrue to a Head Examiner if the number of scripts to be looked over under the rules is less than 200.

If an Examiner is appointed to look over a script in a subject for a particular examination, and if he has not been appointed Paper-setter/Moderator (Stipendiary) in the subject, the fee paid to him shall not be less than half the fee paid for setting that particular paper in which he is appointed Examiner. In case he is assigned more than one paper, the fee paid to him shall not be less than half the fee paid for setting one full paper in the subject.

Wherever a fee is fixed for setting a paper or conducting an examination and no special provision is otherwise made, the fee is to be equally divided amongst all the persons who actually take part in setting the paper or conducting the examination.

## NOTIFICATION

Candidates admitted to the Doctorate Degrees

(Between 15th February, 1964 and 30th November, 1964)

Names and local address of the candidates	Title of thesis	Date of admission to the degree by the Syndicate
<i>D.Litt.</i>		
1. Sudhindrachandra Chakravarti, Lecturer in Philosophy, Visva-Bharati University, Santiniketan, Raicharan Deb Road, P.O. Bolpur, Dist. Birbhum.	"A critical exposition of the Philosophical foundation of Bengal Vaisnavism." (Philosophy).	11th July, 1964
2. Sachindranath Datta, 21, Justice Dwarka Nath Road, Calcutta—20.	"The evolution of democracy in India" (Political Science).	5th September, 1964.
<i>D.Sc.</i>		
1. Dr. Anadijiban Das, P. 123, Krishnapur Colony, Calcutta—28.	"On some problem in general relativity and quantum field theory." (Pure Physics).	16th May, 1964
2. Dr. Dhananjay Nasipuri, Dept. of Chemistry, University of Notre Dame, Indiana, U.S.A.	"Synthetic studies in Poly-cyclic system." (Pure Chemistry.)	25th June, 1964
3. Nirmal Sen, 17, Mahanirvan Road, Calcutta—29.	"Interrelationship of long chain fatty acids in higher animals." (Biochemistry).	1st October, 1964
4. Sm. Manju Mukhopadhyay, 809, Block 'P', New Alipore, Calcutta—53.	"The Content and Kinetic of cations in different types of skeletal muscles of frogs." (Physiology).	21st November, 1964.
5. Lakshminarayan Mandal, Central Sericultural Research Station, Berhampore, West Bengal.	"Biochemistry of water logged rice soils." (Chemistry).	28th November, 1964.
<i>M.D. (1963)</i>		
1. Amiyakumar Kundu, M.B.B.S., 11B, Brindaban Mallik Lane, Calcutta—9.	"Studies on cirrhosis of liver before and after abdominal paracentesis."	1st October, 1964
2. Sukumar Mukhopadhyay, M.B.B.S., 26/2A, Sasi Bhusan Dey Street, Calcutta—12.	"Observation on myocardial infraction with special reference to enzymatic studies."	1st October, 1964
3. Ajaykumar Mitra, M.B.B.S., 284/B, Rash Behari Avenue, Calcutta—19.	"Studies on ascetics of different etiology with special reference to lactic dehydrogenase activity."	1st October, 1964
4. Panchanan Maulik, M.B.B.S., 217, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta—12.	"Clinical studies on Rheumatoid Arthritis with particular reference to the evaluation of the diagnostic serological tests for Rheumatoid Arthritis in the diagnosis and differential diagnosis."	1st October, 1964
5. P. N. Viswanathan, M.B.B.S., 13B, Palit Street, Calcutta—19.	"Studies on Paraplegia."	1st October, 1964
6. Payodhinath Bhattacharyya, M.B.B.S., 28, Noor Mohammad Lane, (1st floor), Calcutta—	"Studies on Peptic ulcer."	1st October, 1964

Names and local address of the candidates	Title of thesis	Date of admission to the degree by the Syndicate
7. Banbihari Adak, M.B.B.S., 71/B, Dharamtala Street, Calcutta—13.	"Studies in chronic Bronchitis, Asthma and Emphysema."	1st October, 1964
8. Prasantakumar Basu, M.B.B.S., 42, Kalidas Basu Lane, Howrah.	"Clinical and immunological studies in Enteric fevers under chloramphenicol therapy."	1st October, 1964
9. Ranabir Basu, M.B.B.S., P.335, Block A, Bangur Avenue, Calcutta—28.	"Clinical studies in Diabetes Mellitus with special reference to vascular changes and their relation to certain adrenocortical function."	1st October, 1964
10. Becharam Sadhukhan, M.B.B.S., 86/3B, Suren Sircar Road, Calcutta—10.	"Study of thyroid function in congestive cardiac failure."	1st October, 1964
11. Hemendrakumar Sinha, M.B.B.S., Calcutta Dock Labour Board Hospital, Calcutta—43.	"Study on the effects of Carbimazole therapy cases."	1st October, 1964
12. Amulyabhushan Ray, M.B.B.S., 3, Nather Bagan Lane, Calcutta—5.	"Studies on the volume of body fluids in health and diseases."	1st October, 1964
13. Haribhushan Majumdar, M.B.B.S., 27, Karbala Tank Lane, Calcutta—6.	"Studies on the hepatic parenchymal disorders with special reference to serum transaminase."	1st October, 1964

*M.S. (1963)*

1. Debeschandra Desarkar, M.B.B.S., 7A, Shyama Mitra Lane, Calcutta—6.	"Place of surgery in the treatment of Cancer penis" (Genito-urinary Surgery).	1st October, 1964
2. Gorachand Bhattacharyya, M.B.B.S., 44/A, Hari Ghosh street, Calcutta—6.	"Trauma and Gastroduodenal ulcer" (Genito-urinary Surgery).	1st October, 1964
3. Sarojkumar Pramanik, M.B.B.S., P.810, Lake Town, Calcutta —28.	"Intestinal obstruction and 17 hydroxycortico steroids" (Genito-urinary Surgery).	1st October, 1964
4. Tapandeb Chattopadhyay, M.B.B.S., Dept. of Anatomy, R. G. Kar Medical College, 1, Belgachia Road, Calcutta —4.	"On heterotopic calcifications (including endocrine gland) (Genito-urinary Surgery).	1st October, 1964
5. Dilipkumar Misra, M.B.B.S., 7B, Jugipara Bye Lane, Calcutta—6.	"Study on frozen shoulder" (Genito-urinary Surgery).	1st October, 1964
6. Nandalal Sil, M.B.B.S., 1, Muktareem Babu Lane, Calcutta—7.	"Studies on the biochemical aspects of wound healing" (Genito-urinary Surgery).	1st October, 1964
7. Santoshkumar Datta, M.B.B.S., Registrar, Dept. of Surgery, N. R. S. Medical College, Calcutta.	"Normal gait in man surgical management of the post poliomyelitic flail and partially paralysed lower limbs" (Genito-urinary Surgery).	1st October, 1964
8. Pannalal Chakrabarti, M.B.B.S., 1/3, Olaichandi Road, Calcutta—37.	"Cholangiography in Biliary surgery" (Abdominal Surgery).	1st October, 1964
9. Hemendrakumar Deb, M.B.B.S., 61(01) Ekdalia Road, Calcutta—19.	"Surgery for tuberculosis of joints with special reference to preservation of joint mobility" (Orthopaedic Surgery).	1st October, 1964

## M.O. (1963)

Names and local address of the candidates	Title of thesis	Date of admission to the degree by the Syndicate
1. Mihirkumar Chattopadhyay, M.B.B.S., 146/20, Prince Anwar Shah Road, Calcutta—31. Present address—'Abasar', Ushagram, P.O. Asansol, Dist. Burdwan.	"Study on renal filtration in pregnancy."	21st November, 1964.
2. Bipadbhanjan Sarkar, M.B.B.S. P.126, C. I. T. Road (Deb Lane), Calcutta—14.	"Studies on post menopause endometrium."	21st November, 1964.
3. Sailesharanjan Chakrabarti, M.B.B.S., 8B, Bhabananda Road, Calcutta—26.	"Studies on gastric and liver function in early pregnancy."	21st November, 1964.
4. Sm. Gita Rakshit, M.B.B.S., C/o. Dr. M. L. Rakshit, Palpara, Chandernagore, Hughli.	"Study of vaginal cytology in the evaluation of ovarian function following hysterectomy."	21st November, 1964.

## D.Phil. (Arts)

1. Sm. Subha Mitra, 25/B, Bakul Bagan Row, Bhowanipore, Calcutta—25.	"Machiavelli in Christopher Marlowe and George Chapman" (English).	11th April, 1964
2. Jayantakumar Ghosh, 31, Justice Chandra Madhab Road, Calcutta—20.	"Optimum properties of some sequential tests of simple and composite hypothesis and other related inference procedures" (Statistics).	18th April, 1964
3. Kshetragopal Sensarma, 28A, Mahendra Srimani Street, Calcutta—9.	"Madhusudan : Byakti-o-Silpi" (Bengali).	18th April, 1964
4. Kamalaranjan Ray, 42B, Mahendra Sarkar Street, Calcutta—1.	"Newman Algebra and its dual with the Geometry over it" (Pure Mathematics).	25th April, 1964
5. Satyaranjan Bandyopadhyay, 5F, Nebu Bagan Lane, Calcutta—3.	"The Eastern School of Prakrit Grammarians" (Comparative Philology).	25th April, 1964
6. Satyendranarayan Goswami, C/o. Dr. Sukumar Sen, 27, Goabagan Lane, Calcutta—6.	"Historical Grammar of Assamese Language" (Comparative Philology).	25th April, 1964
7. Sukdeb Sinha, Department of Bengali, Krishnagar College, Nadia.	"Padavali Sahitye Sri Ruper Prabhava." (Bengali).	2nd March, 1964
8. Sri Tsuyoshi Nara, C/o. Consulate General of Japan, 12, Pretoria Street, Calcutta—16.	"Study of Avahattha and Proto-Bengali" (Comparative Philology).	2nd March, 1964
9. Sm. Lakshmi Sanyal, Sarojini Naidu College, 80, Jessore Road, Dum Dum.	"Studies in the Mathematical theory of the boundary layer in the incompressible fluid" (Applied Mathematics).	16th March, 1964
10. Arunkumar Mitra, 62/C, Beadon Street, Calcutta—6.	"Amritalal Basu and his Works" (Bengali).	30th March, 1964
11. Rajkishore Singh, C/o. Engineering Export Promotion Council, India Exchange (7th floor), Calcutta—1.	"A study in the prospects for export of traditional and non-traditional goods" (Economics).	16th June, 1964
12. Sm. Parul Chakrabarti, 8, Nafar Kundu Road, Calcutta—26.	"Interest, attitude and personality make ups of Executive and Clerical staff" (Psychology).	11th July, 1964

Name and the local address of the candidate	Title of thesis	Date of admission to the degree by the Syndicate
13. Taritkumar Chattopadhyay, 112, Amherst Street, Calcutta—9.	"An attempt to determine specific psychological factors leading to the development of schizophrenia" (Psychology).	18th July, 1964
14. Sant Narayan Upadhyay, 19/5/1, Iswar Ganguli Lane, Calcutta—26.	"Dadu Dayal Jeevan, Darshan Aur Kavya" (Hindi).	25th July 1964
15. Ashraff Jha, Lecturer in Hindi, C/o. S. O. J. Sikshalaya, 10A, Chitpur Spur, Calcutta—7.	"Hindi Sant Kavya Ke Darsanik Stotra" (Hindi).	25th July, 1964
16. Syamaprasad Bandyopadhyay, Dept. of Higher Algebra, Moscow State University, U.S.S.R.	"On lattices" (Mathematics)	18th July, 1964
17. Sm. Anima Sen (Regd. No. 1191 of 1936-38), C/o. Sri D. C. Chakrabarti, C. I. T. Buildings, Bagmari, Block No. 7, Flat No. 3, Calcutta—11.	"Bangla Sisu Ramya Sahityer dhara" (Bengali).	8th August, 1964
18. Binayendranath Chaudhuri, Latika Bhavan, Jayasri, Block C, Bamacharan Ray Road, Calcutta—34.	"Buddhist Janapada (countries) in Ancient India" (Pali).	14th August, 1964.
19. Sm. Anima Sen (Regd. No. 1394 of 1951-53), 21, Kalighat Road, Calcutta.	Influence of Samkhya on the Ayurveda (Science of life), Ayurveda Samkhya Prabhavali (Sanskrit).	14th August, 1964.
20. Syamchand Mukhopadhyay, 108, Balaram De Street, Calcutta—6.	"A study of Vaisnavism in ancient and mediaeval Bengal (pre-Chaitanya period)" (Ancient Indian History and Culture).	31st August, 1964.
21. Sm. Gita Palit, 13A, Bechu Chatterjee Street, Calcutta—9.	"Evolution of Upama in Sanskrit poetics" (Sanskrit).	29th August, 1964.
22. Gunamay Manna, 79, Ruti Mahal Road, Gorabazar, Berhampore, Murshidabad.	"Forms of Rabindranath's poems" (Bengali).	18th September, 1964.
23. Amiyakrishna Raychaudhuri, Barisha, Majherhati, Calcutta—8.	"Bangla Mangal Kavyer Rupe-o-Riti" (Bengali).	1st October, 1964

*D.Phil. (Arts)*

24. Narayanachandra Bhattacharyya, G.4, Rental Housing Estate, 11, Centre Sinthae Road, Calcutta—50.	"Atharva Vede Bharatiya Sanskriti" (Sanskrit).	1st October, 1964
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*D.Phil. (Science)*

1. Shyamal Sengupta, Assistant Professor of Physics, Presidency College, Calcutta—12.	"Studies in Nuclear shell structure and some related problems in Nuclear Physics" (Pure Physics).	7th March, 1964
2. Sunilchandra Mukhopadhyay, Dept. of Theoretical Physics, Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, Jadavpur, Calcutta—32.	"Scattering and Capture of electrons" (Pure Physics).	14th March, 1964
3. Sm. Bani Chakrabarti, 7/1, Parsi Bagan Lane, Calcutta—9.	"Changes in some cytoplasmic constituents of liver in altered carbohydrate metabolism" (Physiology).	24th March, 1964



Names and local address of the candidates	Title of thesis	Date of admission to the degree by the Syndicate
4. Kalyankanti Sengupta, 212, Prince Anwar Shah Road, Calcutta—31.	"Studies on Kinetics of Oxidation of Organic hydroxy acids in solution" (Pure Physics).	24th March, 1964
5. Sm. Rama Gangopadhyay, Dept. of Applied Chemistry, University College of Technology, 91, Acharyya Prafullachandra Road, Calcutta—9.	"Action of antibiotics in relation to bacterial metabolism" (Biochemistry).	24th March, 1964
6. Kalidas Chakrabarti, 43/B, Ballygunge Place, Calcutta—19.	"Studies on optical and electro-chemical properties of disperse systems" (Pure Chemistry).	24th March, 1964
7. Sukhendubikas Bhattacharyya, Bio-physics Division, Saha Institute of Nuclear Physics, 92, Acharyya Prafullachandra Road, Calcutta—9.	"Investigations on the radiation sensitivity of E.Coli" (Pure Physics).	24th March, 1964
8. Barindrakumar Barman, Bose Institute, 93/1, Acharyya Prafullachandra Road, Calcutta—9.	"Studies on the chemical constituents of some members of the Rutaceae family" (Chemistry).	11th April, 1964
9. Sm. Bharati Datta, 1/B, Kedar Nath Das Lane, Calcutta—30	"Hormonal interrelation with blood trace elements level with special reference to R.B.C. maturation" (Physiology).	11th April, 1964
10. Sm. Dipali Bhattacharyya, Dept. of Biochemistry, C. U., 92, Acharyya Prafullachandra Road, Calcutta—9. (Regd. No. 4359 of 1953-54).	"Metabolic studies on brains in vitamin deficiency and experimental convulsions (with special reference to the amoniometabolism)" (Physiology).	11th April, 1964
11. Dulichand Jain, Saha Institute of Nuclear Physics, 92, Acharyya Prafullachandra Road, Calcutta—9.	"True potential energy curves of diatomic molecules and vibrational wave functions appropriate to them" (Physics).	11th April, 1964
12. Anandamohan Chakrabarti, Dept. of Biochemistry, C. U., 92, Acharyya Prafullachandra Road, Calcutta—9.	"Study of a pseudomonad and the nature of pigments synthesized by it" (Biochemistry).	11th April, 1964
13. Sunilkumar Mukhopadhyay, Dept. of Organic Chemistry, Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, Jadavpur, Calcutta—32.	"Synthetic studies on diterpenoids." (Pure Chemistry)	11th April, 1964
14. Bijaykumar Sil, Manasata Majher Rasta, P.O. Chinsurah, Dist. Hooghli.	"Studies on Soil Organic matter." (Chemistry).	11th April, 1964
15. Ranajit Mallik, Cytogenetic Laboratory, 35, Ballygunge Circular Road, Calcutta—19.	"Cytological study of the inter-relationships of Aloine and some other genera of higher plants and cytochemical investigations leading with nucleoprotein metabolism with special reference to the behaviour of chromosomes" (Botany).	11th April, 1964
16. Ranjitranjan Dattagupta, 18C, Kabir Road, Calcutta—26.	"Some Transistor circuits in wave from generation" (Radiophysics and Electronics).	18th April, 1964
17. Satadal Dasgupta, 64/69A, Belgachia Road, Calcutta—37	"Social structure of Dule Bagdi Community of Jainagar (24 Parganas)" (Anthropology).	18th April, 1964

Names and local address of the candidates	Title of thesis	Date of admission to the degree by the Syndicate
18. Chempollil Thomas Mathew, Dept. of Organic Chemistry, I.A.C.S., Jadavpur, Calcutta—32.	"Synthetic studies in Terpenoids" (Pure Chemistry).	18th April, 1964
19. Manikeswar Gangopadhyay, Dept. of Botany, University College of Science, 35, Ballygunge Circular Road, Calcutta—19.	"Studies on the synthesis of some compounds having possible antinucleic acid properties and their action on certain bacteria" (Chemistry).	25th April, 1964
<i>D.Phil. (Science)</i>		
20. Amalendu Nath, Bose Institute, 93/1, Acharyya P. C. Road, Calcutta—9.	"Investigations on the Coherent scattering of Gamma Rays" (Pure Physics).	25th April, 1964
21. Dilipkumar Nath, Silicate Laboratory, Department of Applied Chemistry, University College of Technology, 92, Acharyya Prafullachandra Road, Calcutta—9.	"Investigation on Portland Cement Clinker of unusually high alumina content" (Applied Chemistry).	25th April, 1964
22. Asishkumar Ghosh, Research Associate, University of Illinois, Dept. of Botany, Illinois, U.S.A.	"Equilibrium studies on ionic dyes and aqueous and non-aqueous solutions" (Pure Chemistry).	2nd May, 1964
23. Bimalkumar Samanta, 13B, Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta—13.	"Stratigraphy of the Eocene rocks of Garo Hills, Assam, with special reference to larger Foraminifera." (Geology).	2nd May, 1964
24. Jnanabrata Bhattacharyya, 41/1, Nandalal Mitra Lane, Calcutta—40	"Studies on some alkaloids triterpenes and steroids from Indian Medicinal plants" (Pure Chemistry).	2nd May, 1964
25. Parimalkumar Chakrabarti, C/o. Prof. B. N. Srivastava, Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, Jadavpur, Calcutta—32.	"Studies on thermal conductivity and other transport properties of gases" (Pure Physics).	16th May, 1964
26. Amiyakumar Datta, 24/1, Nabin Kundu Lane, Calcutta—9.	"Physiological and Pharmacological studies on active principles of <i>Alangium lamarkii</i> Thw" (Physiology).	16th May, 1964
27. Bimalkumar Nath, Dept. of Applied Physics, University College of Science and Technology, 92, Acharyya Prafullachandra Road, Calcutta—9.	"The assessment of optical system suffering from aberrations" (Applied Physics).	16th May, 1964
28. Sibanisankar Chakrabarti, Bengal Immunity Research Institute, 39, Acharyya Jagadish Bose Road, Calcutta—16.	"Quinoline derivatives as possible Amoebicides" (Pure Chemistry).	30th May, 1964

*D.Phil. (Science)*

29. Chiraranjan Ghoshal, Research Assistant, Chemistry Department, University College of Science, 92, Acharyya Prafullachandra Road, Calcutta—9.	"Studies on naturally occurring nitrogen heterocycles." (Pure Chemistry).	30th May, 1964
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Name and the local address of the candidate	Title of thesis	Date of admission to the degree by the Syndicate
30. Simananda Adhikari, Dept. of Zoology, Presidency College, Calcutta—12.	"Chemical investigation in chick morphogenesis." (Zoology).	30th May, 1964
31. Arupkumar Sinha, Dept. of Zoology, Presidency College, Calcutta—12.	"On determination in Hydra." (Zoology).	30th May, 1964
32. Sm. Sadhana-Rames Bhaunik. Physical Chemistry Dept., Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, Jadavpur, Calcutta—32.	"Acid-Base reaction in non-aqueous solvents (with special reference to Dyes." (Pure Chemistry).	30th May, 1964
33. Chandrakisor Pain, 13/4A, Sri Gopal Mallik Lane, Calcutta—12.	"Electron microscopic investigation on Protozoa—Leishmania donovani." (Zoology)	16th June, 1964
34. Jagadishchandra Sarkar, 13/A, Radhamadhab Datta Garden Lane, Beliaghata, Calcutta—10.	"Synthetic studies on steroids." (Pure Chemistry)	25th June, 1964
35. Durgapada Rakshit, 227/C, Acharyya Prafullachandra Road, Calcutta—4.	"Psychotherapy in the field of juvenile delinquency." (Psychology).	16th June, 1964
36. Sm. Subha Sen, 59, Harish Mukherjee Road, Calcutta—25.	"Studies in the lipid and allied metabolism in human essential hypertension." (Biochemistry).	16th June, 1964
37. Anit Goswami, Saha Institute of Nuclear Physics, 92, Acharyya Prafullachandra Road, Calcutta—9.	"Treatment of Correlations in Nuclei." (Pure Physics).	25th June, 1964
38. Sm. Asoka Mukhopadhyay (Ray), 11, Ekdalia Place, Calcutta—19.	"Solution Chemistry of Association Colloids." (Pure Chemistry).	3rd July, 1964
39. Nirendrakisor Ray, 144/J, South Sinthi Road, Calcutta—50.	"Studies on the Raman spectra of some organic monomers in different states and the Raman and infra red spectra of their polymers." (Pure Chemistry).	3rd July, 1964
40. Rabindrakrishna Mukhopadhyay, 1/2, Shyamapukur Street, Calcutta—4.	"Studies in the physiological effects of gibberellin action in crop plants." (Botany).	11th July, 1964
41. Anilkumar Das, 177, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta—12.	"Some problems of elasticity." (Applied Mathematics).	11th July, 1964
42. Asim Gupta, Silicate Laboratory, Department of Applied Chemistry, 92, Acharyya Prafullachandra Road, Calcutta—9.	"Some investigations on synthetic glassy slags in the system $\text{CaO-Al}_2\text{O}_3\text{-SiO}_2$ ." (Applied Chemistry).	11th July, 1964
43. Charuchandra Bhattacharyya, Dept. of Psychology, University College of Science, 92, Acharyya Prafullachandra Road, Calcutta—9.	"On Concrete intelligence." (Psychology).	18th July, 1964
44. Sm. Malaya Sen, 66, Gopimohan Datta Lane, Bagbazar, Calcutta—3.	"Studies in essential hypertension in human beings." (Biochemistry).	25th July, 1964
45. Sm. Ila Mukhopadhyay (Mrs. Sarkar), C/o. Rajkutir, 13A, Radha Madhab Datta Garden Lane, Calcutta—10.	"Studies on the synthesis of Terpene compounds." (Chemistry).	31st July, 1964
46. Ajitkumar Medda, Physiology Laboratory, Bose Institute, 93/1, Acharyya Prafullachandra Road, Calcutta—9.	"Physiological studies on the effects of antibiotic vitamin and hormone on the metamorphosis of tadpoles." (Physiology).	25th July, 1964

Name and the local address of the candidate	Title of thesis	Date of admission to the degree by the Syndicate
47. Rabindrakumar Sinha, 17A, Nayanchand Datta Street, Calcutta-6.	"Microbiological and chemical aspects of antibiotics" (Pure Chemistry).	25th July, 1964
48. Sm. Sila Chaudhuri, 8B, Rajendralal Street (2nd floor), Calcutta-6.	"Physico-chemical studies on proteins with special reference to proteins of milk." (Pure Chemistry).	31st July, 1964
49. Sm. Gita Pain, University College of Science, 92, Acharyya Prafullachandra Road, Calcutta-9.	"Synthetic investigation in natural products" (Pure Chemistry).	8th August, 1964
50. Sudhirkumar Das, Lalbagan, Chandernagore, Dist. Hughli.	"Studies in the variation of metabolic pattern in cellular adaptation" (Applied Chemistry).	8th August, 1964
51. Nirmalkumar Majumdar, Saha Institute of Nuclear Physics, 92, Acharyya Prafullachandra Road, Calcutta-9.	"Studies of some neutron reactions with 14.5 Mev. Neutrons" (Pure Physics).	21st August, 1964.
52. Nimaikumar Ghosh, 7, Kasi Bose Lane, Calcutta-6.	"Studies on serum phosphatases" (Biochemistry).	14th August, 1964.
53. Sm. Parul Chakrabarti, 12, Dilkhusa Street, Calcutta-17.	"Studies on terpenoids" (Pure Chemistry).	29th August, 1964.
54. Sarojkumar Chakrabarti, 67/1, Badridas Temple Street, Calcutta-4.	"Studies on molecular complexes" (Pure Chemistry).	29th August, 1964.
55. Amaljiyoti Sengupta, 10A, Ganendra Mitra Lane Calcutta-4.	"Structure, stratigraphy and metamorphism of sakoli series. Bhandara, Dist. Maharashtra" (Geology).	5th September, 1964.
56. Prasadkumar Das, No. 37 (D II) East Kidwari Nagar, New Delhi-3.	"Application of hydro-dynamic principles to some problems of the atmosphere" (Pure Physics).	5th September, 1964.
57. Dulalohandra Mukhopadhyay, Cossimbazar House, 302, Acharyya Prafullachandra Road, Calcutta-9.	"Spectrophotometric investigation on molecular complexes" (Pure Chemistry).	5th September, 1964.
58. Sm. Ashalata Pal, 123A, Ballygunge Garden, Calcutta-19.	"Studies on the production of antifungal antibiotic from streptomyces spp." (Botany).	12th September, 1964.
59. Satyamay Mukhopadhyay, Suite No. E. 55, C. I. T. Buildings, 31, Madan Chatterji Lane, Calcutta-7.	"Investigations on the Petrology of the igneous complex and on the associated chromite and vanadium-bearing titaniferous magnetite deposits of the area around Nausahi, Keonjhar, Dist. Orissa, India" (Geology).	12th September, 1964.
60. Sm. Dipali Bhattacharyya, Department of Chemistry, Presidency College, Calcutta (Regd. No. 13160 of 1953-54).	"Studies on the synthesis of sesquiterpenoids" (Pure Chemistry).	12th September, 1964.
61. Mukulchandra Das, Chemistry Department, Krishnagar Government College, P.O. Krishnagar, Dist. Nadia.	"Studies on the synthesis of sesquiterpenoids" (Pure Chemistry).	18th September, 1964.
62. Sankarnath Kayal, 16/1, Komodan Bagan Lane, Calcutta-16.	"Studies on the characteristics of physical fitness of boys of different age groups (Physiology),	1st October, 1964
63. Pankajkumar Das, Institute of Radiophysics and Electronics, University College of	"Studies on hot carrier hall mobility and micro-wave conductivity of semi-con-	21st November, 1964.

Names and local address of the candidates	Title of thesis	Date of admission to the degree by the Syndicate
Technology, 92, Acharyya Prafullachandra Road, Calcutta—9.	ductors" (Radiophysics and Electronics).	
64. Amalkanti Ghosh, 46, Sisirbagan Road, Calcutta—34.	"Studies on the physics of image formation" (Applied Physics).	21st November, 1964.
65. Dwijeshkumar Dattamajumdar, Electronics Division, Indian Statistical Institute, 203, B. T. Road, Calcutta—35.	"Studies on the Design of Magnetic Drum stores for use in electronic computers" (Radiophysics and Electronics).	21st November, 1964.
66. Subhash Chaner Chadha, Research Officer, Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, Calcutta—32.	"Studies on initiator of polymerisation with special reference to the end groups of the polymers formed" (Chemistry).	21st November, 1964.
67. Santiranjana Bhattacharyya, Lecturer in Chemistry, B. E. College, Howrah.	"Chemistry of plant products" (Pure Chemistry).	21st November, 1964.
68. Timirranjan Sarbadhikari, 27/1/B, Jiban Krishna Mitra Road, Calcutta—37.	"Petrology of a part of the eastern Rajmahal traps with special reference to the secondary minerals" (Geology).	28th November, 1964.
69. Santinay Basu, 32/1/B, Gariahat Road (South), Calcutta—31.	"Some radio astronomical studies of the disturbed solar corona" (Radiophysics and Electronics).	28th November, 1964.
70. Balen Nandi, Plot 45, Scheme 49, Dr. Sundarimohan Avenue, Calcutta—14.	"Investigation on certain aspects of the biology of some wood-rotting basidiomycetes" (Botany).	28th November, 1964.

*D.Phil. (Medical)*

Subalsakha Mukhopadhyay, T. G. Civil Lines, New Hyderabad, Lucknow, U. P.	"Studies on experimental obesity" (Physiology).	29th February, 1964.
2. Sudhansukumar Das, C/o Sri H. C. Das, Rashkhola, P.O. Kharda (24-Parganas).	"Studies with a treadmill of the factors influencing the efficiency of hill climbing" (Physiology).	14th March, 1964
3. Saktipada Mukhopadhyay, 16, Kankulia Road, Calcutta—19.	"The studies on morbidity and medical care of the Industrial workers under the Employees' State Insurance Scheme (Calcutta) in 1959" (Epidemiology).	24th March, 1964
4. Kamalkrishna Singhray, 25/1A, Anath Nath Deb Lane, Calcutta—37.	"Studies on the occipito-Atlantic joint in the vertebrate series" (Anatomy).	11th April, 1964
5. Sachindranath Sahana, Demonstrator of Anatomy, N. R. S. Medical College, Calcutta—14.	"A comparative study of the spleen in some vertebrates" (Anatomy).	18th April, 1964
6. Madhusudan De, P.100, C. I. T. Road, Scheme LII, Calcutta—14.	"Studies on the Pharmacological actions of Rauwolfia alkaloids with special reference to their antagonism to some neurotransmitter agents" (Pharmacology).	25th April, 1964
7. Debaprasad Sen, 92, Field Ambulance, C/o 56 A.P.O.	"Pharmacological studies on new protein hormones, e.g., melanocyte stimulating hormone (MSH), etc." (Pharmacology).	16th May, 1964

Name and the local address of the candidate	Title of thesis	Date of admission to the degree by the Syndicate
8. Sm. Jaysari Raychaudhuri, 4, Chowringhee Terrace, Calcutta—20.	"Role of virus in carcinogenesis on co-genic property of cell free filtrate of human malignant tumors on experimental animals" (Cancerology).	16th May, 1964
9. Anilkumar Ghosh, P.284, Mudiali Road, Calcutta—24.	"Some observations on post parasite relationship in experimental salmonella infection." (Immunology).	16th May, 1964
10. Samarendra Mitra, Department of Zoology, Presidency College, Calcutta 12.	"Embryological analysis of hepatic system of the chick embryo with some relation to mammation anatomy" (Anatomy).	30th May, 1964
11. Hirendralal Dhar, Dept. of Pharmacology, Maulana Azad Medical College, New Delhi.	"Investigations on the mechanism of anaphylaxis" (Pharmacology).	30th May, 1964
12. Subirkumar Chattopadhyay, 4, Victoria Terrace, Calcutta—16.	"Fascial substitutes in muscle transplantation operations" (Experimental Surgery).	1st July, 1964
13. Birendranarayan Prasad, Abul Aas Lane, Bankipore, Patna—4.	"Estimation riboflavine deficiency in various dermatosis in the tropics" (Dermatology).	5th September, 1964.
14. Asok Bandyopadhyay, B66, Tilaknagar, Jaipur, Rajasthan.	"Studies on different fraction of blood lipids in normal and diseased subjects and Rhesus monkeys" (Biochemistry).	21st November, 1964.
Pradyotkumar Das, 41/2/2, Serpentine, Lane, Calcutta—14.	"Cyto-chemistry of Cancer Cell biology" (Cancerology).	21st November, 1964.

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(Between 1st December, 1964 and 11th January, 1965)

*D.Litt.*

- |  |   |                     |
|--|---|---------------------|
| 3. Aniyakumar Chakrabarti, 33/1A, Badurhagen Street, Calcutta—9. | "A Critical and Comparative study of Mahimabhatta's Vyaktiviveka" (Sanskrit). | 5th December, 1964. |
|--|---|---------------------|

*D.Sc.*

- |   |  |                    |
|---|--|--------------------|
| 6. Dwarikanath Das, Dept. of Applied Chemistry, University Colleges of Science and Technology, 92, Acharyya Prafullachandra Road, Calcutta—9.           | "Industrial and Nutritional Aspects of Tea" (Applied Chemistry). | 8th January, 1964. |
| 7. Dr. Gorachand Chattopadhyay, Dept of Applied Chemistry, University College of Science and Technology, 92, Acharyya Prafullachandra Road, Calcutta—9. | "Studies in bacterial phospholipase" (Applied Chemistry).        | 8th January, 1965. |

*D.Phil. (Arts)*

- |   |   |                     |
|---|---|---------------------|
| 25. Anilbaran Gangopadhyay, 9, Kedarnath Bhattacharyya Lane, Calcutta—36. | "Ramananda Yati's Chandimangala" (Bengali). | 5th December, 1965. |
|---|---|---------------------|

Name and local address of the candidate	Title of thesis	Date of admission to the degree by the Syndicate
26. Sashthiprasad Bhattacharyya, Lecturer, Chandernagore Government College, P.O. Chandernagore, Hooghly.	"Santarasa and its scope in literature" (Sanskrit).	8th January, 1965.
27. Abdus Subhan Khan, 11, Komedan Bagan Lane, Calcutta—16.	"Critical edition of Yusuf Ali Khan's Tarikh-i-Mahabat-jang (or Ahwal-i-Alivirdi Khan)" with English translation and introduction (Persian).	8th January, 1965.
28. Amarprasad Bhattacharyya, P.O. and Vill., Dakshin Gobindapur, via Baruipur, Dist. 24-Parganas.	"Sri Nimbark-o-Daitadaita Darsan" (Sanskrit).	8th January, 1965.

*D.Phil. (Science)*

71. Arun Kumar Pant, Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, Jadavpur, Calcutta—32.	"The structure of 3,5-dibromo P-amino Benzoic acid" (Physics).	12th December, 1964.
72. Sm. Bandana Gupta, P/1, Central Park, Jadavpur, Calcutta—32.	"Some investigations in Riemannian Geometry" (Pure Mathematics).	12th December, 1964.
73. Ajitkumar Mal, Institute of Geophysics and Planetary Physics, University of California, Los Angeles, U.S.A.	"Surface waves in layered elastic media" (Applied Mathematics).	19th December, 1964.
74. Sm. Latika Danda, 62/1, Golf Club Road, Tollygunge, Calcutta—33.	"Glycolytic enzymes in higher plants" (Botany).	19th December, 1964.
75. Mihirkumar Basu, P.273, C. I. T. Road, Calcutta—10.	"A study of Nephelisyenite and Anorthosite of Koraput, Orissa" (Geology).	8th January, 1965.
76. Sm. Malabika Ghosh, Department of Botany, Presidency College, Calcutta—12.	"Cytogenetical and embryo cultural work in rice ( <i>O.sativa.L</i> ) and related species" (Botany).	8th January, 1965.
77. Sm. Krishna Sikdar, 34/4, Patustala Lane, Calcutta—9.	"Effect of drugs on brain metabolism with special reference to spinal cord tissues of rats" (Physiology).	8th January, 1965.
78. Parimalkumar Sengupta, 6, Nital Babu Lane, Calcutta—12.	"Studies on termites" "(Insects : Isoptera)" (Zoology).	8th January, 1965.
79. Giridhari Majumdar, C/o. Capt. C. Debi, 31, Golamahal, P.O. Barrackpore, Dt. 24-Parganas	"The systematic studies of the Zoo-parasitic hematomes of vertebrates" (Zoology).	8th January, 1965.
80. Sm. Manjusri Sen, C/o. Sri P. K. Sen, Manager, Central Braille Press, Government of India, Rajpur Road, Dehra Dun.	"Studies on wood destroying fungi—Indian species of fomes and termites" (Botany).	8th January, 1965.
81. Mohan Chand Baral, 2/1, Thakur Das Palit Lane, Calcutta—12.	"Physiological studies in hibernation" (Physiology).	8th January, 1965.
82. Jayantakrishna Datta, 16/1C, Ram Kanta Bose Street, Calcutta—3.	"Induced hyperthyroidism and reproduction in female rats and rhesus monkeys" (Zoology).	8th January, 1965.
83. Sm. Sunanda Bardhan (Mrs. Aditya), 50C, Motilal Nehru Road, Calcutta—29.	"Studies on electrolytic equilibria" (Chemistry).	8th January, 1965.
84. Rabindranath Mukhopadhyay, Department of Chemistry, University College of Science, 92, Acharyya Prafullachandra Road, Calcutta—9.	"Chemical investigation of some Euphorbiaceal plants" (Chemistry).	8th January, 1965.

Name and local address of the candidate	Title of thesis	Date of admission to the degree by the Syndicate
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Candidates admitted to the Doctorate Degrees  
(Between 12th January, 1955 and 16th January, 1965)

*D.Phil. (Science)*

- |  |  |                     |
|--|--|---------------------|
| 85. Sudhirbhushan Basumallik,<br>19/1, A. C. Mitra, Lane,<br>Konnagar, Dist. Hooghly.  | 'Stratigraphy and sedimentation of the purana in Warangal District, Andhra Pradesh' (Geology).         | 16th January, 1965. |
| 86. Sunilkumar Bandyopadhyay,<br>Chemistry Department,<br>School of Tropical Medicine,<br>Calcutta—12.<br>Residence: Ramchandra<br>Chatterjee, Road, Panihati,<br>24-Parganas. | 'Chemical investigation on medical plants' (Pure Chemistry).   | 16th January, 1965. |
| 87. Sm. Sibani Datta, 33B, Abinash<br>Kaviraj, Street, Calcutta—5.   | 'Chemical investigation on some medical plants' (Pure Chemistry).                                      | 16th January, 1965. |
| 88. Nirmalendu Maitra, 141/G,<br>South Sintheo Road, Calcutta—50.  | 'Studies on coagulation and electrical properties of colloids' (Pure Chemistry).                       | 16th January, 1965. |
| 89. Gauranga Gangopadhyay,<br>Dept of Pure Chemistry,<br>University College of Science,<br>92, Acharyya Prafulla-<br>chandra Road, Calcutta—9.                                 | 'Chemical investigation on medical plants' (Pure Chemistry).   | 16th January, 1965. |
| 90. G. S. Sambamurthi, Lecturer in<br>Chemistry, University of<br>North Bengal, Raja Ram-<br>mohunpur, P.O. North Bengal<br>University, Dist. Darjeeling.                      | 'Studies in Alicyclic systems' (Pure Chemistry).   | 16th January, 1965. |
| 91. Kalachand Das, Dept. of<br>Chemistry, Bose Institute,<br>93/1, Acharyya Prafulla-<br>chandra Road, Calcutta—9.   | 'Study of chemical constituents of some plants and belonging to the family Rutaceae' (Pure Chemistry). | 16th January, 1965. |

*M.D. (1963)*

- |  |   |                     |
|--|---|---------------------|
| 14. Sambhunath Chattopadhyay,<br>M.B.B.S., Medical Superin-<br>tendent, Dunlop Rubber Co.<br>(I), Ltd., Officials' Qrs. No.<br>256, P.O. Sahaganj, Dist.<br>Hooghly. | 'Studies in secretory functions of the stomach and chronic peptic ulcer.' | 16th January, 1965. |
|--|---|---------------------|

*D.Phil. (Medical)*

- |  |  |                     |
|--|--|---------------------|
| 16. Sudhindrachandra Ray, 7, Asu<br>Biswas Road, Calcutta—25.                          | 'Studies on Hypervitaminosis A' (Biochemistry).  | 5th December, 64.   |
| 17. Jitendranath Byabrata, 11A,<br>Ram Banerjee Lane, Bow-<br>bazar, Calcutta—12.      | 'Study on comparative anatomy of gall bladder in vertebrates (macroscopic and microscopic)' (Anatomy).   | 5th December, 1964. |
| 18. Amulyaranjan Datta, Patho-<br>logist, I. D. Hospital, Beli-<br>ghata, Calcutta—10. | 'Evidence of the operation of cholera enterotoxin in the human disease' (Bacteriology).  | 8th January, 1965.  |
| Ranajitchandra Sil, 70B, Jatin<br>Das Road, Ballygunge,<br>Calcutta—29.                | 'Histochemical studies on brain tissues of man and different types of common laboratory animals and its relation to brain tumour with particular reference to enzymes, e.g., phosphatases and succinic dehydrogenase' (Pathology). | 8th January, 1965.  |





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formerly Professor of Chemistry,  
Bhagalpur College.

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Bhagalpur College.

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Bhagalpur College.

# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

Vol. 176]

JULY

No. 1]

## HARTMANN'S THEORY OF MORAL VALUES

DR. PRITIBHUSHAN CHATTERJEE

*Calcutta University*

### I

To Nicolai Hartmann goes the credit for having made in recent times a bold attempt to defend the realistic value theory in the ethical field. As a metaphysician Hartmann is a phenomenologist and his ethical theory is influenced by his phenomenological outlook.

In his epistemological method he follows Edmund Husserl, and in his approach to the problem of value he borrows extensively from Max Scheler. Among the ancient thinkers he is specially indebted to, are Plato and Aristotle. The thinker whom he wants to correct is perhaps Immanuel Kant.

### II

The chief moral concept in Hartmann's ethics is the concept of *value*. Values are at the background of all moral laws, and conscience is but an expression of the claims of the values on us. But what is the nature of values? Values are objective and real, and yet like ordinary objects they do not belong to the world of sense-experience. They are not the creations of human will and thought. They are *essences*—they are like Platonic Ideas. They have a dignity of their own which is not revealed to a *posteriori* experience. They are to be distinguished from mere objects of desire which are subjective and which vary from man to man and from time to time (though such objects may be carriers of value). They are not to be confused with acts—they rather hover over the acts and give them their valuational meaning. The valuableness of a valuable object is quite different from the object itself. In fact, all objects, good or bad, have the same Being—it is only through a sense of value that a discrimination between the good and the bad is possible. To quote Hartmann, "The valuable-

ness is different from any given structure and from every relation, although it inheres in them ; it is an *ens sui generis*, an essence of another sort."<sup>1</sup>

From the above it is clear that Hartmann is a believer in the two-world theory of reality—the world of ideal self-existence and the world of actual existence. Reality comprehends both axiological and ontological being. The values exist in a world of their own, though it is possible for ontological world to establish contact with it. In other words, the Ideal constitutes a sphere of its own side by side with, and yet independently of, the world of the actual. As denizens of the world of the ideal, the ethical values remain unchangeable or invariable, even though the particular acts and situations which acquire the value-qualities are constantly changing.

But how are values to be known ? Since they are *a priori*, it is obvious they cannot be known through the ordinary mode of sense-object contact. The knowledge of value is possible through a special kind of 'sensing of values' which is comparable to the Platonic mode of 'beholding the Ideas'. This sensing is primal, immediate and unique. Value-consciousness is a value-feeling. Values are often revealed to us in times of emotional tension.<sup>2</sup> Like Meinong, Hartmann believes that our emotional experiences provide us with an epistemological organ. As Hartmann puts it, 'Man's sensing of values is the annunciation of their Being in the discerning person, and indeed in their peculiar idealistic kind of existence. The apriority of the knowledge of them is no intellectual or reflective apriority, but is emotional, intuitive.'<sup>3</sup> The *a priori* value-sense is therefore a kind of emotional *cum* intuitive insight into the objective order that the values constitute,<sup>4</sup> and it must not be presumed to be providing us with certain products of our subjective imagination or personal preferences.

The *function* of values, as revealed to our intuitive sense, is *normative*. They provide us with certain broad and fundamental *guiding* principles or standards of judgments. When an act or a situation is adjudged as possessing value, it means that its actuality comes up to the norm proclaimed by a value. But this does not mean that values lay down particular working rules for *every* situation. The science of value or axiology is therefore to be carefully distinguished from a pseudo-science like Causistry. Ethics is not hortatory.

Since the understanding of moral values is a matter of *a priori* insight, it cannot be expected that all will have the same type of cognition of value or all will be able to understand the real significance of value. Ethical,

<sup>1</sup> N. Hartmann, *Ethics*, Vol. I (Eng. Tr. by S. Coit), p. 217.

<sup>2</sup> It is said that Hartmann himself had a vision of the values while he was fighting as a soldier during World War I. Stanton Coit, the translator of Hartmann's *Ethik*, offers the following interesting piece of information : "It was during the winter of 1916-17, while he (Hartmann) was a soldier in the trenches on the Eastern Front, under the incessant firing of the Russian guns, that he made his *first* analyses of 'moral values'." (*Ibid.*, Preface, p. 10).

<sup>3</sup> *Op cit.*, p. 185.

<sup>4</sup> It should be noted in this connection that, according to Hartmann, *a posteriori* knowledge is possible only of the real or actual sphere and never of the ideal realm ; but *a priori* knowledge may be possible both of the ideal and the actual realms.

judgments are analogous to mathematical propositions like  $a^0=1$ . Every one cannot understand its truth. Much in the same way every one cannot have ethical insight.

Although values do not have an ontological mode of existence, they have a 'tendency to reality'. They do not like to remain shut up, so to speak, in the world of ideal self-existence, but they incessantly make a demand upon men, the inhabitants of the real world, to realize them. While elucidating this aspect of values, Hartmann introduces his famous concept of *Ideal ought-to-be*, and other allied notions. The 'ought' belongs to the essence of value—it is not 'ought-to-do', it is 'ought-to-be'. The ought-to-be and ought-to-do cannot be always identical. International peace, for example, is an ideal ought-to-be, but still it is not possible to realize it individually and hence it is not a case of ought-to-do so far as individual men are concerned. Thus every ought-to-do is conditioned by an ought-to-be, but every ought-to-be cannot have a claim upon an ought-to-do. Besides the *ideal* ought-to-be, there is a *positive* ought-to-be, which "occurs when the ideal finds itself in opposition to reality, when the self-existent values are unreal."<sup>5</sup> The positive ought-to-be therefore adheres to the tension between the ideal and the real. This tension is something genuine, for though the real may be indifferent to the ideal, the ideal cannot remain so as it always presses for its realization. The positive ought-to-be thus stands midway between the ideal ought-to-be and the ought-to-do proper. In the positive ought-to-be the ideal ought-to-be is only one element, the other important element being the opposition or tension between the spheres of ideality and actuality. The relation between necessity and possibility in the three spheres of ideal ought-to-be, actual world and positive ought-to-be may be briefly stated thus: (a) in the sphere of ideal ought-to-be necessity and possibility stand out separate from each other; (b) in the actual world necessity and possibility are in equilibrium, inasmuch as the actual world is neither itself a perfect value, nor completely opposed to value; and (c) in the case of positive ought-to-do necessity pre-dominates upon possibility.

But here an important problem arises. Mere pressing forward on the part of the 'ought' does not lead to its actualisation. There must be a point of contact between the ideal and the actual—there must be an *active* carrier of values who must struggle for their realization. According to Hartmann, man—the subject—offers such a point of contact. On him devolves a great responsibility—the responsibility of actualizing the values in this world, of bringing the values out of their secluded world, so to speak. In the words of Hartmann, "Man, a vanishing quantity in the universe, is still in his own way stronger than it; he is the vehicle of a higher principle, he is the creator of a reality which possesses significance and value, he transmits to the real world a higher worth."<sup>6</sup> The role of man is two-fold—

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 249.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 247.

he is the *seer* of values and he is also the *realizer* of values. He is the instrument and medium through whom the values get a chance of being realized. Man, the subject, is not a creator or determiner of the values, though the values are for the subject ; but still in and through the realisation of the values, he moulds, transforms and builds up the world. As a moral being struggling for the actualization of values, man has two 'births'—he is born first like any other creature or existent and is subject to the general natural laws ; but gradually with the dawn of a vision into the moral values, he is born once again, as it were, in the world of values. It should be noticed in this connection that the relatedness of values to man does not lead to any kind of relativity of values, for, as Hartmann insists, relatedness is not the same as relativism.

In the hierarchy of values the lower values are basic and the higher values depend on the lower, according to Hartmann. Hence he formulates the following fundamental categorial law in the domain of value—"The lower categories are the stronger and more independent, while the weaker and more conditioned are the higher and more complex". And from this he deduces the conclusion : "To sin against a lower value is in general more grievous than to sin against a higher ; but the fulfilment of a higher is morally more valuable than that of a lower."<sup>7</sup>

Since man is entrusted with the highest task of value-realization, he must be regarded a *free* agent, he must have freedom of choice in his work of selection of values. Apart from his freedom, man's valuational discernment becomes meaningless for all practical purpose. To quote Hartmann, "Valuational discernment and valuational effectiveness upon the real conduct and life of man are separated from each other only through freedom of choice."<sup>8</sup> In his eagerness to maintain the freedom of man, Hartmann stoutly opposes all forms of teleology. To yield to teleology is to get Ethics corrupted by Philosophy. Hartmann is critical of teleology, because he feels that it sets up the notion of a Supreme Mind who pre-ordains and determines a goal and makes man a slave to it. Man is handed over unconditionally in a bondage to certain fixed ends which are by no means of his own choosing. His nature would then be destroyed in the primacy of cosmic teleology. Another defect of teleology is that it inverts the general categorial law of the value-world, *viz.*, the lower law or lower value constitutes the basis or the pre-supposition of the higher, for teleology would speak of a control from the above and would thus make the lower and simpler laws dependent upon the higher. Just as in the physical world a building can have a higher structure only upon a lower and a deeper foundation, so in the axiological world the higher values depend on the lower. To lose sight of this is to ignore the uniqueness of man. The metaphysical humanization of the Absolute would mean the annulment of man. Again, the finalistic nexus of man flows in the opposite direction of the temporal

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 53.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 68.

succession, inasmuch as teleology presumes that the future determines the present; but this is not possible as time is irreversible. Proclaiming the supremacy of man and his freedom in an otherwise determined world, Hartmann says in the concluding lines of the First Volume of his *Ethics*: "The moral being is not the Absolute nor the State nor anything else in the world but, singly and alone, MAN, the primal carrier of moral values and disvalues."

### III

We have stated above the salient features of Hartmann's metaphysics of values. To understand him more fully, we would do well to compare him with some other philosophers.

In his doctrine of the self-existence of values in a separate world of their own, Hartmann comes closest to Plato. Plato might not use the modern term 'value', but his Ideas as essences or reals are comparable to Hartmann's values. Like Plato, Hartmann also believes that some sort of intuitive insight is necessary for a glimpse into the world of values. But Hartmann is not a thorough-going Platonic. Plato conceives of the world of Ideas as of a pyramidal structure with the Idea of the Good at the apex. So with him the higher value is more fundamental than the lower. But Hartmann would differ from him. Hartmann does not speak of any Supreme Value determining or ruling from above, nor of any higher value conditioning the lower. Again, Plato's Idea of the Good is essentially teleological and he seems to identify God with the Good. But Hartmann would reject any form of teleology and would eschew the idea of God. Moreover, Plato is not quite clear as to how the universal, eternal Ideas may be related to the fleeting particulars of the world. But, as pointed out before, Hartmann discovers the point of contact between the ideal and the actual spheres in man. Man carries the responsibility for realizing the values.

To Aristotle he is very much indebted, specially for the actual classification of virtues which he undertakes in the Second Volume of his work. He describes Aristotle as "the ancient master of ethical research". Regarding the *Nichomachean Ethics* of Aristotle, he says, "It shows a mastery in the description of values which is evidently the result and culmination of a whole development of a careful method."<sup>9</sup> But Hartmann, when he borrows from Aristotle, re-interprets the virtues in the light of the present social conditions. Following the foot-steps of Aristotle, he says that, in the ontological sense, virtue is a "middle", though in the axiological sense virtue may be called the supreme value.

Amongst his contemporaries he closely follows Scheler. He takes over from Scheler his ethics of value and fits it into his system. But he parts company with Scheler when Scheler develops the notion of Godhead. Hartmann repudiates such metaphysical personalism. He also rejects



Scheler's doctrine of the Collective Person or Communal Person. For Hartmann, man—*alone* and *singly*—carries out the ethical task.

Hartmann, while elucidating the nature of the *a priori* seeks to remove or correct some of the 'mistakes' to which, in his opinion, Kantianism has given rise. He alleges that Kant has identified the *a priori* with the subjective—Kant should have seen that the *a priori* in the sphere of moral values is objective. To quote Hartmann, "Subjectivistic and functionalistic *a priorism* was itself a confusion, a total misunderstanding of the originally objective character of everything knowable *a priori*."<sup>10</sup> Again, Kant has confused the *a priori* with the formal, and this perhaps is a natural consequence of his subjectivism. But here Hartmann points out that the *a priori* values are self-dependent and material. Further, Kant makes a third confusion between the *a priori* and the rational. He seems to think that the 'given' is purely sensuous and therefore cannot be *a priori*. The *a priori*, he thinks, is invariably rational and the *a posteriori* sensuous. But Hartmann argues that moral acts are not cognitive—they are basically emotive arising from situations of tension. As opposed to Kant, Hartmann shows that the moral values are *a priori* and objective, material and emotional in character. In spite of his general opposition to Kant, he accepts the distinction between negative freedom (indeterminacy) and positive freedom (self-determination), and, like Kant, insists on the need for human freedom.

Of the views of the English writers he discusses mainly the Utilitarian views, but he pays little attention to the evolutionary school. Though he lacks the capacity for cold analysis, his view bears some resemblance to Moore's conception of the indefinability of the Good and the general realistic attitude. In his insistence on the supremacy of the moral values, Hartmann comes close to Rashdall.

#### IV

As we now approach the close of our brief survey, we cannot but offer our tribute of respect to our philosopher. Indeed, as an axiologist of the realistic school, he tries his best to defend the moral values against the onslaughts of subjectivism, relativism and scepticism. He draws our attention to the role of man and the importance of his emotional experience in the moral sphere. Moreover, his ethical views have a metaphysical foundation and are wide enough to be applicable to all sorts of values.

But in spite of its merits, Hartmann's theory has some difficulties of its own, and they require clarification.

Of the different controversial aspects of Hartmann's theory it is the two-world theory which is specially called in question. As we have seen already, Hartmann makes a distinction between the world of values and the world of existence, between the axiological and the ontological world.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 164.

As the moral values have been deprived of ontological character, their position becomes very weak. Their high axiological character cannot mend the situation because of their initial ontological weakness. That the two worlds cannot remain separate has been virtually admitted by him when he searches for a *via media* or a point of contact in man. A better metaphysical course would have been to hold that the highest reality is also the highest value.

In order to retain the *a priori* character of the values, Hartmann speaks of a special mode of knowledge of values. He speaks of beholding the values through value-feeling. But it is difficult to understand how the values can be 'beheld' unless they are embodied in this or that particular fact of experience. The self-existence of values requires to be reconciled with the possibility of their manifestation through the facts of experience.

Hartmann attaches great importance to the role of man and eulogises him for his 'responsibility'. He expects that man, when endowed with the vision of the good, will play the role of a carrier and realizer of values; and in this connection he puts the highest premium upon man's freedom. But it seems that here there are certain lacunæ. There is no guarantee that man will have the requisite vision in every case, and further even when he has the vision there is no certainty that he will try to realize the value or values concerned. Hartmann puts too much reliance on man's freedom. As a free agent, man has as much freedom to choose the disvalues as the values. Thus so far as the actualization of the values is concerned, the position seems to be precarious.

Hartmann places the ethical values on the same status with logico-mathematical truths. But this equality of status may be doubted. The *a priori* of the logico-mathematical truths may be easily recognised, as soon as they are sought to be denied, for such denial would give rise to self-contradiction. But this same test may not be effectively applied to ethical judgments, for there is hardly any ethical proposition which cannot be conveniently denied under some circumstance or other.

Though Hartmann starts with the original objective character of values, it seems that he cannot adhere long to the 'purity' of their objective character. With the introduction of man as the sole carrier of values, the moral situation seems to be changing its original nature. Soon a complex situation is created wherein the objective values, the external circumstances and human consciousness are inter-related and it becomes difficult to separate the one from the other. Hartmann's conception of the ideal ought-to-be as distinguished from the positive ought-to-be and ought-to-do seems to be unwarranted. It appears that the ideal ought-to-be is just a substantialisation of the practical ought-to-be. The possibility of an ideal becomes patent to us only when there is a reference to a practical situation wherein the ideal is not realised. The ideal ought-to-be as a mere ideal apart from a concrete situation seems to lose its normative character.

Hartmann's contention that in the value-world the lower values are more fundamental or basic is also open to question. It appears that the analogy of the superstructure of a building standing on its foundation cannot be applied to the axiological world. In the axiological world it is the qualitative superiority that counts. It is because the higher values possess qualitative superiority that the lower values have a *nisus* towards them. It is true that the violation of the lower values is a greater sin ; but that does not prove their fundamental superiority in any qualitative sense.

Finally, Hartmann's apprehension about teleology is unjustified. He seems to have unnecessarily developed a kind of allergy for teleology. The view that the existence of a supremely purposive mind would lead to the negation of moral life may not be accepted by all. It may be contended that divine permeation of the world instead of robbing the world of its moral character would guarantee the final victory of morality. There are men who may feel that apart from the helping hand of God no man can win the moral struggle. The teleological character of the world does not mean that man's will is in the iron grasp of some unsympathetic foreign agency. The teleologists do not always presume that God is a distant deity issuing commands from the above—they often hold that God is an immanent principle working from within and in co-operation with men. Further, it is held by some thinkers that the realisation of the moral values may not constitute the *summum bonum* of life, as presumed by Hartmann—morality is regarded by them as a stepping stone to something higher. Hartmann should have given due consideration to these possibilities.

We, therefore, conclude that some modification of the original rigid position of Hartmann is called for ; but this does not mean any relapse to naturalism or scepticism in moral sphere.\*

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## PSYCHOLOGICAL INTERPRETATIONS OF TAGORE'S GĪTĀÑJALI (CONTINUED)

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### Hymn No. 56

In this hymn are embedded the cults of bhakti or devotion, jñāna or wisdom, and karma or action, which are so essential for the realisation of God in the lotus of the heart of the devotee. Here in the first section of the hymn is depicted how a votary with his devotional song, sung in praise of God out of love for Him, could only realise in the dream state in trance His arrival at the 'vijan gharer dvāre' or at the gate of the solitary house with a flower garland in hand. The real implication here is that the seer has not as yet realised the presence of God in the lotus of his heart as He has halted only at the gate. This proves that the doors at the five gates of the heart are closed against the divine personality as the lotus there is not blossomed forth by cultivating 'śama' and other qualities. (Chāndyogyopaniṣad, Aḍh. 3, Khanda 3, Mantras 1 to 5.) Here the seer in his waking state in trance realises the aerial descent of God from His throne in heaven into the lotus of his heart only to halt at the solitary gate. It is refreshing in no small measure for the disappointed sage to realise that his tunes could only reach the ears of the Lord. It is quite obvious here that the saint must have set his mind upon 'OM' while singing it in melodious tunes. Here parental instinct and religiosity; and their concomitant emotions of love of God for the votary and the devotee's love for Him are implied.

In the second section of the hymn is mentioned how the saint confesses his delinquency for not possessing the guṇas or the qualities, which are so essential for the purity of the mind by the arrest of its waverings before it is set upon God. Hence he mourns before the creator with humble submission that he does not possess any of the qualities, found in so many members of His assembly. To realise God one must possess the qualities and cultivate them with the unweaving mind, made pure by its release from sattvaḥ (essence), rajaḥ (energy) and tamaḥ (inertia) which make up the world of phenomena. It is proposed to repeat here the discussions of the qualities, already made in connection with the hymn No. 54 as follows :

(i) *Śama* or the control of the mind

A seer with thorough control over his mind succeeds in obliterating from it his *trṣṇā* or thirst for desires, both impure and pure. *Śama* is the highest object of worship and it gives bliss to its cultivator. It arrests the illusion of the mind. The relevant text runs :

“śamenāsādyate śreyaḥ śamo hi paramaṃ padam |  
śamaḥ śivaḥ śamaḥ śāntiḥ śamo bhrāntinivāraṇam||”

(*Yogavāsiṣṭhaḥ*, *Mumukṣuprakaraṇam*--2, *Sargaḥ* 13, V. 52, p. 104, Ed. by W. L. Sāstri Paṇḍikar). A sage with his mental equipoise is not disturbed by the constant cropping up of undesirable instincts and their concurrent emotions. It is quite apparent here that a seeker of truth with thorough control over his mind succeeds in his *nirvīja samādhi* or trance without the germinating of seeds in the form of desires, which are thoroughly burnt with the help of transcendental knowledge. He is happy in his mental equipoise. His soul is released from the impurities and is cooled as the thoughts are free from them. The impurities are in reality the enemies of the soul. The text in support of the above statement runs :

“pumaḥ praśamatṛptasya śitalācchatarātmanaḥ |  
śamabhūṣita cittasya śatrurapyeti mitratām||”

(*ibid.*, V. 53, p. 104). He is said to possess double-lotuses in the heart when ‘śama’ in the form of a lotus is budding forth in the lotus of his heart. He is more like Hari, the god of preservation and can subdue the passions of others when he comes into contact with them. The relevant texts run :

“hṛtkuśeśayakośeṣu yeṣāṃ śamakuśeśayam |  
satām vikasitam te hi dvihṛtpadmāḥ samāhareḥ||  
śamaśrīḥ śobhate yeṣāṃ mukhendāvakalaṅkīte |  
te kulīnendavo vandyāḥ saudaryavijitendriyāḥ||”

(*ibid.*, VV. 55-56, p. 105). A person with his mental equipoise is not affected by the five senses : optical, auditory, tactual, olfactory, and gustatory. Here it is evident that ‘śama’ or the control of the mind is vitally related to ‘dama’ of the control of the senses. The relevant text is inserted below in support of the above claim :

“śrutvāpṛṣṭvā ca dṛṣṭvā ca bhuktvā ghrātvā śubhāśubham |  
na hr̥ṣyati glāṇyati yaḥ sa śānta iti kathyate||”

(*ibid.*, V. 72, p. 105).

## (ii) Vicāra or investigation.

Vicāra greatly helps a saint to realise his videha-mukti or salvation in death. Nitya-samādhi is not possible without vicāra. By its cultivation a sage expurgates from his mind the seeds of desires, both impure and pure. When he succeeds in the full development of his reasoning faculty his mind is released from desires. The text relevant to the point runs :

“svavicāramahaṣadhyā sādhuścittaniṣṇayā |  
tayottamatvapradayā nābhivāñchati nāujāñyati||”

(Yogavāsiṣṭhaḥ, Mumukṣuprakaraṇam, Sargaḥ 14, V. 30, p. 108). The real purport here is that salvation is possible only by the cultivation of vicāra or the reasoning faculty, which is ‘viveka-padma or the lotus in the form of discrimination. Blind faith in religious belief as an aid to spiritual salvation is discarded. A votary must accept his faith with firm convictions. In this respect the teachers and the preachers of ancient India were far ahead of their modern counterparts in the world.

## (iii) Saṁtoṣa or satiety.

Saṁtoṣa is enumerated in Sūtra No. 32 of the Sādhana-pāda in the Yogadarśana as one of the five niyamas or regulations prescribed for the ascetics. Vyāsa, the commentator of the above treatise defines it as follows : “Saṁtoṣaḥ sannihitasādhana-dhikasyānupādīt-sā” or the repugnance for desires to take more than the immediate requirements for livelihood. Here a seer practising asceticism abscinds from his mind the instincts of acquisition and its emotion of joy for receiving worldly objects by rousing in it the instincts of repulsion and its emotion of disgust for them. Thoughts cooled by the touch of saṁtoṣaḥ are being blossomed forth by coming into contact with wisdom much after the manner of the lotuses, blossomed forth by the touch of the sun’s rays. The relevant text runs :

“saṁtoṣasītalaṁ cetāḥ śuddhaviññāna-dṛṣṭibhiḥ |  
bhṛśaṁ vikāśamāyātī sūryānśubhirivāmvujam||”

(ibid., Sargaḥ, 15, V. 8, p. 11).

## (iv) Satsaṅga or the association of the wise.

Satsaṅga signifies nurture, which is so essential for the development of character under the careful guidance of the competent spiritual preceptor, vastly learned in the scriptures, possessed of self-realisation. Spiritual growth and development leading to salvation can best

be secured in an ideal atmosphere, free from the corrupting influences in the society. He must receive the grace of the preceptor by his implicit faith in him. He must be devoted to his spiritual guide and must completely surrender himself to God for the divine mercy. He must also possess the three qualities of hearing, attention, and perseverance and practise the eight-fold yogas or asceticism in addition to the possession of the following eight qualities of his soul: dayā (kindness), kṣamā (forgiveness), anasūyā (non-enviousness), anāyāsa (non-lethargy), maṅgalam (benediction), akārpaṇya (generosity), asprhā (non-desire), and śauca (purity). The relevant text runs:

“atirātrāstathāstōmā aṣṭau cātmaguṇāstataḥ/  
dayā kṣamānasūyā ca anāyāsohatha maṅgalam |  
akārpaṇyāsprhāśaucam yasyaite sa param vrajet ||

... ..

(Agnipurāṇam, tr. by Panchanan Tarkaratna, Adh. 166, VV. 16-17, pp. 335f.)

These are the essential qualities, which a seeker of truth must cultivate under the careful guidance of a competent preceptor in an ideal environment. Further, having realised the union of his soul with the supreme soul in sound sleep in trance he is to withdraw his mind from the performance of the routine works. The text in support of the above statement runs:

“tatkarṇa kṛtvā vinivartya bhūyastattvasya tattvena sametya yogam |  
ekena dyābhyām tribhiraṣṭabhirvā kālena cāivātmaguṇaisca sūkṣmaibh||”  
(Svetāśvataropaniṣat, tr. by Swami Gambhirananda, 6/3, p. 444.)  
Here the parental instinct repulsion, religiosity, parental instinct, and repulsion and their concomitant emotions of love for the votary, disgust for halting at the gate of the solitary heart, love for God, love for the devotee, and disgust are implied.

It is stressed in the second section of the hymn that salvation is realised by the seers through the acquisition of the aforesaid virtues, found in abundance in the members of the assembly of God in heaven. But the devotee here regrets that he does not possess any of these virtues. He, however, consoles himself with the thought that God is gracious and merciful to him for responding to his song, whose tunes are being echoed in the universal tunes expressing pathos. The real purport here is that the votary in his meditation on Brahma is singing the udgitha song in pathetic tunes to rouse compassion in God for him and he has the satisfaction to hear with the help of his supernatural power of hearing from a distance its resoundings in the udgitha song, still echoing in the universe. He also sees with his

supernatural power of optical sense the arrival of God at the gate of his solitary house, which is the heart, with a garland in hand for him. Here it is quite clear that the vibhūti, particularly the supernatural powers of the auditory and the optical senses are not causing the waverings of the mind of the seer in his dream-trance as he sees the descent of God at the gate of his heart and hears the resoundings of his pathetic tunes in the universal tunes. Here the mind is brought under thorough control by self-surrender to God while singing devotional song. He has as yet to acquire the virtues to see the merger of his soul in the supreme soul in the turiyātita state thereby escaping the cycles of births and deaths. Here the instincts of religiosity, acquisition, appeal, religiosity, and acquisition; and their concurrent emotions of love for God, joy in seeing the response of the Lord to the devotee's song, grief for not realising the creator in the lotus of his heart, love for Him, and joy for His arrival at the solitary gate of the seer are implied.

Analysis of hymn No. 56 indicates the following instincts and emotions: parental instinct, religiosity, acquisition, appeal, acquisition and religiosity; and love of God for the devotee, votary's love for the creator, joy in perceiving the presence of the Lord at the solitary gate of the heart, grief for not realising Him in the lotus of the heart, joy in perceiving the arrival of God with the garland in hand and love for Him. These may be expressed through the āvarta aṅgaḥāra composed of the following katanas: āvarta, lina, kuñcita, utamba, kuñcita, and samanakha.

#### Hymn No. 57

In this hymn 'īśvarapranidhāna' or self-surrender to God is stressed as the means for His realisation in the lotus of the heart. In the first section of the hymn the votary makes his fervent appeal to God not to turn him away but to receive him in His embrace by snatching away the heart from his body. Our life depends upon the proper functioning of the heart. Here 'hṛdaya keḍe niye raha' or snatch away the heart signifies that the devotee earnestly seeks the merger of his soul in the supreme soul. Here the instincts of appeal and religiosity; and their relevant emotions of grief for not realising God and love for Him are implied.

In the second section of the hymn the devotee expresses his disgust for the days, spent without the realisation of God. He does not like to mourn for these unprofitable days, he desires their burial



under the heaps of dusts, for, there is no gain in lamenting for these days. Now he prays for the mercy of god to blossom forth his life with the help of the divine light so that he may be ever wakeful. Here the real idea is that living beings derive their souls from the supreme soul. The realisation of god in the lotus of the heart helps an ascetic to see the emanation of his soul and those of others from the supreme soul. Here the seer desires the realisation of this universal truth so that he may be ever wakeful with his thoughts set upon god and thereby arrest the waverings of his mind by its release from the undesirable instincts and their emotions. Here the instincts of religiosity, repulsion; and their concurrent emotions of love for god and disgust for the days spent without the realisation of the creator are implied.

In the third section of the hymn is continued the fervent appeal of the seer to god, as he regrets for his aimless roamings hither and thither on the paths and the fields, to announce His message with His face buried in his breasts. The real significance here is that god resides in the lotus of the seer's heart. He is not to roam in the external world in search of Him. Through divine grace god can be realised there. Here the reference must be to the udgītha song, which is being resounded uninterruptedly in the universe even now. The votary prays for the mercy of god to purify the idā, the anūmnā and the pīṅgala arteries of the devotee in his breasts by releasing his mind from the evil propensities so that he may hear the constant resoundings of the udgītha song in his breasts. This idea is implied though not explicit in the following text :

“evār vuker kāche O mukh rekhe tomār āpan vānī kaha | ”

or having placed the mouth this time near the breasts utter or deliver your own message. Here ‘vānī’ or message signifies vocal music, particularly the udgītha song, sung by Brahma before the assembly of gods at their requests. Here the instincts of religiosity and repulsion; and their relevant emotions of love for god and disgust for the aimless roamings in the external world are implied.

In the fourth and last section of the hymn the seer confesses before god, that endless dirt and fraudulence are still being accumulated in the secrecy of his heart. He again surrenders himself completely to the Lord praying for His mercy not to turn him away on these accounts but to burn them with the help of fire. That is, the evil propensities of the mind are to be burnt with the help of transcendental knowledge in the form of fire, received from god through His grace. The relevant text runs. “Breath which is the

fourth foot of Brahma is indeed vāyu. With vāyu and with Light He shines and He burns. He meditates on Him thus, also shines and attains Brahman". (Chāndogyopanīṣad, iii. Adh-xvii-Khaṇḍa-iii. Mantra). Without divine grace it is not possible for a seer to realise nirvīja samādhi by burning the seeds of his undesirable instincts and their concurrent emotions. Here the sage in his dream state appeals to god for His mercy. Here dualism is implied : god and the votary. The instincts of appeal, repulsion, and religiosity ; and their relevant emotions of grief for not realising god, disgust for the evil propensities and love for the creator are implied here.

Analysis of hymn No 57 indicates the following instincts and emotions : appeal, religiosity, repulsion, religiosity, repulsion, appeal, repulsion, and religiosity ; and grief, love for god, disgust, love for the Lord, disgust, grief, disgust, and love for the creator. These may be expressed through the sūci āṅghāra composed of the following karaṇas : sūci, lina, vivṛtta, samanakha, daṇḍapakṣa, añcita, ākṣipta, and lina.

#### Hymn No. 58

In this hymn is stressed the mental and emotional conditions of the votary in dream-trance state when he experiences his identity as distinct from god, whom he offers his prayer for mercy to appear before him with flow of grace. The supreme soul and the individual soul reside in all living beings. The former is not affected by kleśas or torments whereas the latter is affected by them. Here "jīvan yakhan śukāye yāya" signifies the withering of the individual soul : it pines for not seeing its merger in the supreme soul. When the soul is in the dream and the waking states in trance, it experiences its afflictions which are released from it as it passes beyond the turiya-susupti state wherefrom it does not oscillate again into the former states in a cyclic order. The relevant text runs :

"vedanāvedanātmaikāṃ nidrāsvapnasusuptavat |  
vātaspaṇḍāvivābhinnau cidvyomaikamato jagat||"

(Yogavāsiṣṭhaḥ, Nirvānaprakaraṇam, Uttarārḍham—6, Sargaḥ. 179, V. 17, p. 1491). The soul is pining for its merger in the supreme soul in its dream and waking states in trance when the mind is not released from desires. On the other hand the soul passes into the turiya-susupti state when the mind is free from the influence of the seeds of desires. The relevant text runs :

"yatrāsti vāsanāvījaṃ tatsusuptam na siddhaye |

nirvījā vāsanā yatra tatturyam siddhiloṇaḥ śarṇam ||

(*op. cit.*, pūrvārdham—6, Sargaḥ, 10, V. 20, p. 794). Here nirvīṣa samādhi is not possible when the mind is not free from desires, which constantly crop up in it at an opportune moment as it comes into contact with the appropriate stimuli in the environment. The soul is released from sorrows as it realises god and His universal greatness in trance and is worshipped by the sages. Otherwise it pines for its attachment for worldly objects being devoid of divine essence. The supreme soul does not pine though living in the same tree in the form of physical body. The relevant text runs” :

“samāne vṛkṣe puruṣo nimagnohanīṣayā śocati muhyamānaḥ |

juṣṭaṁ yadā paśyatyanyamīṣa nasya mahinānamiti vītaśokaḥ||”

(Muṇḍakopaniṣat, 3/1/2). Here at the very outset the votary pines before god in his dream-trance as he surrenders himself completely to Him praying for His mercy to come to him in the form of the flow of divine favour and in the nectar-like tunes when all other graces vanish before them. The real implication here is that the soul under the influence of afflictions in the dream and the waking states in trance is causing restlessness in the mind of the sage when his trance is disturbed by the constant cropping up of the undesirable instincts and their relevant emotions in the mind. On the other hand the realisation of god and His udgītha song is possible only for the sage in his sound sleep in trance, which brings solace to him as he sees the merger of his soul in the supreme soul. Here the instincts of appeal, religiosity, repulsion, and acquisition; and their relevant emotions of grief for not realising god, love for Him, disgust, and joy, in realising the creator are implied.

In the second section of the hymn is stressed how pride crops up constantly in the mind of a person as he considers himself to be the agent of his own action. In his pride he attempts to announce around him the results of his doings. An ideal saint realises full well that he is not the author of his action—secular or religious. He works as the agent of god, for, his soul is emanated from the supreme soul and his span of life in this world is due to the divine grace. Hence he appeals to god, who is silent in His turīyātīta state to come to his heart with calm steps. The real purport here is that god resides in the lotus of the heart, unnoticed by persons, grossly immersed in mundane pleasures. His presence there is realised only by a seer in his sound sleep in trance. In dream trance a sage turns his mind towards his inner self to realise the presence of god in the lotus of his heart. He feels the presence of the Lord in the external world in his waking state. Hence, he addresses god as ‘nirava

nātha' or the silent Lord and wel-comes Him into the lotus of his heart and prays for His arrival there with 'śāntacarane' or calm steps, which signify that the foot-steps of god can be heard only by a sage when he has developed in him 'vibhūtis' or the eight supernatural powers, one of which is the budding forth of the auditory sense, enabling a seer to hear from a great distance. Others cannot hear the sounds of the foot-steps of god for not acquiring the supernatural power. Here 'īśvarapranidhāna' or self-surrender to god is implied. Here the instincts of self-assertion and religiosity; and their concurrent emotions of pride and love for god are implied.

In the third section of the hymn is emphasised how god is realised in the lotus of the heart by a votary when his mind is released from its attributes—sattvaḥ, rajaḥ, and tamaḥ by the cultivation of the reasoning faculty as the soul is absorbed in the supreme soul in sound sleep in trance and is not oscillated therefrom into the dream and the waking states in trance. The mind becomes poor and humiliated when it is released of its undesirable instincts and their emotions and is brought under thorough control called 'śama' as it ceases to function. Hence, it is considered to be 'dīna' or poor and 'hīna' or self-abased. As it ceases to function it is considered to be lying in dormancy in one corner of the heart when the votary prays to god for His appearance in the lotus of the heart with royal pomp and grandeur by opening the gate. The real significance here is that god cannot be realised in the lotus of the heart when the mind is polluted and the soul oscillates between the dream and the waking states in trance. Hence god can be realised by the votary only in his sound sleep in trance when the mind does not waver. Here the instincts of religiosity, repulsion, religiosity, and acquisition; and their relevant emotions of love for god, disgust for the evil propensities of the mind, love for god, and joy in realising the presence of the Lord in royal grandeur are implied.

In the fourth and last section of the hymn is stated that mundane desires in the form of 'vipula dhūlāya' or the great dusts enamour the fools, who are blind to the existence of god. The creator is realised in the lotus of the heart when the mind is released from desires—impure and pure. The devotee in his ardency of love for god humbly prays for His mercy to release his mind from desires and to manifest His appearance in the lotus of the heart with great brilliance. In humble submission the Lord is accorded a hearty welcome into the lotus of his heart as 'pavitra' or pure, and 'anidra' or sleepless. The real significance here is that desires upset the

minds of the people, who are infatuated with mundane pleasure, pomp, and show. Unless desires are eliminated from the mind it is not possible for a sage to realise the merger of his soul in the supreme soul in the *turiya-susupti* state by the arrest of its oscillations. Here 'sama' or mental equipoise and 'santoṣa' or satiety are stressed as steps for self-realisation. Here the instincts of repulsion and religiosity; and their concurrent emotions of disgust for desires and love for god are impiled.

Analysis of hymn No. 58 indicates the following instincts and emotions: appeal, religiosity, repulsion, acquisition, self-assertion, religiosity, repulsion, religiosity acquisition, repulsion, and religiosity; and grief, love for god, disgust, joy, pride, love for the creator, disgust, love for the Lord, joy, disgust, and love for Him. These may be expressed through the *sūci āṅgahāra* composed of the following *karaṇas*: *sūci*, *līna*, *ākṣipta*, *kuñcita*, *sakaṭasya*, *samanakha*, *vivṛtta*, *ākṣipta-recita*, *kuñcita*, *daṇḍapakṣa*, and *līna*.

#### Hymn No. 59

In this hymn is portrayed the mental and emotional conditions of a seer in his dream state in trance when he completely surrenders himself to God to silence him as a step for his self-realisation. It is not possible for him to realise the creator in him if his mind is not completely absorbed in Him being quite oblivious of the visibles in the external world.

In the first section of the hymn poet Tagore makes a personal reference to him when he appeals to God to silence His vociferous poet. Here 'mukhar' indicates a great orator, who speaks roughly. Poet Tagore is a prolific writer, a skilled orator, and a bitter critic of the imperialists. Hence he calls himself a 'mukhar kavi' or a vociferous poet. Here he prays to God for His mercy to help him in withdrawing his mind from the sensitive objects around him in the external world. Having controlled his mind thus he hopes to set it upon God in the lotus of his heart in deep meditation when he will hear the musings in him. The relevant text runs: "His pains are his pleasure, and his meditations are as musings to him; he is silent in all his dealings, and quiet in all his conduct through life." (*Yogavāsiṣṭhaḥ*, *Nirvānaprakaraṇam—Uttarārdham-6*, *Sargaḥ*, 102, *V. 5*, p. 542). Here in the dream-trance state the sage with the help of his internal auditory sense hears the *udgītha* song as he surrenders himself completely to God to snatch away from him his '*hṛdaya-vāṇśī*' or the heart in the form of the flute. The real implication

here is that the udgītha song resounds in the lotus of his heart as though sung by God and is not the reverberation of His song. Here "tār hr̥daya-vāḥsī āpani keḍe vājāo gabhīre" or it signifies the snatching away of the flute of his heart and the playing of music upon it in deep tunes. The real significance here is that the 'anāhata nāda' or the unstruck sound arises in the kulakuṇḍalinī power in the suṣumnā artery. Here God is invoked for rendering His help to the devotee in his dhāraṇā or the fixation of the Lord in the lotus of the heart. The sage surrenders himself completely to the creator for the help in setting his mind upon the hr̥tcakra or the wheel in the heart to rouse in him the kulakuṇḍalinī power when he hears the 'anāhata' or the unstruck sound in it. As the mind is deeply absorbed in the thought of God the seer hears the resoundings of the udgītha song in the lotus of the heart. Here the instincts of religiosity and its emotion of love for God are implied.

In the second section of the hymn God is prayed for His mercy to play on the flute in the form of the kulakuṇḍalinī power with deep tunes at the dead of night which cast a captivating spell on the moon and the stars. Here 'nīṣītharāte' or at the dead of night must have reference to the darkness in the sky of the devotee's heart, which is not illumined with the divine light as yet in his dream-trance. Here the instincts of religiosity, self-abasement, and acquisition ; and their relevant emotions of love for God, wonder, and joy in realising Him are implied.

In the third section of the hymn is depicted the mental and emotional conditions of the votary when he prays for the mercy of God to drag down to His feet all his desires in full harmony with the tunes of vocal music. Here "yā kichu mor chāḍiye āche jīvan-marane" or that whatever is linked up with life and death signifies 'tr̥ṣṇā' or desires for mundane possessions and honour, which are the causes for births and deaths in a cyclic order. We do not realise our salvation by the merger of our souls in the supreme soul in our deaths unless our minds are released from mundane desires and honour. These can be completely eradicated from our minds through divine grace. Hence the seer makes his fervent appeal to God to crush his desires for his eminence and high station in life by His udgītha song, sung from the lotus of his heart and thereby help his salvation. The instincts of religiosity, appeal, repulsion ; and their concurrent emotions of love for God, grief for not realising Him, and disgust for desires are embedded in this section of the hymn.

In the fourth and last section of the hymn the votary prays to God for His mercy to float away his vociferousness in the twinkling of an eye by the tunes of the flute in the heart when he will hear alone in the sitting postures their resoundings in the midst of the 'akūla timire' or the darkness, which knows no shore. It signifies that the soul of the sage is in the dream-trance and it has not passed into the sound sleep in trance and he has not seen the transcendental light. The lotus of the heart is eclipsed in darkness and the soul has not as yet come to its journey's end. The real significance here is that through divine grace the seer hopes to control his thoughts and speeches by withdrawing his mind completely from the external world as he sets it upon the hṛtcakra or the wheel in the heart. While seated in one of the prescribed sitting postures he hopes to control thoroughly his organs of speech, actions, sensory organs, and the mind when he hears the resoundings of the udgītha song in the kulakuṇḍalinī power, roused by divine grace in his dream trance in the darkness of ignorance, which is without limit as the day is far off when the seer will reach beyond the turīya-susupti state realising the merger of his soul in the supreme soul. Here the instincts of repulsion, acquisition, religiosity, and acquisition ; and their relevant emotions of disgust for the vociferousness, joy in realising the udgītha song, love for God, and joy are implied.

Analysis of hymn No. 59 indicates the following instincts and emotions : religiosity, self-abasement, acquisition, religiosity, appeal, repulsion, acquisition, religiosity, and acquisition ; and love for God, wonder, joy, love for the creator, grief, disgust, joy, love for the Lord, and joy. These may be expressed through the līna aṅgabāra composed of the following karaṇas : līna, samanakha, kuñcita, ākṣipta-recita, sūci, daṇḍapakṣa, kuñcita, līna, and kuñcita.

#### Hymn No. 60

In this hymn is stressed the mental and emotional conditions of an ascetic in his dream and waking states in trance, when under the influence of 'vedanā' or pathos, he mourns for not realising God in the lotus of his heart.

In the first section of the hymn is narrated how the whole universe is merged in sleep when the sky is shrouded in the darkness of the night. The real implication here is that the great majority of the people are deeply engrossed in mundane pleasures and happiness and their minds are not set upon God in the darkness of ignor-

ance. Hence the sky in their hearts is eclipsed in the darkness of ignorance for not being illumined with the transcendental light. Hence the people are asleep for not being awake to the realisation of God. The sage in his *turiya-svapna* state though hears the resoundings of the strokes upon the cords of his heart yet he does not know the agent of these strokes. The *idā*, *suṣumnā*, and *piṅgalā* are the three main arteries found respectively on the left, the centre and the right sides of human bodies. These are considered to be the cords and the human body to be the *viṇā* or stringed musical instrument. In the first section of the present hymn is stated how the kind god responds to the prayer of His devotee as He plays upon the three cords of his body. The sage could not realise it as his soul is slipped off from the dream to the waking state in trance when he could not have His audience in the lotus of his heart. Here the instincts of religiosity, appeal, and repulsion ; and their concomitant emotions of love for god, grief for not realising Him in his *turiya-jāgaraṇa* stage and their disgust for those, whose minds are steeped in worldly affairs are implied.

In the second section of the hymn is described the mental and emotional conditions of the seer when his soul is experiencing 'vedanā' or afflictions in the *turiya-svapna* and the *turiya-jāgaraṇa* states. Here "guṇjariyā guṇjariyā prāṇ uṭhila pure" or the life-breath is being filled in with the resoundings. It signifies the sounds in the *kulakuṇḍalinī* power as the life-breath forces its way there with the soul before its union with the supreme soul in the *Brahma-hole*. It also indicates the meditation on the intellect with the consciousness of the divine intellect when the saint realises within himself as if stirred by the breath of a breeze. The relevant text runs :

"cidrūpeṇa svasaṃvittiyā svacinmātram vibhāvyate |  
svameva rūpahrdayam vātena spandanam yathā||"

(Yogavāsishtaḥ, Uṭpatti-prakaraṇam, Sargaḥ, 61, V. 11, P. 282.)

The seeker of truth here realises his failure to catch on the real significance of the resoundings in the *kulakuṇḍalinī* power, which are echoing forth with worried tunes under the influence of pathos in the *turiya-svapna* and *turiya-jāgaraṇa* states. The real significance here is that the soul is not deeply absorbed in the supreme soul in the *Brahma-hole* as it is slipped off from the *turiya-susupti* to the *turiya-svapna* states resulting in the consciousness of dualism. Consequently, the seer's mind is filled in with pathos and the power



of discrimination in the form of the lotus is not sprouting in the lake there. So he cannot understand the message of god. He does not know whom he desires to wear his necklace around the neck. Hence his heart is overlaid with the grief of tears. Here the instincts of appeal, religiosity, and repulsion ; and their relevant emotions of grief for not realising the presence of god in the lotus of the heart, love for Him, and disgust for not realising the Lord are implied.

Analysis of hymn No. 60 indicates the following instincts and emotions : religiosity, appeal, repulsion, appeal, religiosity, and repulsion ; and love for god, grief, disgust for desires, grief, love for the creator, and disgust. Those may be expressed through the *līna aṅgaḥāra* composed of the following *karaṇas* : *līna*, *sūci*, *ākṣipta*, *daṇḍapakṣa*, *samanakha*, and *vivṛtta*.

#### Hymn No. 61

In this hymn is portrayed the mental and emotional conditions of the seer in his sound sleep, dream, and waking states in trance. In his sound sleep he realises the presence of god by the side of his bed. The stay of the soul in the *turiya-susupti* state is of short duration as it is slipped off into the dream state in trance when the auditory and the optical senses are functioning as he hears the echoings of the deep tunes, which are being played upon the cords of his heart. The votary also sees the *viṇā* or the stringed instrument in the hands of god upon His arrival in the lotus of his heart while playing deep tunes upon it. The real significance in the first section of the hymn is that the sage could not have his deep trance in the *turiya susupti* state as the mind could not be released from desires and the soul from its three states. Here the instincts of religiosity, repulsion, and parental instinct ; and their concurrent emotions of love for god, disgust for the oscillations of the soul, and love for the devotee are implied.

In the second and last section of the hymn is portrayed the mental and emotional conditions of the sage in his waking state in trance when he realises the arrival of god while playing upon the cords of the *viṇā*, which are in reality the *idā*, the *sūṣumnā*, and the *piṅgalā* arteries of his body. In this state he realises that the southern breeze in its ecstasy of joy causes the floatings of its fragrance in the darkness of night. Here 'āḥdhār' or the darkness indicates dream and waking states in trance when the soul experiences 'vedaṇā'.

or afflictions for not realising its merger in the supreme soul. Here "gandha tāhār bhese vedāya āḥdhār bhariyā" or His fragrance being drifted permeates the darkness, which is in reality the darkness of ignorance. It signifies that though god is vanished from the sight of the votary in his waking state in trance, he nevertheless, perceives the fragrance which indicates His arrival. Here the olfactory sense perceives the presence of god though the optical sense fails to realise His presence. But in reality the creator cannot be realised through the senses. (Muṇḍakopaniṣat, 3/1/8.) Here the implied idea is that the vibhūti or the supernatural powers offer obstacles to the mind of a devotee when his soul is slipped off from sound sleep in trance into the dream and waking states. Here the sage is experiencing kleśas' or afflictions when he could not realise god at night, which is in reality dream and waking states in trance. He further mourns for not receiving the touch of the garland, worn round the neck of the Lord, upon his breasts. The real significance here is that god cannot be realised unless the waverings of the mind are completely arrested by its release from the evil propensities and thereby absorbs it upon the supreme soul beyond the turiya-suṣupti state when it knows no oscillations. The relevant text is inserted below :

"jīvanmuktā na sajjanti sukhaduḥkharasasthitau |  
prakṛtenārthakāryāṇi kiṃcitkurvanti vā na vā||"

(Yogavāsiṣṭhaḥ, Utpatti-prakaraṇam--3, Adh. 118, V. 18, p. 403.) Here the instincts of religiosity, appeal, and repulsion ; and their concomitant emotions of love for god, grief for not realising Him, and disgust for the oscillations of the mind are implied.

Analysis of hymn No. 61 indicates the following instincts and emotions : religiosity, repulsion, parental instinct, religiosity., appeal and repulsion ; and love for god, disgust, love of the creator for the devotee, love for the Lord, grief, and disgust. These may be expressed through the samanakha aṅgahāra composed of the following karaṇas : samanakha, udvṛtta, āvartā, līna, sūci, and vivṛtta.

#### Hymn No. 62

In this hymn is portrayed the mental and emotional conditions of a sage in his turiya-svapna and turiya-jāgarana states when he fails to realise the presence of god in the lotus of his heart as the guṇas or the attributes are not completely obliterated from his mind. Consequently it is still under the influence of desires which account for

the eclipse of god from his vision. His mind is slipped off from trance under the influence of desires and vibhūtis, particularly the auditory, the optical, and the tactual senses when he realises the arrival of god at his heart from the external world.

Under the influence of desires his mind is slipped off from the lotus of his heart into the external world in the waking state when he hears yonder the sounds of the foot-steps of god at His arrival in the day and at night for long, nay, at every moment. Here 'dina' or day signifies turīya-susupti and 'rajani' or night turiya-svapna and turiya-jāgarāṇa. That is he realises the arrival of god into the lotus of his heart from the external world as his soul slips off from the dream trance into the waking state in trance. In his ecstasy of joy he hears the resoundings of the wel-come song, sung in honour of the arrival of god. Here the instincts of religiosity and acquisition ; and their concurrent emotions of love for god and joy in realising Him are implied.

In the second section of the hymn the same trend of thought is continued. Here the sage hears the sounds of the foot-steps of god as He moves towards him in the month of Fālguna (February-March) through the forest paths. Spring comes in the month of Fālguna when new leaves sprout in the plants and the trees indicating the wealth of beauty in nature. Here 'fālguna-dine' or in the day of spring signifies also the exuberance of wealth of beauty in a person in his youth or prosperity when he is deeply engrossed in his worldly possessions, pomp, and power under the influence of thirsts for them. 'Vaner pathē' or through the forest path signifies the evil propensities that constantly crop up in the mind under the influence of desires. Thirsts are like the bowers of karañja thorns, the tumults of passions, desires resembling the nets of forests and the boils of the world. The relevant text runs :

“tṛṣṇākarañjakuñjeṣu kāmakoḷāhaleṣu ca |  
vāsanāvanajāleṣu janmakūpāntareṣu ca||

(Yogavāsisthaḥ, Upaśamaprakaraṇam—5, Sargaḥ 35, V. 52, p. 628).

Under such an influence when his mind oscillates the devotee imagines under the influence of illusion to have heard the sounds of the foot-steps of god as He comes nearer to him. But in reality god is not moving towards him. Next the seer imagines in his dream-trance the arrival of god many a time in the chariot of clouds in the month

of Śrāvaṇa (July-August) when it rains, the sky is full of clouds and is shrouded in darkness, then, the body and the mind of a person become lethargic and inert. These are considered to be desires for worldly pleasures which eclipse god in the lotus of the heart of a person. Hence a sage must free his mind from the darkness of the clouds, as it were, by the complete eradication of the guṇas or attributes and desires therefrom (Yogavāsiṣṭhaḥ, Vairāgyaprakaraṇam—I, Sargaḥ 17, V. 33). Next “dukher pare p̄ram dukhe tāri caran vāje vuke” or that the sound of His foot-steps resounding in the bosom in dire distress that crops up in the mind after sorrows signifies that the soul of the sage is moving in rotation between the dream and the waking states in trance when he experiences ‘kleśas’ or afflictions. As remarked before, the guṇas and the desires are causing the oscillations of the soul in the aforesaid states. The text “sukhe kakhan vuliye se deya paraśmani” or that in the midst of bliss He massages sometimes with the touch-stone. It signifies here that when the soul moves from the dream to the sound sleep state in trance, the seeker of truth experiences bliss as god massages his breasts with divine touch, which is like the ‘paraśmani’ or the touch-stone. The real significance here is that the seer experiences afflictions for not realising god in him when he is under the influence of ‘dvaitadhī’ or the intellect of dualism caused by the oscillations of the mind due to the cropping up of desires therein. God can be realised by releasing the mind from desires by the cultivation of the guṇas or the qualities, already discussed in connection with the hymn No. 56. Here the instincts of religiosity, appeal, repulsion, acquisition, and religiosity; and their relevant emotions of love for god, grief, disgust, joy, and love for the creator are implied.

Analysis of hymn No. 62 indicates the following instincts and emotions : religiosity, acquisition, religiosity, appeal, repulsion, acquisition, and religiosity; and love for god, joy, love for the creator, grief, disgust, joy, and love for the Lord. These may be expressed through the līna aṅgaḥāra composed of the following karaṇas : līna, kuñcita, samanakha, sūci, vivṛta, kuñcita, and līna.

#### Hymn No. 63

In this hymn is appraised the mental and emotional conditions of the aggrieved votary for not realising god in the lotus of his heart as his mind is not released from the influence of mundane desires. He confesses his failure for the realisation of god in the lotus of his

heart in the first section of the hymn as follows : 'thelte gēchi tomāya yata āmāya tata henechi' or that the more I attempted to push you back, the more I hurt myself indicates complete surrender of the devotee to god to win His mercy. Here 'īśvarapraṇīdhāna' or self-surrender to god is implied indicating his spiritual progress. The reference here may be traced to hymn Nos. 4, 88, 91 and 111 in the Gīṭāñjali where the devotee expresses his defying attitude only to surrender himself to god at the end. Thus in hymn No. 4 the sage assumes a thwarting attitude when he converses thus : "vipade more rakṣā kara e nahe mor prārthanā" or it is not my prayer to you to protect me in times of danger. In the same hymn again is expressed the challenging attitude of the devotee when he announces "āmāre tumi karive trān e nahe mor prārthanā" or it is not my prayer to you that you would come to my rescue. In the last section of hymn No. 88 the sage assumes a recalcitrant attitude when he says that as the storm desiring peace strikes it, so he desires the realisation of god even though he assaults Him. The sage confesses his pride in hymn No. 111. He must have all these references in his mind when he grieves to have pushed god aside only to acknowledge his defeat before Him. Having thus realised that his false egoism will not help him in realising his spiritual salvation, he completely surrenders himself to god as he asserts his will not to tolerate the eclipse of the creator from the sky in his heart by any agency and that he is always aware of it. The real significance here is that the seer is now conscious that his desires for mundane pleasures and honour conceal god in the lotus of his heart under the cover of the darkness of his desires. Here the instincts of religiosity, self-assertion, repulsion, and religiosity ; and their relevant emotions of love for god, pride, disgust, and love for Him are implied.

In the second and last section of the hymn is portrayed the mental and emotional conditions of the votary, who recollects the past events of his early life, which still follows him in his advanced stage of spiritual progress in life like a shadow and calls him from behind in vain in many tones of the flute casting illusory influence. Here "māyār vāhsir sure" or that in the tunes of the flute of illusion signifies desires for worldly objects and merry making such as playing on instrumental music and singing songs. (Vairāgya-prakaraṇam, I Sargah 17, VV. 18, and 37). Here 'lekeche āmāya miche' or that it calls me in vain signifies that the sage is no longer a prey to the call of desires, which invite him in fascinating tunes

to turn towards the past events in his life. That is, desires for worldly pleasures are always tempting and soothing. Sensative pleasures, though tempting for the moment, are in the long run afflictions, which drag people away from the path of virtue to the path of vice. Here the seer realises full well in his progress towards the spiritual growth the folly of his young days when he fell an easy prey to temptations. He is now determined to obliterate completely from his mind desires, which are cropping up there and thereby stand in the way of his nirvija samādhi or trance without the waverings of his mind, caused by the undesirable instincts and emotions. Here the instincts of repulsion and religiosity ; and their relevant emotions of disgust for desires and love for god are implied. Here "mil chuṭeche tāhār sāthe dharā dilem toinār hāte" or that there is cemented a compromise with him as I allowed my capture in your hands signifies the desires that have ultimately proved to be too weak for the votary as a result of his success in trance when he has realised god in him. The devotee has brought for his Lord all he has in his life. Here 'īśvarapraṇidhāna' or complete surrender to god as the means for salvation is implied. Here the instincts of repulsion and religiosity ; and their relevant emotions of disgust and love for god are implied.

Analysis of hymn No. 63 indicates the following instincts and emotions : religiosity, self-assertion, repulsion, religiosity, repulsion, and religiosity ; and love for god, pride, disgust, love for the Lord, disgust, love for the creator. These may be expressed through the samanakha aṅgahāra composed of the following karaṇas : samanakha, śakaṭāśya, ākṣipta, līna, vivṛtta, and svaṣṭika recita.

#### Hymn No. 64

In this hymn the idea of 'īśvarapraṇidhāna' is continued where the devotee prays to god for His mercy to open the old cords one after another and to tune the setār, a musical instrument, anew. Here the cords are the idā, suṣumnā, and piṅgalā arteries of a human being, whose body is the setār. These arteries require purification through divine grace so that these may be properly tuned to respond to the strokes in rhythmic tunes when played upon them by the divine fingers. The dirt of the cords here are in reality traṇṇā or thirst for worldly objects, which cause the non-functioning of the three arteries or the cords of the setār in the form of the body of the votary. It is not possible to obliterate desires

from the mind without the grace of god. Hence the mercy of god is solicited here. Mere self-surrender to the Lord will not do. The sage with the sword-like intellect free from dirts is to cut asunder his desires, both pure and impure to free himself from their influence before he is qualified to absorb his pure mind in the thought of god. (Yogavāsisthaḥ, Mumukṣuprakaraṇam, 2 Sargaḥ, 14, V. 3.) Guṇas or qualities are to be fully utilised in subduing the wild elephant in the form of the waverings of thoughts. (Ibid., Sargaḥ. 16, V. 28.) Here the votary is dependent more upon the mercy of god than upon his own personal efforts with the result that he could not control the waverings of his mind as will be evident from the succeeding hymns. Here “bheṅge geche diner melā vasve sabhā sandhyāvelā” or that the day’s assembly is dissolved only to hold it again in the evening signifies that the votary’s consciousness of god in sound sleep in trance is short-lived as the soul oscillates into dream-trance and thence into waking-trance as the saint’s mind is not released from desires. To repeat again, ‘dina’ or day refers to sound sleep in trance and ‘sandhyā’ or evening to dream and waking states in trance. Here “śeṣer sur ye vājāve tār āsār samaya hala—setārkhāni nūtan veḥdhe tolo” or that it is time for His arrival who is to play the last tunes. So, kindly bind the setār anew. That is, tune it properly. Here the devotee prays to god for the grant of His mercy to purify the idā, suṣumnā and piṅgalā arteries by removing desires from his mind so that his body in the form of the setār may be properly tuned and that god may play upon the cords of his heart His last tunes and that the time for it is not far off. The real significance here is that if it pleases god, then, it is possible for the seer to denude his mind of the desires and set it deeply on the thought of the creator in his trance wherefrom it will not oscillate. Here the instincts of religiosity, repulsion, parental instinct, and religiosity ; and their concomitant emotions of love for god, disgust for desires, love of the Lord for the devotee, and love for the creator are implied.

In the second and last section of the hymn the devotee surrenders himself completely to god as he prays for His mercy to open the gates of His residence in the lotus of his heart, guarded by the five deities. Here “duyār tomār khule dāo go āḥdhār ākāśpare” or that open your gate from above the dark sky indicates that the sky in the lotus of the heart is shrouded in darkness, which eclipses god from the sight of the devotee owing to his ignorance. The real purport here is that the votary in his ardency of love for god prays for His

mercy for the grant of transcendental light so that he may realise Him in the lotus of his heart and may experience the silence of the seven regions: Bhur (earth), Bhuvah (mid-religion), Svah (heaven), Mahah (the region of radiance), Janah (the next higher region), Tapah (the next higher region), and satya (truth or Brahmaloaka). Lord Siva is the embodiment of these seven worlds. (Saiva Upanishads, tr. by T. R. Srinivasa Ayyangar, pp. 32f). In the Maitrāyana-Brahmana-Upaniṣad Prajāpati is identified with the above regions. The relevant text runs: "This (world) was unuttered. Then forsooth prajapati having brooded, uttered it in the worlds Bhuh, Bhuvah, Svar. This is the grossest body of that prajapati, consisting of the three worlds. Of that body Svar is the head, Bhuvah the navel, Bhuh the feet, the sun the eye. "(The Thirteen Principal Upanishads tr. by Max-Muller, Prapāṭhaka-6, pp. 308f). Thus the seven regions here are identified with Siva as well as with Brahma. The silence of the seven regions signifies here either Siva or Brahma, who is in trance beyond the turiya state. The real implication here is that the seer hopes to absorb his mind deeply in the thought of god in the lotus of his heart by completely withdrawing it from the buzzing noises of the aforesaid seven regions. The text in support of the above statement runs: "The samadhi-trance of a wiseman, is as his sound sleep uninfested by a dream; and wherein the visibles are all buried within himself, and when he sees naught but his self or soul". (Yogavāsisthaḥ, Nirvānaprakaraṇam, Uttarār-dham-6, Sargaḥ, 29 V. 69). Furthermore, the sage desires to end the divine song that has been sung so long by the Lord. That is, the sage here prays to god for his grace to help his realisation of the merger of his soul in the supreme soul. The seer here prays to the Lord for his mercy to play for the last time upon the sitār, which is really his physical body and to tune the cords of the idā, the suṣumnā, and the piṅgalā, arteries as the means of purifying them for self-realisation. Here 'e yantra ye tomār yantra' or that this instrument is yours signifies that the physical body is composed of the five elements, viz., kṣiti (earth), āp (water), tejah (light), mārut (wind), and vyom (sky). God resides in each of these elements. Our souls are derived from the supreme soul. In this sense it is acknowledged here that this 'yantra' or instrument in the form of the physical body is derived from god. The seekers of truth seek the merger of their souls in the supreme soul and the dissolution of their physical bodies in the five elements in their deaths. Here the instincts of religiosity, repulsion from the buzzing noises of the seven



worlds, religiosity, and repulsion from mundane desires ; and their concurrent emotions of love for god, disgust, love for the creation, and disgust are implied.

Analysis of hymn No. 64 indicates the following instincts and emotions : religiosity, repulsion from desires, religiosity, repulsion, religiosity, and repulsion ; and love for god, disgust for desires, love for the Lord, disgust, love for the creator, and disgust. These may be expressed through the *līna āṅgahāra* composed of the following *karāṇas* : *līna*, *ākṣipta*, *samanakha*, *vivṛtta*, *latāvṛścika*, and *nikuṭṭa*.

#### Hymn No. 65

In this hymn is depicted the mental and emotional conditions of the seer, who is impatient for the merger of his soul in the supreme soul when he mourns before god in dream trance. Having failed to realise Him in the lotus of his heart he sets his mind out in the sky in search of the Lord as his soul is slipped off into the waking state in trance when he sings song in praise of the creator for self-realisation. Though he has been singing songs of god for long while searching for Him in the external world he is not conscious for how long he has been in search of Him. Here it is quite evident that the sage has not as yet realised the knowledge of 'prātibha', which enables him to know the past events of his life as well as those of others. Vyāsa, the commentator of the 'Yogadarśana' defines prātibha as the knowledge of the name of 'tāraka' or star, which develops earlier than the dawn of consciousness in a saint. This prātibha knowledge rouses in him his consciousness for all past events. The relevant text runs : "prātibhād vā sarvam" (Yogadarśana, Vibhūtipāda, Sūtra No. 33). The same idea is corroborated in the following text : "As a person changing his former state to a new one, retains his self-consciousness in the interim, so the Divine Intellect retains his identity in its transition from prior vacuum to its subsequent state of the plenum". (Yogavāsiṣṭhaḥ, Nirvānaparakaraṇam, Sargaḥ, 106, V. 45). But in this section of the hymn the sage confesses his forgetfulness before god in his dream trance to remember for how long he has been seeking his merger in Him. If he really possessed intuitive knowledge (prātibha) he could easily remember for how many cycles of births and deaths he has been working for his salvation. Here is implied that spiritual merit, earned in one life-span accumulates in the next birth. It is not so easy to see the merger of the soul in the supreme soul in one life-span. Here the seer compares his fate with

that of the spring. As the spring does not know whom it seeks to meet as it flows on, so he too, does not know his destination. Here the instincts of religiosity, appeal, repulsion, and religiosity; and their concomitant emotions of love for god, grief for not realising the creator, disgust for the fruitless searches for the Lord in the external world, and love for Him are implied.

In the second and last section of the hymn is stressed the unwavering faith of the devotee in god. The votary in his ardency of love for god in the dream-trance implores Him in unending ways and paints His pictures and having received no clue to His whereabouts, continues to move as he progresses towards his journey leading to the realisation of the Lord with an unabated ecstasy of joy. The real significance here is that the ardency of love for god does not know its ebb-tide in the mind of an earnest seeker of truth even though he fails to realise Him in his ceaseless cycles of births and deaths. On the contrary the intensity of the votary's love for god becomes acute as his heart is filled in with the hope of realising Him much after the manner of flowers passing the night hoping for the sun's rays. The real significance here is that the realisation of God requires not only strong determination, persistent efforts in the cycles of births and deaths but also divine grace. Here the instincts of religiosity, repulsion, acquisition, and religiosity; and love for God, disgust for lethargy and despondancy, joy in the hope of realising the Lord, and love for Him are implied.

Analysis of hymn No. 65 indicates the following instincts and emotions: religiosity, appeal, repulsion, religiosity, repulsion, acquisition, and religiosity; and love for God, grief, disgust, love for the creator, disgust, joy, and love for the Lord. These may be expressed through the samanakha āṅgahāra composed of the following karaṇas: samanakha, sūci, urudvṛtta, līna, vivṛtta, kuñcita, and latāvṛścika.

#### Hymn No. 66

In this hymn the sage expresses his humility to God though he has not succeeded as yet in realising Hīm. He ascribes his failure to his inability to bear the burden of divine love. Hence the gracious God has put a great barricade between Him and the votary in the form of sorrows, happiness, honour, wealth; family members such as wife, children, and relations. These undoubtedly offer obstacles to the path of self-realisation. Here the soul of the saint is in the

dream-trance, which torments his mind as he fails to absorb it in the thought of God in sound sleep-trance. Here the mind is under the influence of desires for mundane pleasures, joys, possessions, and honour. Unless the mind is released from their influence God cannot be realised. Here the instincts of religiosity and repulsion, and their relevant emotions of love for God and disgust for desires are implied.

In the second section of the hymn is stressed the mental and emotional conditions of the seer, who expresses his great consolation in dream-trance, that god grants him audiences at times from behind the screen much like the deem rays of the sun piercing through the dark clouds. Here 'āḍāl' or screen indicates desires already referred to in the first section of the hymn. The real purport here is that God removes all screens from the minds of those, who can bear the burden of His love through divine grace. God is kind to those whose minds are made pure by removing desires therefrom by the complete eradication of the sattva-guṇa. Here 'ekevāre sakal pardā ghucāye dāo tār' or that remove all his screens completely signifies that God helps a deserving saint to obliterate all desires from his mind if he is fit to bear the burden of divine love. The real significance here is that he must qualify himself to receive divine grace by the complete eradication of desires from his mind by the cultivation of the qualities. Here the instincts of religiosity, repulsion, and religiosity ; and their concurrent emotions of love for god, disgust for desires, and love for the creator are implied.

In the third section of the hymn is stressed how god purifies the mind of the seer as the means for self-realisation : kind god removes the screen of his house, takes away his wealth and bestows grace upon him by bringing him down to the street. Here 'ghar' or house indicates the lotus of the heart. 'Āḍāl' or cover must have reference to the desires, which eclipse god from his mind. The real purport here is that God is perceived by the sage in the lotus of his heart when his mind is released from desires and egoism through the grace of the creator. A seeker of truth seeking his realisation must secure the purity of his mind by releasing it from desires, both impure and pure. The relevant text runs : "The felicity of Nirvāna-ecstasy, with the utter extinction of all desires, and the consciousness of a cool and calm composure of one's self, is the summum bonum or highest state of bliss and perfection ; that is aimed at to be attained even by the gods, Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva." (Yogavāsisthaḥ, Nirvānaprakaraṇam, Uttarārdham—8,

Sargah, 194, V. 22, tr. by B. L. Mitra, p. 1047.) Here the instincts of religiosity, parental instinct, and repulsion ; and their relevant emotions of love for God, love of the creator for the devotee, and disgust for desires are implied.

In the fourth section of the hymn is stressed the mental equipoise of the votary when his mind is free from desires, honour, dishonour, bashfulness, shame, and fear. He sees the creator in the universe, which indicates his self-realisation. He does not experience fear as his mind is free from the conception of dualism, for, he realises not only the emanation of his soul but also those of others from the supreme soul. Hence the fear complex is eliminated from the mind. The following text with its English translation is cited below :

**“yasmīn dyauḥ pṛthivī cāntarikṣam  
 otaṃ manah saha prāṇaiśca sarvaiḥ  
 tātnevaikaṃ jānatha ātmānam  
 anyā vāco vimuñcathāmṛtasyaiśca setuḥ”.**

(Mundakopanīṣat, tr. by Gambhīrananda Swami, 2/2/5, p. 239.)

“He on whom the sky, the earth, and the atmosphere  
Are woven, and the mind, together with all the life-  
breaths (prana),  
Him alone know as the one soul (Atman). Other  
Words dismiss. He is the bridge to immortality.”

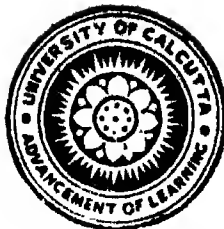
(*Ibid.*, tr. by R. E. Hume, 2/2/5, p. 372 ; Taittiriya Upaniṣad, 2/4, p. 285 and 2/9, p. 289.)

Here the instincts of repulsion and religiosity, and their relevant emotions of disgust for desires and love for God are implied.

In the fifth and last section of the hymn is emphasised again how the realisation of God is possible only after the mind is released from its desires, both impure and pure. Here "eman kare mukho-mukhi sāmne tomār thākā" or that thus your stay in the presence with your face turned towards the front signifies the conception of dualism: God and His votary. Here the devotee in his dream-trance is conscious of the presence of God, who turns His face towards him. Having realised the creator thus the seer hopes to merge his breath in the supreme breath. The real significance here is that the sage, having released his mind from its desires, realises the presence of God in his dream-trance, as he sees the merger of his soul in the supreme soul. But in reality he has not realised the cherished merger. Here the seeker of truth simply surrenders himself to God and imagines to have realised Him having released

his mind from desires. Here the instincts of religiosity and repulsion, and their relevant emotions of love for God and disgust for desires are implied.

Analysis of hymn No. 66 indicates the following instincts and emotions: religiosity, repulsion, religiosity, parental instinct, repulsion, religiosity, and repulsion; and love for God, disgust, love for the creator, love of the Lord for the votary, disgust, love for God, and disgust. These may be expressed through and ākṣipta-recita aṅgaḥāra composed of the following karaṇas: ākṣipta-recita, nikuṭṭa, līna, āvarta, vivṛta, samanakha, and ākṣipta.



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## AN EXPERIMENTAL APPROACH TO THE ASSESSMENT OF PERSONALITY\*

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### PURPOSE AND PROCEDURE OF THE INVESTIGATION

In the foregoing article, we have discussed the possibility of assessing personality traits with reference to their various dimensions. It is really formidable to prove the existence of these dimensions on an objective basis. It is, however, admitted that personality is the product of the inner organism and of the environment. So one has to hesitate in taking it for granted that there are stable patterns of personality traits worth assessing.

The writer is therefore inclined to take up the present investigation with the following objectives :

- (1) To ensure that there are certain fundamental interests which are fairly stable.
- (2) To determine the impact of environment on interest formation.
- (3) To analyse the various aspects of interests with reference to the socio-economic background.
- (4) To establish whether there are more than one dimensions of interests and to examine their relationship with the various aspects.

In the case of persistence as a trait as well the same objectives have been kept in view. It is very traditional to think of persistence as a general trait without any regard for its various implications. On a critical analysis it might appear to be important to consider that persistence might involve one's indication to pursue a goal at different levels. In other words, persistence means one's capacity to pursue a goal

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with regard to thinking, acting and feeling. It is difficult to determine the difference in one's persistence in the specific fields of perception, affection and conation. It has been, therefore, considered worthwhile to take up this issue of ascertaining whether one's persistence covers all these various fields or whether there are specific persistences of the same person. With a view to meeting this problem the writer has constructed tests of persistence for indicating these differences.

So far as the magnitudes of persistence are concerned it has been envisaged that one's capacity to stick to a job does not always indicate his total persistence. It involves his capacity for pursuing it with a definite direction. It may also invite a further complication so far as the degree of his involvement in the field of activities is concerned.

The purpose of the investigation is mainly to explore the possibility of discovering at a deeper level the elements of some of the personality traits for the sake of scientific assessment.

The concept of persistence so far defined has not touched this ground as the question of general unitary trait has only been thought of. In the circumstances the present experiment has been so designed as to open the new horizon of personality study from various angles.

*Construction of the measuring instruments—the Theoretical Framework :* Tests of interest make use of a variety of techniques. This is so perhaps because the dimensions of interest are varied. As discussed earlier interest may involve cognition, affection and conation, at different levels. As such the writer feels justified the inclusion of various types of tests designed to cover almost all the aspects of interest in his test battery. In addition to the traditional types of test, viz., questionnaires and inventories, he has attempted to have also objective measures based on direct observations of reactions of the subjects by devising situation tests and projective techniques of different types. It is also interesting that indirect measures of interest have been evolved for attacking the unconscious level at which interest may lie dormant. This was particularly necessary in consideration of the possibility of certain affective elements involved in interest.

Similarly an attempt was also made to assess persistence from different angles. It is, however, the intention of the writer to measure both these personality variables by as many methods as possible suitable for the purpose. The following background is, however, assumed in developing materials for interest tests :

- (1) The cognitive processes of perception, selection and discrimination could be involved.

- (2) The element of feeling should be aroused by the situation.

- (3) The classes of objects and ideas forming the stimuli should be presented so as to involve a conative element of actual participation in certain activities in preference to others. Apart from the above-mentioned aspects there is the more complicated problem of measuring the magnitudes referred to in the previous chapters.

The tests and techniques adopted and evolved in the present investigation may be classified as follows for the sake of convenience :

(1) Subjective measures :

- (a) Questionnaire.
- (b) Inventories or check-list.
- (c) Projective tests.

(2) Objective measures :

- (a) Situational tests.
- (b) Information tests.
- (c) Indirect measures such as recall tests, etc. . .

In this connection, it is worthwhile to mention that the writer uses the term "Subjective" where it is not possible to have a clear objective assessment or scoring. In other words, the term is used somewhat loosely because it is not possible to draw a sharp line of demarcation between the two, in respect of both assessment and scoring. The other way of classifying the tests is to arrange them with reference to each aspect or magnitude assumed before.

(i) *Techniques for assessing interest at the cognitive level*

(a) *Questionnaire :—*

The questionnaire method of personality study involves a series of questions combined into a single measuring scale but it is doubtful if responses to a few questions will faithfully reflect one's feelings, dispositions or traits. When an individual acts in the same manner on different occasions, it means that groups of stimuli which are presented on these occasions, have the same personal significance for him. This fundamental fact forms the basis of Allport's assumptions of generalised tendencies within the organism which he describes in short, as traits. Cattell's concept of traits is also similar as according to him a trait is nothing but a collection of reactions or responses bound by some tie of unity. This approach to the measurements is very popular because there are certain advantages from the point of view of administration and scoring.

The questionnaire which will be known as subtest (1) was designed to obtain information about the subjects' preferences, dislikes or 'doubtful' responses by placing before the individual a number of abstract situations as would indicate their relative standing on each field of interest. With a view to reaching this objective, several items were presented in different forms under varying situations. Ten items have been included to measure each type of interest, and thus the subtest contains 60 items with a view to covering the 6 fields of interest, viz., fine arts, technical, commercial, agriculture, humanities, and science. The items have been arranged in groups of three, so that the subject can indicate his maximum preference to one of the choices. For example, if a particular group contains items on fine arts, technical or commercial interests, the subject may indicate his dominant interest in fine arts in this particular combination, while in



other combinations might show his maximum preference for another field. In short, the the groups have been so arranged that the subjects can place themselves in a situation containing three choices in each case.

#### *Administration and Scoring*

This is a group test to be applied with clear instructions that all items should be attempted. In spite of the written directions at the top it was considered advisable to make the verbal instructions clear before actually administering the test. The writer himself conducted the experiment after he contacted the institutions for administering the tests. Congenial test situation was, however, made available in close cooperation with the teachers and heads of the institutions. The scoring principle was determined in the pilot-study on an *ad hoc* basis and it was decided that the subject will receive '3' for the maximum preference indicated by him, and '1' and '2' for the minimum and middle preferences respectively.

#### *(b) Check-list*

This instrument for measuring a personality variable is a popular one and it is also known as an inventory. The present instrument consists of 60 items in the form of short description of various activities such as painting and mending, keeping accounts, etc. It was assumed that their activities might represent some field of interest and would cover wide range of choice. In this connection it should be noted that the purpose of this instrument has been to take into account one's preferences at the cognitive level. Almost all the items had been worded in a very direct way so as to avoid any confusion in the minds of the subjects.

While the primary objective was to provide some straightforward abstract situation indicating certain activities, it was also considered worthwhile to use this for a double purpose. The subjects would be asked to show their preference on a three-point scale (like very much-like much-like) and it has been assumed that there would exist a continuum from one extreme to the other in the subjects' reactions. This was designed with a view to obtaining also a measure of the varying intensities of interest in specific fields. It is hoped that six fields of interest would be measured by the 60 items comprising this check-list. In other words, each field of interest would be represented by ten items for exploration.

#### *Administration and Scoring*

The administration of this subtest was not at all complicated because the task involved in it is very simple. Besides the written instructions on the top of the subtest, oral instructions are also given so as to motivate the subjects. The subject scored '3', '2' and '1' each time, he ticked against 'like very much', 'like much' and 'like',

respectively. Weightage of the various points of the scale was kept uniform, with a view to avoiding complications.

(ii) *Techniques for measuring interest at the affective level*

(a) *Word Association Test*

It was felt by the writer that a delicate instrument is required for measuring any trait at the affective level. Some suitable techniques had, therefore, to be evolved for this purpose. A word association test, in the writer's opinion might serve this purpose. This test consisted of fifteen items, each item involving some association, each key word when introduced has been followed by two association words either of which could be combined with the key word. The subject has to choose the association word which seems to him to go more easily and naturally with the key word. It has been assumed that when choosing the association word for each key word the subject would give out/his/hor feelings of involvement in any field of interest almost at their unconscious level. For example, when the subject is asked to choose one of the association words, namely (1) dance and (2) bearing for the key word ball, he might readily associate 'dance' with 'ball' if he is artistically inclined or even associate bearing with ball if he is technically minded. It is important of course that the subjects ready and spontaneous responses should be evoked on each occasion. All the six fields of interest have been represented by the test items covering thirty possible choices. Therefore, five items for each type of interest may well serve the purpose of detecting one's dominant interest.

*Administration and Scoring*

Oral instructions were given at each stage so that the subjects would not spend much time on any particular item. Although the test was of paper-pencil-type, each item was read out and the subjects asked to give out the first reaction to each key word within a limited time by underlying one of their association words. The subjects would score one each time he underlies an association word so as to indicate his preference for the specific field of interest. There would be thus thirty choices in all out of which the subject has got to select. As there are fifteen items, the total number of his responses will, no doubt, be fifteen, and the scope for choice for each field of interest would be up to five for any particular type of interest.

(b) *Projective Test*

This technique has been adopted for exploratory purposes with a view to discovering one's potential interests at the affective level. This subtest consists of thirty items in the form of ambiguous outlines. Each outline may mean different things to the subject and it is assumed that while responding to each of the items, the subject would project himself on the situation and express his interest in either of the six fields.

The subject would score each time he gives out a response indicating his preference for a thing belonging to any specific field of interest.

(iii) *Techniques for measuring Interest at the conative level*

(a) *The Situation Test—*

This subtest has been designed so as to take into account the subject's actual response to a life-like situation. This consists of thirty times in the form of paired group, each group containing two situations demanding actual participation by the subject. For example, a particular pair or group may contain two items of different nature, one demanding the subject's participation in drawing, and another identifying small tools. The items have been so arranged that the subject could have a wide scope for choice. The subject will score "1" each time when he chooses an activity representing the specific field of interests. As the forced choice technique has been adopted here and the items have been arranged in various combinations. It is likely that his preference will be indicative of the actual interest at the conative level.

*Administration and Scoring*

For each participation in any situation presented by the tests the subject will score '1' irrespective of his success or failure in the performance. This principle of scoring was adopted deliberately with a view to eliminating the ability factor from the test score as far as possible. Thus the range of scores would be from 0 to 10 in each field of interest. Relative standing on six main types of interest may be deduced from the total scores. In this connection it is worthwhile to mention that in the twenty groups, each type of interest has been represented ten times and as such if in all the groups one participates in activities representing the same type of interest his score will be ten.

(b) *Performance Test (Distraction materials)—*

As mentioned before, interest has been taken to be as complex an amalgam of subjective feelings and objective behaviour tendencies.

This situational test was constructed with the hope that this would give the investigator greater opportunities to observe directly the subjects' responses to life-like situations in the forms of their actual participation in the activities with various materials, provided as follows : (1) letter pad and (2) nuts, screws, and wires, etc. (3) Bankforms to be filled up. (4) A sheet of paper for writing a story. (5) A sketch for design of any scientific instrument. (6) Some small plants and little clay for observation.

It is expected that one's dominant interest would be expressed through his preferences of one or two activities to others.

*Administration and Scoring*

The subjects would be asked to indicate the order of his preference and the time he devotes to each.

The scoring principle would be guided by the following considerations : As there are six types of activities it is possible that the subject could

try all the six types of activities one after another in the limited span of time. The subject would then receive '6' for his first activity, '5' for his second preference, and so on. So the range of scores would be between 1 to 6.

*Techniques for measuring interest in terms of assumed magnitudes*

1. *Intensity :*

(a) How much, How many—Inventory : It has been assumed that intensity or degree of ego-involvement in interest is very important as a magnitude. At the same time it is felt that its assessment is considerably difficult with the help of the traditional type of inventory. The writer has, therefore, preferred to use indirect measures for this purpose, the first technique which has been used here is of projective nature to some extent. So questions have been framed for eliciting responses denoting the subject's opinion in quantitative terms. Each situation may be looked at with subjective judgement and responded to accordingly. For example, the first question in this subject is "how many boys and girls read scientific journals?" and the subject has to give out his opinion in terms of percentages fixed up a seven-point scale from 95% to 5%.

*Administration and Scoring*

As the scale presented before the subject for choice is a seven-point one he might score one to seven for each item. In other words, the minimum score for each item would be one and the maximum seven. There are thirty such situations and the total score would therefore, range between 30 and 210. Ten minutes will be given for completing the test.

(b) Flash Cards : The second subtest for measuring the same magnitude has been constructed on the basic assumption that one's interest may perhaps be known by the amount of retention of the words associated with a specific interest area through all the eight cards presented in a definite situation. With a view to testing this hypothesis, eight flash cards, each containing six-word stimuli belonging to six fields of interest, would be presented for a very short time, say ten seconds. The subject would then be asked to write down on a separate sheet of paper the words he recalls, after each presentation. Each flash card consisted of items in various forms, some are the places of interest, some are instruments, while some are actions. The eight cards represented a variety of places; objects, names, actions and instruments associated with each of the interest areas.

Example : Card No. 1.   Laboratory  
                                  Art Gallery  
                                  Share Market  
                                  Workshop  
                                  Farm  
                                  Library

*Administration and Scoring*

As mentioned earlier, the purpose of this subject was to elicit immediate responses in terms of recall, and the use of flash cards has been found convenient. The time of exposure of each card was ten seconds.

The principles of scoring is guided by the fact that attending to is a selective process depending upon one's interest to a certain extent. The subject would score one for each item recalled in the specific field of interest. After presentation of all flash cards the subject's relative standing on each interest area will be determined by the number of items recalled in each area of interest. As each card consists of one item for each field of interest the subject would score eight if he consistently recalls one item belonging to the same field of interest each time. The range of scores would obviously be limited between 0 to 8 for each area.

(c) Information test : This subject consists of another indirect measure of assessing interest on the assumption that one ought to keep more information in the area in which he or she is most interested. This information test has been constructed with a view to testing one's curiosity and power of observation in various field of experience which one comes across. The subtest includes twenty four items, four belonging to area.

For example, fill up the gaps :

Dividends are.....

A dictaphone is used for.....

In the examples, it will be observed that the subject's information in the specific field demanded some special observation and interest.

*Administration and Scoring*

Written directions would be given at the top of the test and the subject will be allowed fifteen minutes time for answering to the test items. If he cannot answer any particular item, he can easily go on to the next and so on. The subject would score '1' each time he would give the correct answer and the relative standing on the interests would be determined by the number of correct responses in each field of interest.

## 2. *Techniques for measuring range of interest (under hypothesis)*

It is likely that one's range of interest will differ from one's intensity. There are people of extrovert nature who would like to associate themselves with various things but without the same kind of involvement. So range of interest is possibly one of the magnitudes indicating one's desire to get involved either by participating in certain activities or even by wanting to keep information in different areas. In short, the range may indicate the width whereas the intensity reflect upon the depth of interest.

*(a) Check list :*

It is assumed that one's range of interest will be indicated by the range of information any one wants to keep about a particular area. With this hope another inventory has been constructed. The subtest consists of 30 items representing all the 6 interest areas. In this test one's interest at a deep level is not expected to be found. The object of this instrument is not to obtain measure of one's alertness to his environment in the form of deeper inclination but simple participation. For example, if one is asked whether he likes to keep information about share market and if his response is positive to this question it might reflect upon his interest. In other words, if one attends more to a specific field in preference to others, the fact might mean that he is interested to a greater extent in that particular field.

*Administration and Scoring*

This subtest would require about 7 minutes for its completion, and the subject will be asked to indicate his response either positive or negative or 'doubtful' to each item by underlining 'yes' or 'no' or 'doubtful'.

The subject will receive '1' for each of his positive response, each positive response representing a specific interest. For example, if he says positively that he likes to keep information about art galleries, it means that he has certain interest in fine arts and will be given '1' as a score. As the total number of items representing each area of interest is 5, the maximum score in the subtest for each field of interest will be 5 and the minimum will be 0.

*(b) Situational test :*

Though the questionnaire has been mostly used as the main technique for the assessment of interest the writer intended to enrich the test battery by the addition of certain new types of situational tests.

The situational test was constructed with the hope that this would give the investigator greater opportunities to observe directly the subjects' reactions to life-like situations in the forms of their preferences of the activities presented in the test. The items comprising the test have been so selected that they may give an indication of the subjects' manifest interest in relevant fields. The items demand either some information or (his) preliminary knowledge in relevant fields and mostly cover different aspects of each area of interest. For example, the items defined to assess a pupil's interest in Art consisted of activities demanding his reaction towards drawing some sketches, sense of composition, sense of perspective and proportion. Similarly, the items designed to assess a pupil's technical interest consisted of situations demanding the subjects' familiarity with certain common parts of ordinary things mostly used in everyday life. The test was mostly of

the recognition type, presenting different stimuli associated with a child's everyday experience, but evoking mechanical or technical interest.

The writer intended finally to present the stimuli in pairs in such a way that each is compared with every other. The subject would accept one and reject the other. This method of presentation appears to be particularly appropriate to interest tests of such visual types.

*Administration and Scoring.*

For each preference of any situation presented by the tests the subject will score '1' irrespective of his success or failure in the performance. This principle of scoring was adopted deliberately with a view to obtaining ideas of one's range of interest only. Thus the range of scores would be expressed through sample reactions in the forms of choice and not actual participation as far as possible. Thus the range of score would be from 0 to 10 in each field of interest. Relative standing on six main types of interest may be deduced from the total scores. In this connection, it is worthwhile to mention that in the twenty groups, each type of interest has been represented 10 times and as such, if in all the groups any one simply indicates his preferences in activities representing the same type of interest, then his score will be 10.

*(c) Situational Test :*

The construction of this test was guided by the consideration that a pupil's interest may find expression through this preference between news-items. Thirty news-items pertaining to different fields of interest were presented in different combinations in twenty groups and the subject has to choose one of the items forming each group. For example, the subject is asked to pick up one of the news-items for reading presented in groups under the following headings : Nobel Prize in literature : The greatest Enemy of the Jute Plant.

*Administration and Scoring.*

In spite of the written instructions on the top of the subtest, verbal instructions are also added for ensuring the efficiency of test administration. The administration of the subtest being very important, the writer took the help of two other members of the staff. The subject would be asked to go through head lines of the imaginary news-items according to his choice. It has been experienced that a long test battery might bring fatigue ; and therefore a time-limit of 15 minutes has been given as a tentative measure. The subject would receive '1' each time he participates in reading the news-item representing that specific field of interest. As mentioned before, the mere participation in reading has been regarded as a sufficient indication of one's interest in a particular field. As the total number of situations evoking forced choice of one out of each situation was 30, the maximum number of scores which one might attain for all the 6 interest areas would be 30.

Each interest area has been represented by 5 items, and, therefore, the maximum score will be 5 and the minimum 0. In other words, the range of scores for each field of interest will be between 0 and 5; and the maximum scores in a particular interest field will indicate his dominant interest in the same field.

*Techniques for assessing the duration of interest.*

(a) This situational test was constructed with the hope to throw light on and assess another assumed magnitude of interest, viz., duration.

The subtest consisted of 18 items, 3 arranged in each group of interest.

The subjects would be asked to participate in the activities and spend the whole time of 15 minutes in the way he would like and indicate the order of his preferences.

Each area of interest has been represented by 3 items and one can easily spend 12 minutes on the 3 items belonging to one specific area or the time can be spent on the various items sporadically.

*Administration and Scoring.*

It was assumed that one's duration of interest may be judged even through his forced choices in a limited period.

Situations representing various interest areas were to be presented to the children at the same time with the clear instruction that they were at full liberty to spend all their time on any one field or could attempt the various other activities.

They were also asked to record the order of preference and the time they began and finished in each case. The time for administration of this test had to be limited as this type of performance test can take an indefinite period.

The writer, therefore, felt justified in limiting this period of administration for practical purposes. The scoring of this test was guided by the consideration that a person with greater duration of interest is less susceptible to fluctuation.

(b) This subtest, though similar in nature, gave greater scope for self-expression through one's involvement in certain activities.

A number of outlines representing various fields of interest were presented for the subject's participation in the limited period. The subject was asked to either colour or shade the particular outline or outlines during the whole period of 12 minutes.

The principle of scoring has been determined by the following considerations :

(1) The order of preference.

(2) The number of fluctuations.

The subject would score '12' if he concentrates on one activity without any fluctuation for the entire period of 12 minutes.

If the subject chooses more than one activity for participation, credit would be given to his order of preference, '6' would be given for his first



preference, '5' for his second and 1 to the 6th in addition to the score arrived at by dividing the total time by the actual number of fluctuations.

Thus if one has spent the whole period for developing provided outline pertaining to one field of interest he would score the maximum '6' for his order of preference and '12' for his concentration.

Thus the maximum score one might obtain from the test is 18 (12 plus 6) and the minimum is 3 (2 plus 1).

(c) This subtest consists of the same situations presented by the distraction materials designed to measure interest at the conative level. The principle of scoring was however different and was based on the same principle that a person with greater duration of interest is less susceptible to fluctuation.

#### *Construction tests for Assessment of Persistence*

*At the Cognitive level :* (a) The construction of questionnaire '1' was stimulated by the consideration that such a test on persistence is rare in India and as such would be of some value if it proved reliable and valid. As this was intended for application and validation in West Bengal, this, like others, was originally constructed in Bengali with a view to minimising the language difficulty. The questionnaire originally contained eighteen items constructed with an eye to the particular connotation of the term 'persistence'. As the term may have different shades of meaning to different people, it is perhaps wise to describe here, how and in what sense this term has been used in this investigation. Persistence has been tentatively defined here as "a trait by virtue of which an individual continues in steadfast pursuit of an aim, in spite of difficulties or obstacles".

The following considerations were, however, taken into account before framing the test items. A person who is not steadfast quickly gets bored with a job, and cannot be expected to finish a task, if a difficulty arises. On the other hand, a man who is persistent pays little attention to how long it takes him to finish a job or to what is going on around him; he is a person who never rests or feels satisfied until he has conquered the difficulty and finished the work begun. This view of persistence is quite in keeping with that given by previous researchers in this field.

(b) This is a second type of test in which questions are phrased in indirect manner, so that the child would not realise that he was revealing himself. The situations chosen would be within the experience of the particular age group and the number of such situations limited. Vernon says, "It is a mistake to make the test too long because the testees get bored and respond in a stereotyped manner, failing to consider each item on its merits." The questionnaires were, therefore, made deliberately short and handy for making them effective from the standpoints of administration and scoring.

In this connection, it may be mentioned that the questionnaire No. 1 is a modified form of the questionnaire<sup>1</sup> constructed and validated by the author in England.

#### *Administrations and Scoring*

Oral instructions were given in addition to the written directions on the top of the questionnaire and the necessity for the subjects' honesty, when answering, was emphasised at the time of administration. The subject scored '3' each time he underlined "yes" or "no", the response denoting the presence of the trait.

For example, if one underlined "yes" against the question—"Do you like a job which required a long time for its completion?" he scored '3' because a positive response to such a question indicated the presence of the trait. On the other hand, if he underlined "no" against the question—"Do you feel unhappy if you are to finish a job when it has already taken a few years?" he also received '3' as the negative response to such a question will indicate the presence of this trait.

A middle column (?) was provided so as to enable the subject to respond even in case of any doubt and a credit of '2' was given to these. A score of '1' was given to the response denoting the absence of the trait.

#### *Construction of Questionnaire No. 2 for Assessment of Persistence at the affective level.*

It was considered that another questionnaire in which the object was not apparent was desirable on the ground of validity for, as Symond observes, "It is probable that disguised questionnaires are more valid than those which are straightforward in their approach." It seemed desirable, therefore, to phrase questions in an indirect manner so that the child did not realise that he was revealing himself. The situations chosen were within the experience of the 14-17 year old boys and girls written in the form of a story. The story included six imaginary situations. In both the questionnaires for the assessment of persistence it will be seen that the number of items was limited with a view to ensuring economy of time.

The subjects were required to underline the particular character with which they could identify themselves in the story. They would score '1' for responses denoting the presence of the trait.

#### *Construction of Performance Tests*

It was considered worthwhile to enrich the Persistence Test Battery by including a Performance Test. The following objectives were kept in view while constructing the test :

- (a) The test should be easy to administer.
- (b) It should not take a long time for administration.
- (c) It should be a paper and pencil test.

<sup>1</sup> Bhattacharya, S. *Assessment of Persistence and Confidence with special reference to Secondary School Children* (unpublished M.A. Thesis, London University, 1954).

The writer was, however, conscious of the limitations of the performance tests of personality and intended to present the situations in the form, of games, so that the subjects may not readily guess the object of the test.

The test, though a paper and pencil type, was designed to serve the purpose of a performance test presenting the following activities for participation :

It was assumed that one's persistence varies inversely with one's fluctuations, even in a limited period.

(1) *Dotting and Pricking* : Subjects were asked to alternately dot with pencil or prick with pins in respective square spaces provided for the purpose. Adequate scope for carrying on the same activity at least for half an hour ( the time of administration fixed up by the investigator ) was given.

(2) *Crossing vowels* : Paragraphs were presented to the subjects who were asked to cross all the vowels they would come across while going through the lines.

(3) *Distinguishing the odd from the even numbers* : A sheet full of different numbers was presented and the subject was asked to draw circles round the odd numbers and squares round the even numbers.

(4) *Drawing outlines of meaningful things* : A sheet of paper with innumerable dots was provided to each subject so that one could make something meaningful by joining the dots in particular ways.

#### *Administration and Scoring*

Four different situations were to be presented to the children at the same time with the clear instruction that they were at full liberty, to either spend all their time on any one or could attempt all the four. They were also asked to record the order of preference and the time they began and finished in each case. It was not considered desirable to try to elicit a high degree of original motivation for the tests. At the first meeting with the children, they were told that the investigator would ask them to play certain games to ascertain their speed of action and they would be given the opportunity to try any of them as long as they like within the time-limit, given. Thus the purpose of the situation test was kept concealed, as it was intended to observe them under normal motivational conditions.

The time for administration of this test had to be limited as this type of performance test can take an indefinite period. The writer, therefore, felt justified in limiting this period of administration for practical purposes. In the main experiment the period was reduced to thirty minutes, though in the pilot study the subjects were allowed a longer period of one hour.

The scoring of this test was guided by the consideration that a less persistent person is more susceptible to fluctuations than a highly persistent person. Individual scores were, therefore, calculated by dividing the total

time spent ( in this case the maximum time allowed ) by the number of activities attempted. If an individual persisted in one job for the whole period ( i.e., thirty minutes in the main experiment ) he naturally scored more than one who changed two or three times.

*Techniques for assessing the magnitudes of persistence*

1. *Techniques*—for assessing the intensity of persistence. (a) It has been assumed while constructing this subtest that one's persistence does not always represent one's capacity to continue a job for a length of time but it should also denote the strength of one's application to a particular situation.

The various items were graded according to difficulty and the subject will be asked to spend 10 minutes in drawing as many of the 10 designs as possible.

One who reaches the bottom of the test is expected to have more intensity than others who spend the time only without putting much energy and concentration.

*Administration and Scoring*

The subject will be asked to spend the whole time for 10 minutes for participation in activities according to their choice. It was made clear to them that they could proceed horizontally or vertically. The time allotted for the purpose would be enough for one intending to reach the bottom of the test. Thus the speed factor should be reduced to minimum by allowing sufficient time for passing through the graded activities.

The subject will receive '1' for completing each item correctly. As the number of items arranged in order of difficulty the maximum score would be 9 and the minimum '1'. Thus the range of score would be between 1 and 9. This subtest would consist of.

(b) The subjects would be asked to follow the direction involved in each item and proceed as far as possible in the limited time. It is assumed that those possessing greater intensity of persistence would tend to complete greater number of items with greater accuracy and precision.

Those with a reverse tendency would be more interested in spending the time without involving themselves in graded activities. They would have a tendency to proceed horizontally by picking up the easier items and spending time without any objective.

It is however possible that the intensity as a magnitude may have some relationship with ability. The writer was conscious of this fact and has tried to reduce this to the minimum when designing the test items.

As a matter of fact, the items of the subtest demand not so much of skill or intelligence as one's energy, care and concentrations, supposed to be involved in persistence.

*Administration and Scoring*

The subjects would be asked to proceed in any direction.

# FIRE BIRD

RUBY ZAGOREN

The bird with feathers of fire  
That burning did not consume  
Wove a nest from its desire  
To live in a flaming room.

The rays of the sun were combed  
For shavings to weave in the nest  
With radiant claws that roamed  
Where violet rays had caressed.

The bird with feathers of fire  
Flies through a wood that's wild  
With trees and vines that aspire  
With the tenderness of the beguiled.

# THE NAURŪZNĀMA OF 'UMAR KHAYYĀM'

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## *Introduction*

"Praise and gratitude be on that God, the Great, who is the creator of the world and preserver of time and space. He is the nourisher of all living beings ; and the knower of all revelations and secrets. He is eternal with no equal and partner. He is beyond all law and is independent. He is beyond number and imagination. He is all-powerful and independent of any support and help. And let His blessings be on His prophets from Adam, the pure one, to the Arabian prophet Muḥammad, the chosen one, peace of God be to all of them, and to his friends, companions and the selected ones."

Thus says the master *Hakīm*, the philosopher of the time, the chief of the truth-seekers, and the lord of the learned men, 'Umar bin Ibrāhīm al-khayyām, compassion of God be on him : "When I viewed from that state where is the perfection of knowledge, I found nothing more ennobling than *sukhun* and more dignified than *kalīm*. Because, if there were anything greater than speech, God the Great would have certainly transported it to His Messenger, peace of God be on him ; there goes the proverb in Arabic—the best comrade for the present world is the Book. And a friend of mine who had sincere acquaintance with me, and was a good soul of the time, requested me to know what was the cause of establishing the New Year Day, and who was the king that founded it. I surrendered to his request ; and this has been compiled together (in response to him) by the grace of God the Great.

"This Book which is the divulgence of the mystery of the Truth of the New Year Day, has described what was that Day to the kings of Persia, what king had established that Day, and why it

<sup>1</sup> *Naurūznāma* is a Persian prose-work of the illustrious poet of the Quatrains (or *Rubā'iyāt*). Though chiefly famous in these days as an epicurean poet, 'Umar Khayyām was more renowned in his days as an astronomer and a philosopher-mathematician. He is really a versatile genius, and as will be revealed in this Book he was also a philosopher-linguist. (cf. my paper "Umar Khayyām as a philosopher-linguist" presented at the Iranian Section of the International Congress of Orientalists held at New Delhi in January, 1964.) This *Book of the New Year Day* is a history of the *Nauruz*, the great festival of the Persians and its formalities that are observed on that auspicious occasion ; in its under-current it also describes the spiritual significance of that joyous mood of the *New Year Day* symbolised as the Realisation of Self.

was so honoured by them. These and other rules of the kings and their characteristics in every affair have been described in an abridged form in this book. by the will of God."

*Origin and History of the New Year Day*

The cause of fixing the date of the Persian New Year Day is this : They found that the Sun has two movements of revolutions—one is yearly in 365 days and the other is daily in 24 hours ; and these two movements become again almost congruous to reach the first degree of the Zodiac in its fourth year, but every year there is again some shortening of the period.<sup>2</sup>

Now, when Jamshid could recognize that Day, he named it *Naurūz* (or New Year Day), and performed a ceremonial observation of that date. From that time onwards the other kings and also the people of Persia imitated that Ceremony after the manner of Jamshid. And it is related of Gayūmarth, the first king of Persia, that after his ascendancy to the throne, he desired to give names to the days of the year and months for systematization of dates, so that the people may be aware of it. He found on that day in the morning the sun reached the first degree of the Zodiac. He gathered together the philosopher-priests of Persia for making up a calendar beginning from that day. They assembled together to prepare the same. And it is thus related by the fire-priests of Persia, who were the philosophers of the time, that God the Great created 12 Angels, and of these four are in charge of the heavens, who protect the same with all that are in it from *Ahrimanān* (or principles of Evil) ; four angels are entrusted to the four corners of the world not to allow *ahrimanān* to pass beyond the *Kūh-i-Qāf* ; and the four other angels roam round the heavens and the worlds and keep them away from the created beings. It is also related that this world in contrast to that world is like a new pavilion produced from an old grand edifice. God the great created the Sun from Light, and the heavens and the worlds are nourished by It, and the created beings have vision by

<sup>2</sup> Mojtaba Minovi, editor of *Nauruznama* comments on this: To explain it more elaborately, one is daily as it moves apparently round the earth in 24 hours, and the other is yearly as it travels along round the circuit of the celestial girdle in 365 days, 5 hours, 48 minutes, and 45 seconds and a half. But this yearly movement over the daily rounding of the Sun is not perfectly congruous; for the reason that in every yearly movement the duration is lengthened to an augment of about 6 hours. Accordingly, if this year the Sun enters the first degree of the Zodiac at its first moment of the day, then after a complete circulation over the celestial, it reaches again the same point of the Zodiac at about 5 hours and 49 minutes of the 366th day. And in the fourth yearly revolution it completes by about 41 minutes earlier the 366th day. Thus, every year of these four years between the completion of 365 to 366 days is lessened by about eleven minutes. So it will take 1461 years to reach again at the first moment of the day to the first degree of the Zodiac.

the help of that Light which comes from the splendours of Him. They look to Him with awe and respect for which God has the more favour for His creation. The similitude of this is of the nature that a Great King hints to a Caliph of all his vice-gerents to honour him and recognize his qualities, so that whoever will know the Caliph as great will also know the King as great. It is said that when God the great sent His order to uproot His permanency so that His light and emolument may reach to all things, the Sun began to move from its highest point of the sign Aries and the heavens surrounded it. Thus darkness separated itself from brilliance, and the night and day were apparent. This was the beginning of the history of the world.<sup>3</sup>

From that day after 1461 years on the same day and hour the Sun reached the same point again; and that period is the 73 transitions of the planets Saturn (*Kaiwān*) and Jupiter (Ormuzd) and they are called the *Qirān-i-sughrā* (or Smaller Conjunction). Each conjunction is of the period of 20 years. Whenever the Sun moves round its motions, and turns to a place which is the constellation of the planets *Zuhal* (or Saturn) and *Mushtari* (or Jupiter) with its declivity of the former, there is a conjunction meeting face to face with the celestial sign *Libra* (*Mizān*) wherein lies also the Saturn. This one motion at this and the other at that place form a picture where the stars are visible. As the Sun proceeds along from the Zodiac, and the Saturn and the Jupiter with other

<sup>3</sup> In the *Shāhnāma* it is recorded that *Gayumarth*, the first ruler of the world, incurs the envy of *Ahriman*, who sends a host of divs to attack him, commanded by the Black Div, the son of *Ahriman*. *Siyāmak*, the son of *Gayumarth*, with an army encounters the Black Div and is slain, but is avenged by his son *Hūshang*, who succeeds to the throne on the death of his grandfather.

*Firdausi* in his account of *Gayumart* omits much of Zoroastrian lore. In the *Bundahish* *Urmuzd* is represented as first creating two beings--the representatives of mankind, and of the animals and plants respectively. These were *Gaiumart* and the Primeval Ox. For three thousand years they lived happily and unmolested in the world of *Urmuzd*. At the expiration of this period *Ahriman* assailed the creation of *Urmuzd*, and slew both the Ox and *Gaiumart*; but the latter survived the former by 30 years, which became the duration of the first ruler in the Poem. The Ox in dying gave origin to the plants and animals; and *Gaiumart* to the first human couple--*Mashya*, (i.e., man) *Mashyoī*--who in turn produced offspring among which was *Siyamak*, who is represented as the son of *Gaiumart* in the *Shāhnāma*. In the poem, too, the attack on *Gaiumart* is made indirectly by means of the Black Div, not directly by *Ahriman* as in the *Bundahish*. The reader may be reminded that the *Bundahish* is a Pahlavi version of the lost book of the *Zandavasta* known as the *Dāmdād* or 'races produced'. (Cf. *Warners' Translation*, Vol. 1, p. 117).

Spiritually *Urmuzd* (or *Aburamazda*) is the state of Universal homogeneity; and *Ahriman* is that of continual attempt after deviating from that higher state of homogeneity, the peace and tranquility of the Soul--the Adam of the *Qur'ān*. So long Adam, the *Gaiumart* of the *Shāhnāma*, is not vanquished by *Ahriman*, the Satan (or *Iblis*) of the *Qur'ān*, he is in the perfect state of humanity, the *Naurūz* of 'Umar Khayyām. This *Naurūz* is ever-present as is signified by his words, "So that this light and emolument may reach to all things, the Sun began to move from its highest point to the sign Aries, and the heavens surrounded it. Thus darkness separates itself from brilliance and the night and day are apparent".



stars are visible there, by the order of God the great the conditions of the world turn different, and many new things come to appearance which befits the world and its revolutions. When the Persian kings could recognize that moment, in order to revere the Sun and also with the idea that the other persons may not recognize the same (in future), they made a ceremonial observation of the Day and gave informations to the world at large, so that they also might know it and take care of the date.

It is related that when Gayūmarth made the Calendar since this day, he divided every year of the Sun with its circuit in 365 days into 12 parts, and every part of it again in 30 days. Each of these parts was given a name and connected with an angel. They are the 12 angels whom God the great has entrusted over the world. Henceforward that great period of 365 days and some hours was named as the *sāl-i-buzurg* (or great year) and it was divided into four parts. When the four divisions of the year come to an end, it is the great *Naurūz* with a fresh changing conditions of the world. Thus it becomes binding upon the emperors to observe the custom and ceremony of their preceding kings for the sake of honour and sanctity of the Calendar and (also) to rejoice in the beginning of the year. Whoever observes the ceremony of the *Naurūz* and links with it joy and amusement till the next New Year Day passes his life in joy and pleasure. And the wise have made this experimented for the kings.

*Farwardīn mäh* is derived from Pahlavī,<sup>4</sup> and it means—it is that month when vegetation begins to grow and this month is specially for the sign Aries for it is completely in constellation with the Sun.

*Ardibihisht mäh*<sup>5</sup> is so called for the reason that at this period the world remains in heavenly pleasure ; and *ard* in Pahlavi means likeness. The Sun in this month during its period of motion stations at the sign Taurus and the season is the Spring.

*Khurdād mäh*<sup>6</sup> is that month which gives provision to the people through wheat, barley and fruits ; and the Sun remains during the month at the sign Gemini.

*Tir mäh*<sup>7</sup> is so called for during this month wheat, barley and corn are distributed to the people. During this time the grandeur and

<sup>4</sup> *Fravartīn mäh*, lit. month of the spirits : *Farwardīn*, from O.P. *Fravartinām*, pl of *fravart*, Phl. *farwarharti*, meaning a soul existing from eternity, which is the living state of a man protected by God, so that it does not perish even after death.

<sup>5</sup> *Urdibihisht mäh* from Phl. *Urt-Vahisht*, O.P. *rtam-vahishtam*, lit. the best of truth.

<sup>6</sup> *Khurdād*, from Phl. *herdat*, O.P. *haurvatāt*, Skt. *sarva-tāti*, meaning the state of safety and perfection.

<sup>7</sup> *Tir* from Av. *Tishtrya*, name of an angel of the second grade.

strength of the Sun begin to come down in much excessiveness. It remains in the sign Cancer and here begins the Summer season.

*Murdād māh*<sup>8</sup> gave away its earthly elements through green vegetables and ripe fruits which reach to perfection in this month ; and in this period air raises dust all around. This month is a part of the Summer season ; and during a part of the month the Sun remains in the sign Leo.

*Shahrīwar māh*<sup>9</sup> is called the month of *Shahrīwar* for the reason that *rīw* (or fraud) is controlled in this month, *i.e.*, the month is under the possession of the kings. During this month it is easier for the cultivators to pay their taxes. At this period the Sun remains in the sign Virgo ; and this is the latest part of the Summer.

*Mīhr māh*<sup>10</sup> is so called for the reason that during this period people have friendship and kindness amongst themselves ; and whatever is apportioned to them of crops, fruits and other things, they share and eat together. The Sun during this period remains in the sign Libra ; and this is the beginning of the Autumn or the harvest season.

*Ābān māh*,<sup>11</sup> that is, during this month rains fall down excessively ; and people make use of them for their harvest. The Sun during this period remains in the sign Scorpio.

*Ādhar māh* : In Pahlavi language *ādhar* means fire. And in this month the atmosphere is very cold and it requires fire for which the month is called *māh-i-ātash* (or the month of fire). In this period the Sun remains in the sign Sagittarius.

*Dai māh* : In Pahlavi language *dai* is *dev*<sup>12</sup>, (*i.e.*, devil or demon). And for the reason that the period is dull and is deprived of all joy and pleasure, it is called in this way. The Sun remains in the sign Capricorn during this period ; and this is the beginning of the Winter season.

*Bahman māh*<sup>13</sup> is the month that remains in the same position (*bahamān mānad*) with the preceding month, that is, it is also cold and dry like the month of *Dai*. The splendour of the Sun takes

<sup>8</sup> *Murdād* from Phl. *amurdād*, Av. *ameretāt*, connected with the meaning of deathlessness.

<sup>9</sup> *Shahrīwar* Phl. *shathrevār*, Av. *kshatrem-vairim*, meaning demanding of the countries.

<sup>10</sup> *Mīhr*, Phl. *mīthr*, O.P. *mīthra*, meaning brightness or friendliness. This is another name of the Sun and also its protecting deity.

<sup>11</sup> *Ābān*, Phl. *āpān*, name of the Water-God, *i.e.*, the Angel as the protecting deity of Water.

<sup>12</sup> Rather Phl. *daiv*, Av. *daivah* (Skt. *deva*), is connected with *Ormuzd*, the planet Jupiter ; and it signifies the Creator.

<sup>13</sup> Phl. *vahuman*, Av. *vahumanah*, meaning of good disposition,

shelter during this period in the quarter of the planet Saturn, being in conjunction with the signs Aquarius and Capricorn.

*Isfandārmadh mäh*<sup>14</sup> is called *isfandārmadh* for the reason that *isfand* (in Pahlavi meaning a fruit) or fruits and vegetables begin to grow in this month. The motion of the Sun remains in the sign Pisces, the last of the Zodiac signs.

Gayūmarth divided according to the above fashion the period into 12 parts; and thus fixed up the beginning of the Calendar.<sup>15</sup> After the completion of this he lived for another 40 years. And after his departure from the world Hūshang<sup>16</sup> sat on his place, and he ruled for 970 years. During his rule he subdued the demons, and took up the profession of smithcraft, carpentry and weaving. He used also to gather honey from bee, and silk from silk-worm. And after spending the life in joy and pleasure, he departed from the world with a good name behind. After him Tahmurath<sup>17</sup> sat on the throne, and

<sup>14</sup> Phl. *spandarmat*, Av. *spenta ārmaiti*, the presiding God over all angels—a holy manifestation in descent under obligation

<sup>15</sup> We also find in the *Shāhnāma* that Rustam, the Iranian mythological hero, is invoking the divine assistance in favour of Khusrau to release Bizhan from the pit of Afrasiyab; and the Divine Beings whom he is invoking are the presiding deities of the different months of the Persian Calendar. (Cf. Vullers's ed. p. 1110).

And thus comment Warners on the topic, "The divine beings whose blessings are invoked by Rustam on KaiKhusrau are members of a class formerly known as *yazatas* (gods) and now as *izads*. Some of them, among other functions, presided over the Zoroastrian Calendar and gave their names to the days of the month and to the months. They may be regarded as the celestial satraps among whom the divine qualities and the good creation of Urmuzd have been parcelled out. Bahman presides over Good Thought, Ardibehisht over Perfect Rectitude, Shahrir over Perfect Rule, Sapandārmad over Bountiful Devotion, Murdād over Immortality and Khurdād over Health. The above are all Amesha-pentas. Bahrām presides over Victory, Tir over Mercury, Dai over Business, Azar over Fire, Abān over Waters, while Farwardīu represents the Fravashis (The *Shāhnāma*, iii, p. 286).

Again, "According to Zoroastrian belief divine beings, men, the lower animals, plants, waters, sun and moon, etc., all had their immortal principle, known as their *fravashi*. These *fravashis* were worshipped specially at the beginning of the Zoroastrian year, and the month Farwardīn obtained its name from the practice. At this season the spirits of deceased ancestors were supposed to revisit the houses of their descendants, and such *fravashis*, like the manes of the Romans, were objects of peculiar veneration" (*Ibid*, p. 287).

<sup>16</sup> Similar to *Naurūznāma* in the *Shāhnāma* also Hūshang is thus described: "He succeeds to the throne of his grandfather Gayūmart as shāh. He is a great culture-hero, and invents the arts of working in metals, irrigation and agriculture, etc. He introduces the use of domestic animals and discovers fire. He institutes its worship and founds the feast of Sada". And its underlying significance may be considered from its comments by the translators of the *Shāhnāma*, "Hūshang—the Haoshyangha of the *Zandavasta*—is, according to the older authorities, the first Shāh of the Pishdādian dynasty, and the grandson, not the son of Siyāmak. Siyāmak and his wife Nashāk produced a pair named Fravāk and Fravākain, who produced in their turn fifteen pairs. Of these nine pairs proceeded on the back of the Ox Sarsak through the ocean—the chain of rivers, lakes, seas and gulfs surrounding the central clime in the old cosmogony to the other six climes and stayed there, while the other six pairs, of whom Hūshang and his wife Gūzhak were one, remained to the central clime within which Iran is situated" (Warners' Vol I, p. 122).

<sup>17</sup> And in the *Shāhnāma*, Tahmurath is thus described: "Tahmūras, the son of Hūshang, continues his father's work as a culture-hero, in the domestication of animals, the invention of weaving, etc., conquers and enslaves Āhriman, and defeats the divs, whose lives he spares on condition that they shall teach him the art of writing". And Warners comment on this subject, "According to *Bundahish*, Tahmūras—the Takhma Urupa of the *Zandavasta*—was the great grandson of Hūshang, and the brother of Jamshīd, who, however is represented as his son in the poem. The legend of the binding of Āhriman by Tahmūras is several times mentioned in the *Zandavasta*, where he is represented as praying that he

he ruled for 30 years. He also subjugated the demons; and founded many markets and established many roads. Likewise he also took the profession of weaving silk and wool. The monk (*ruhbān*) Buzasp appeared in his reign, and he professed the religion of *Sā'ibiyān*.<sup>18</sup> Putting on the thread of the fire-worshippers, the king accepted his religion. He then began to worship the Sun and taught people "*dabīrī*" (i.e., fire-worshipping or the art of writing). He then became famous as *Tahmurath-i-devband* (i.e., the demon controlling magician).

After Tahmurath the sovereignty went to his brother Jamshīd. Since that 1040 years had passed, and the Sun consigned itself to *Farwardīn* on its first day, and entered the ninth Zodiac Sign. When of the tenure of the king Jamshīd 421 years had passed, the period was complete and the Sun again reached its Farwardīn at the first Zodiac sign. The world turned out to be justified, and he was then able to make all the demons submissive to him. At his order hot-baths were constructed, and brocades were woven. The brocade was before then called the Demon-woven (*dev-bāft*). But the people by their intelligence experience and toil perfected it to such an extent as you find now: and he cast his wish (*Khar*) to serve under his charger (*asb*) that it turned an *astar* (Skt. *aśwatara*) or mule. He exacted jewels from mines and thus constructed arms and amunitions and other decorative things. He also brought out gold, silver, copper and lead from quarry of minerals, and made with them his throne, crown, bracelet, necklace and ring. He produced musk, ambergris, camphor, saffron, aloe and other perfumes. He then made a ceremonial observation of that memorable day and named it *Nauruz*. He also ordered all people to observe that day every year, when the month of Farwardīn comes afresh. They know it to be a *new day* (*ruz-i-nau*) till a great period, when the real *Nauruz* will come to view.

may conquer all demons and men, all sorcerers and fairies, and ride Ahriman, turned into the shape of a horse, all round the earth for thirty years. From other sources we learn that Ahriman, while kept as a charger by Tahmūras, persuaded the latter's wife to reveal the secrets of her husband, and acting on the information thus gained threw off Tahmūras and swallowed him while he was riding down Mount Alburz. Yim (Jamshīd), hearing of the brother's misfortune, succeeded in dragging the corpse from the entrails of the fiend and thus restored the culture of the world which had perished with Tahmūras' (*Ibid.*, p 125).

<sup>18</sup> As regard this sect Khwārizmī, the author of *Mafātihul'Ulūm*, says that the *Kaltāns* (a band of the Darvishes) are known as *Sābiyān* and *Harrāniyān*, and their permanent residences are at Harrān and 'Irāq. And the Prophet himself also knew of Būdhasp who had appeared in India. Some are of opinion that he was *Hermes Trismegistus*. But Būdhasp was in the reign of Tahmūrath and professed the Iranian priesthood. This sect prevailed during the days of Caliph Manūn and they adopted the name of *Sā'ibīn*. But they are really a sect of Christianity and are in permanent association with *Sumnaiyān* (a sect of Hindus who believe in metempsychosis) in India and China. For the history of *Sābiyān* of Harrān and their religion refer to *Fahriyat* of Ibnul-Nadim (*Cf.* *Mojtaba Minovi's* note to this effect).

Jamshid<sup>19</sup> in the beginning of his reign was very just and God-fearing. People also loved him and was satisfied at his behaviour. God the great bestowed him such power and knowledge that he established so many things and fascinated men and even beasts with gold, silver, brocade and with different perfumes. When of his kingship more than 400 years had passed, demon (or rather demoniac attitude) found his way in him ; and the world turned to him very attractive. And may no heart be attractive to the world ! Egotism found a place in him, and he adopted his profession of haughtiness and injustice. He began to injure the feelings of other people, and they also were vexed at him. Day and night they began to pray God for the destruction of his kingdom. That divine lustre in him was gone, and his ways and means were turning to be wrong. *Bēwarasp*<sup>20</sup> (lit. ten thousand horses) who was famous as *Dahhāk* (lit. mocker) came out from a corner (of the world) and fell on him ; and the

<sup>19</sup> In the *Shāhnāma* Jamshid is thus described : He succeeds his father Tahmāsp as shāh, and becomes the greatest and most famous of the culture-heroes. He continues the work of his predecessors, makes additions of his own, and introduces the luxuries and refreshments of life. He divides mankind into four castes or classes. He travels over the world, and is the first to cross the sea in ships. He aspires to the dominion of the air, obtains it, and lives in ever communion with God. Ahriman is rendered powerless for ill, disease and death cease, and the world passes through the Golden Age. At length spoiled by success, Jamshid comes to think himself God, and orders that divine honours shall be paid to himself alone. The grace of God abandons him. Ahriman is unchained and incites Zakhāk, who has become his instrument to make war on Jamshid, and the latter is slain".

And it is thus commented by Warners, "With the reign of Jamshid the Vedas, Zandavasta and *Shāhnāma* meet on common ground. In the Vedas Manu and Yama are the twin sons of Vivasvat, the bright or shining one, i.e., the Sun. Manu is the progenitor and lawgiver of the Aryan race and Yama is a god. In the Zandavasta Yima is the son of Vīranghat, as the Iranian Noah, has a covenant with God, and is offered by Him the post afterwards accepted by Zoroaster. In the legend of the binding of his Var, or underground palace, in anticipation of the Flood, we have the origin of Firdausi's account of the architectural achievements of Jamshid. (Vol. I, p. 129-30).

<sup>20</sup> Of the rule of Dahhāk, it is thus described in the *Shāhnāma* : "With the rule of Zakhāk evil became triumphant everywhere. He practises and encourages black arts, idolatry and human sacrifice. He has a warning dream concerning his destined conqueror Faridūn, whom he strives in vain to capture. At length the people driven to exasperation by Zakhāk, revolt to Faridūn at the instigation of Kāwa, the smith. Faridūn and Zakhāk meet, and the latter is taken prisoner. And thus comment the translators of the *Shāhnāma* on the topic, "Zakhāk, the malignant spirit of brought and darkness—Azi or Azhi Dahāka, the biter, the serpent-fiend—as opposed to other beneficent powers of nature—Mitra or Mithra, Yama or Yima, Trita, Traitana and others was originally an evil spirit of the Indo-Iranian nature-worship. More generally, however, he is represented as a fiend created by Ahriman to vex the Iranian race, and carry off the light of sovereignty ; while in the *Shāhnāma* he loses to a great extent his supernatural character, and is . . . the protagonist of the Semitic race in their dealings with the people of Iran. He is accordingly represented as a native of Arabia, to have invaded Iran, and to have had his capital at a city which is perhaps best identified with Babylon. Zakhāk is looked upon in the *Shāhnāma* as exemplifying in his own person all the chief characteristics of the Non-Aryan peoples with whom the Iranians came in contact—idolatry, black arts, serpent-worship, and human sacrifice. . . . Zakhāk's minister, Kundraev, has had a strange eventful mythological history. In the Vedas he appears as Gandhāva, the divine guardian of the Soma—the sacred drink-offering, the Homa of Iran. In the Zandavasta he is a monstrous fiend or monster known as Gandareva or Gandarep, the slaying or whom was one of the great feats of the ancient Iranian hero Garabasp. In the *Shāhnāma* he is represented as a human being—the factotum of Zakhāk. The two are a good illustration of the relationship that exists between Indian and Iranian mythology, between the Vedas and the Zandavasta, and of the genesis of the legends of the *Shāhnāma* (*Ibid.*, p. 141-4).

people also did not come to the help of their king with whom they were annoyed at heart. He fled to India, and Bēwarasp sat on the throne. At last he was able to capture him and divided his body into two parts. He ruled for a thousand years. In the beginning of his rule ʔahhāk was also an administrator of justice, but at last he turned iniquitous. He was then led astray in thoughts and works by the influence of devil, and began to oppress the people, till when Afrīdūn came over to there from India, killed him, and sat on the royal throne.

Afrīdūn, who was in origin<sup>21</sup> of Jamshīd, ruled for 500 years. When 164 years of his rule had elapsed, the second round of the Calendar of Gayūmarth was complete. He then adopted the religion of Ibrāhīm, peace of God be on him, and brought under his obedience elephants, lions and panthers. He constructed tabernacles and colonnades, implanted seeds and saplings of fruit-bearing trees, and made use of flowing water in palaces and gardens. When oranges, cucumbers, citrons, lemons, roses, violets, narcissuses, water-lilies and such other fruits and flowers were produced in the orchards and gardens, he celebrated the festival of Autumnal Equinox.<sup>22</sup> He also made the ceremonial observation of the day when he killed ʔahhāk; and the kingdom was thus transferred to him at which the people were really very satisfied to be relieved of ʔahhāk's oppression and tyranny. As a mark of good omen

<sup>21</sup> Abtīn, the father of Farīdūn, is said, as referred to in the *Shāhnāma*, to dwell in the Alburz range to the south of the Caspian. He claimed to be descended from Jamshīd. He began the war of independence against Zahhāk, but after some success was forced to take refuge with the remnant of his adherents at the court of the king of Gīlān, who received him kindly, but fearing the vengeance of Zahhāk, subsequently furnished him with ships and provisions, and dismissed him to seek his fortune elsewhere. After a month's voyage on the Caspian Abtīn arrived at the court of the king of the Scythians, whose daughter Farānāk fell in love with him. In the end Abtīn married her, by whom he had two sons, and lived happily and in high favour with his father-in-law. He could not rest, however. In dream after dream he was incited to resume the war of independence against Zahhāk, and at length, in spite of the opposition of his father-in-law, set sail with wife, family and adherents, and after various adventures landed near Āmul in Māzandarān, where he made his home in the surrounding forests. Here he gathered a band of followers and resumed his guerilla warfare against Zahhāk, in the midst of which Farīdūn was born, the birth being heralded by many prodigies. (*Ib: d.*, pp. 144-5).

<sup>22</sup> And Firdausi has sung in praise of the Festival:

"Then sages sat rejoicing and each held  
A ruby goblet, then the wine was bright,  
The new Shāh's face was bright and the world  
Itself was brightened as that month began.  
He bade men kindle bonfires and the people  
Burned ambergris and saffron; thus he founded  
Mihr-gān. That time of rest and festival  
Began with him, and his memorial  
Is still the month of Mihr. He banished then  
All grief and labour from the minds of men"  
(Warners' *Shāhnāma*, Vol. I, p. 175).

the people since then made it the day of ceremonial observation.<sup>23</sup> Till now this has become the rule and habit of the kings of good promise to observe the day ceremonially in Irān and Tūrān (or Turkey). When the Sun reached again to its Farwardīn, Afridūn made a fresh ceremonial observation of the day. He then gathered together the people from all over the world, and after making a charter ordered his ministers to apportion his kingdom to his sons.<sup>24</sup> Turkey from the river Jaihūn (or Bactrus) to the boundary of China was given to Tūr (lit. hospitality), the country of Rūm to Salm (lit. peace), and the country of Irān with its lordship was offered to Iraj (lit. Sun, or its Lustre). The kings of Turkey, Greece and Persia are really of same origin and as such related to each other.

<sup>23</sup> In truth every honest attempt and its success is the realization of the glimpse of the Highest Truth. There the Omnipotent Power works in him; but as man cannot stick to this whole Truth, he submits to the conflicts of good and evil, and is fallen from that Highest State. Accordingly, as our astronomer-poet 'Umar refers to the Ceremonial Observance, in memory of the defeat of Dāhhāk and the consequent success of Faridūn, of that day, so also the epic poet sings in his Shāhnāma :

. . . . . Thus was he left  
To hang : his heart's blood trickled to the ground.  
Come let us, lest we tread the world ill,  
Be on attaining every good intent ;  
No good or evil will endure but still  
Good furnisheth the better monument.  
A lofty palace, wealth of every kind,  
Will not avail ; thy monument on earth  
Will be the reputation left behind,  
And therefore deem it not of little worth.  
No angel was the glorious Faridūn.  
Not musk and ambergris ; he strove to win  
By justice and beneficence the boon  
Of greatness : be a Faridūn therein".  
. . . . .  
Faridūn farrukh firishta nabud ;  
Zi musk wa zi 'ambar sirishta nabud,  
Ba-dād wa dihih yāft ān nikuyī ;  
Tu dād wa dihih kun Faridūn tuyī.

(Warners' Vol. I, p. 170; and Vuller's ed., p. 61.)

<sup>24</sup> According to the Shāhnāma, when Faridūn is firmly established on the throne, he marries his three sons to the three daughters of Sarv, king of Yaman, and subsequently dividing the earth into three parts gives one to each of his sons. The two elder becoming envious of the youngest, murder him, and are themselves slain by the grandson of their murdered brother, Minuchihir, who succeeds to the throne after the death of Faridūn.

The Indo-Iranian mythological Tritāṅptya and Traitana of the Vedas turn into Thrīta, Athwya and Thraetaona in the Zandavasta. In the Shāhnāma, Thrīta, Athwya and Thraetaona reappear under changed aspects. Thrīta and Thraetaona coalesce into Faridūn, while Athwya becomes Abtin, the father of Faridūn.

The three sons of Faridūn—Salm, Tūr, and Iraj—appear in the Zandavasta as Sairima, Tūra, and Airya respectively. Firdausi seems to derive the first, of course wrongly, from the Arabic *Salāmāt*, safety. Tūr may be connected with an Aryan root "tu" meaning "to swell, to grow great or strong". Iraj is the same word as Aryan and means "noble" (cf., *Ibid.*, p. 171-4). If we make a comparative study of the mythology of the Indo-Iranian and also the Semitic races, we shall see that it is nothing but the history of the Soul, expressed through the different qualities of the so many kings of these races, who are fighting under the conflicting influences of the ideas of Good and Evil, which will ultimately realise the Self, when all conflicts will vanish away, and the One will only remain. *Minuchihir* literally means "offspring of *Manu*". Also cf., my paper "The *Naurūz* in the *Shāhnāma*" published in the October-December, 1962, issue of *The Islamic Review* (Working, England).



It is binding upon the worldly beings to observe the mandates of their kings. As successors of Afrīdūn, all the kings who came after him till the age of Gushtāsp (or Darius Hystaspes) followed the rules and customs of their ancestors. When 30 years passed of the rule of Gushtāsp, Zardusht (of Zoroaster) appeared there, and brought forward the religion of *Gabrī* (or Paganism). Gushtāsp adopted his religion and began following it. From the date of Afrīdūn's ascension to the throne till then, it was 940 years, and the Sun moved its direction to the sign Scorpio. The king ordered to intercalate, and on that day of Farwardīn the Sun was found to locate at the degree of the sign Cancer. The formal ceremony was observed of the day ; and the king ordered to honour the same by making it a New Year Day, for the reason that the sign Cancer brings fortune to worldly prosperity. It became easy for every husbandman and cultivator to pay their dues to the royal treasury during this time. And it was ordered that after every hundred and twenty years intercalation should be done, so that the years may always remain in their own positions, and the people may be rightly aware of hot and cold weather. Accordingly, this rule and custom remained as it is, till the time of Alexander of Greece who was called *Dhul-Qarnain* (or Bi-cornious).<sup>25</sup>

The same rule and custom continued, and the people also followed the formal law till the days of Ardshīr<sup>26</sup> Pāpakān (or Ardshīr, the son of Bābak), who after preparing a Calendar, made a ceremonial observation of the day. He then circulated the royal charter and named it the New Year Day. And this same law continued till the days of Noshīn rawān,<sup>27</sup> the just. After completing his *Aiwān-i-Madā'in*,<sup>28</sup> he made a ceremonial observation of the Naurūz, as it was the habitual custom, but he did not revise the calendar, saying, "Let the Law remain as it is till when the Sun enters the first degree of the sign Cancer with automatic information, as it did to Gayūmarth and Gushtāsp." He opined thus and did not make any calendar till it reached the days of the Caliph al-Mamūn.

At the order of the Caliph Mamūn, the *Raṣad* (or Astronomical Table) was formed ; and the royal mandate was given to observe the ceremony of Naurūz every year when the Sun reaches the sign

<sup>25</sup> When Alexander, the Great, conquered Egypt, he was recognized as Jupiter Ammon in the Egyptian churches, and his coins were spread around in which he was described with two horns on the head.

<sup>26</sup> Skt. *ṛta-kṣatra*.

<sup>27</sup> or *Nawshī rawān*, lit. of immortal soul.

<sup>28</sup> lit. a palace of cities : a collective name of seven cities flourishing in the reign of *Nawshīrawān*.



Aries. The Astronomical Table made at the order of Mamūn (*Zich-i-Mamūni*) was brought to a stand ; and till this day Almanacks are prepared according to that *Zich*. In the days of al-Mutawakkil 'Alī Allāh, the Caliph had a trusty minister whose name was Muḥammad b. 'Abdul-Malik ; and he informed the Caliph that the collection of taxes begins at such a time when any produce does not accrue from the harvest, and it thus only brings sufferings to the people. And it was the habit of the Persian kings to intercalate for making the seasons of the year in proper order and thus enabling the people to pay their taxes with less suffering. At the order of al-Mutawakkil, Calendar was made when the Sun again entered Farwardin from the sign Cancer, and the people were thus released of difficulties. This law and custom continued till the time of Khalaf b. Ahmad, the ruler of Sīstān, who again made a calendar, which is now found to be 16 days different from then. When Sultān Mu'inuddīn Malik Shāh, may God prosper his celebrity, was informed of this discrepancy, at his order Calendar was again reformed and the year was brought in order. He brought the philosophers of the age from Khurāsān, and every instrument that is required from the structure of bricks to the royal signet and such other things for the Observatory was prepared. The *Naurūz* was again brought back to Farwardin. But the world did not allow him time and his Calendar remained incomplete.<sup>29</sup> This is the significance of *Naurūz* as we found recorded in the ancient books and heard of the sayings of the wise.

<sup>29</sup> *Zij-i-Malikshāhī*, also ascribed to *Khayyām* (*vide*. Browne's *Lit. History of Persia*, Vol. II, p. 255), was prepared during the days of *Malikshāh* at the instance of his minister *Mizām-ul-mulk* in which the mathematician *Khayyām* also took active part.

# THE WORLD OF ERNEST HEMINGWAY.

SOURIN GUHA

The Hemingway World is essentially a world of 'our time' and its too close relevance makes it difficult for us to determine its features. Hemingway's own life has gone into it for its formation and perhaps in no other writer of the twentieth century has so much of personal life been transmuted into art as in Hemingway. It seems a paradox that a writer who is so objective in his artistic method should be so subjective in the choice of the materials of the story. Nor has this paradox been, in any way, resolved by Hemingway himself.

Among all the modern novelists, Hemingway, perhaps, was the most reticent, and yet, in a way, the most eloquent about himself. He spread himself out in all his main characters, but made very few categorical remarks about himself or about his books. He was 'a little detached',<sup>1</sup> and with his characteristic reserve preferred to remain unknown to his readers, as he said to the Old Lady in *Death in the Afternoon*, 'Madame, it is always a mistake to know an author'.<sup>2</sup> Call it paradox or what you will—all his principal characters are nothing but the projections of his own self in one form or another. "People in a novel", he wrote in the same book, "must be projected from the writer's assimilated experience, from his knowledge, from his head, from his heart and from all there is of him".<sup>3</sup> Perhaps in no novelist are his own words more truly verified than are these of Ernest Hemingway. He has projected himself entirely in his characters. And to know and understand them is but to know and appreciate Hemingway himself and his world. One cannot help wondering at the fact that a writer who has given himself out in such profusion should refrain—excepting in a few casual remarks here and there—from giving us any substantial information about his own life and books. The reason, as we have already pointed out, may be found in his detachment, in his distaste for publicity. He was a very lonely man with a vast store of experience and was taciturn by nature. When other people jabbered endlessly in Gertrude Stein's salon at Paris, Hemingway would just sit in a corner and view the whole scene with objective detachment. He wrote simply because he could not help it. "If I do not write a certain amount", he said in *Green Hills of Africa*, "I do not enjoy the rest of my life".<sup>4</sup> Writing was a part

1. In one of the most characteristic of Hemingway's short stories, *In Another Country*, the hero, a war invalid closely resembling Hemingway, described himself and his little company in the following words: "We were all a little detached, and there was nothing that held us together except that we met every afternoon at the hospital."

2. *Death in the Afternoon*, Jonathan Cape, London, page 139.

3. *Ibid.*, pages 182-183.

4. *Green Hills of Africa*, Scribner's Edition, page 31.

of his life. He did not care for the 'reviewing hack, 'wordy, sentimental bastards' as he called them indignantly. Unlike many other modern novelists, he had little academic training; he had no intellectual or aesthetic pretensions; he had formulated no theory of art to be illustrated in his works. And perhaps when other artists were troubling themselves with the profound problems of life and art, Hemingway was then in Spain, unconcerned with such problems, learning and enjoying the art of bull-fighting. There was something of the tremendous vitality around the man. Life offered to him only occasions of physical intensity; and he wanted to capture this intensity, like the characters of his novel, as much as he could within the narrow limits of his mundane life.

Some knowledge of Hemingway's personal life is a necessary prerequisite to gaining admittance into his world. The cycle of violence-pain-death which constitutes the Hemingway World, owes its origin to his colourful life. Hemingway's life was extraordinarily eventful, more so when we consider the average lives of so many men of letters. The list of his major injuries was enough to form a legend; and, in fact, it did form one, as Hemingway the 'tough guy' with his code of courage, recklessness and stoicism. Time and again, he came in close contact with death. Not more than seven years before he died, i.e., in January 1, 1954, he and his wife were involved in two air crashes in East Africa and very narrowly escaped death; they crashed in bush country near Unchison Falls, escaped, boarded a search plane and crashed again. They had to lie wounded for three days in the jungle before they were finally rescued. Hemingway had to join company with the privileged few in reading his own obituary.

But the most harrowing experience of death Hemingway acquired some thirty-six years earlier, only two weeks before his nineteenth birthday. It was on the night of July 8th, 1918—that fatal night when he was terribly wounded from a shell-burst on the northern Italian Front. He was with three Italian soldiers at the time, all three of whom died. Hemingway was himself all but given up for dead—237 fragments of the 'Minnie' shell were extracted from one leg alone, "I died then", as he was reported to have said about his own injury, "I felt my soul or something coming right out of my body, like you'd pull a silk handkerchief out of a pocket by one corner. It flew around and then came back and went in again and I wasn't dead any more".<sup>5</sup>

This experience of facing death left such a profound impress on him that it was to appear as the central theme of his work. It was this death-consciousness that haunted him again and again all through his life and

5. One recalls the similar experience that Tenente Henry underwent when he was blown out by a shell-burst. "I tried to breathe but my breath would not come and I felt myself rush bodily out of myself and out and out and out and all the time bodily in the wind. I went out swiftly, all of myself and I knew that I was dead and that it had all been a mistake to think you just died. Then I floated, and instead of going on I felt myself slide back. I breathed and I was back."

(*A Farewell to Arms*, page 59).

played quite a considerable part in changing his outlook on life and literature. Philip Young has stressed the point as to how Hemingway's code of violence was a necessity with him, how it relieved him of the shock of the wound, how it was in the nature of things that he should come to recall the traumatic shock again and again.<sup>6</sup> An artist achieves his own catharsis in his creation. Goethe felt 'eased and clearer' in mind by writing *The Sorrows of Young Werther*.<sup>7</sup> The book, providing an outlet for his emotion, relieved him of the burden of his frustrated love. Similarly in the works of Hemingway, we have the feeling of purgation for his experience of violence and 'death'.

There is nothing surprising if such a writer turns to an unwarped primal world. His thorough-going experiences of the savagery of war made him reject idealism altogether, and symbolic death severed his connection with the conventional values of civilization. He is placed at once at the centre of the 'lost generation'—a generation spiritually bankrupt. The recipe that Hemingway seems to suggest for the Waste Landers is frank intensity of living. That is the only thing that we are entitled to have access to after the devastations of war. This mode of living is somewhat decadent. It is not a thing conducive to good health and good ethical norm. It is something morbid. "Our bodies all wear out in some way and we die", Hemingway wrote in *Death in the Afternoon*, "and I would rather have a palate that will give me the pleasure of enjoying completely a chateau Margaux or a Haut Brion, even though excess indulged in the acquiring of it have brought a liver that will not allow me to drink Richebourg, Corton.....".<sup>8</sup> Indeed, Hemingway's absorption in the enjoyment of this frank intensity of living was so deep that he would risk everything for it. Something of a desperate urge hangs around his vitality. As Ivan Kashkeen, one of the most perceptive critics of Hemingway, so admirably puts it: ".....it became all the more clear that his vigor is the aimless vigor of a man trying in vain not to think, that his virility is the aimless virility of a despair, that Hemingway all the more inexorably seizes upon the temptation of death, that again and again he writes only of the end—the end of relationship, the end of life, the end of hope and everything."<sup>9</sup>

From first to last, Hemingway's world is overshadowed by the omnipresence of death. Death hangs a final curtain over everything. And this awareness of a definite finiteness of all our energy and earnestness of all our efforts and endeavours, added a stringent pathos to Hemingway's own nature and to all his characters. His characters are a group of disillusioned people, who eagerly search for values of life, and, having nothing

6. *Ernest Hemingway* : Philip Young.

7. Goethe's *Autobiography*.

8. *Death in the Afternoon* : page 18.

9. *Ernest Hemingway : A Tragedy of Craftsmanship* : Ivan Kashkeen, *International Literature* (U.S.S.R.), No. 5, 1945, pages 76-108.

to stick to, turn only to a whole-hearted acceptance of primal emotions. Nick Adams, Jake Barnes, Frederick Henry, Harry Morgan, Colonel Cantwell and numerous others form a select coterie; they enjoy bull-fighting, love women, drink heavily, take delight in hunting and fishing, play cards and so on. They indulge in a rich sense-endowment and this endowment works upon them as a kind of opiate. "I don't want to think about the war. I'm through with it"—as Lieutenant Henry pathetically confessed to his beloved Catherine,<sup>10</sup> and in order to escape from his bitter experience of war, he led a rich sensuous life. But the final defeat was there. The very sense of frustration was inherent in this endowment and Henry was to confront again the sordid reality of the outside world. Catherine hated death; but alas; she was not given any choice; she had to accept it. And all that Henry had got to do was to walk 'back to the hotel in the rain'; death is an inevitable destiny and "all stories, continued far enough," said Hemingway to the Old Lady in *Death in the Afternoon*, "and in death, and he is no true story teller who will hide that from you."<sup>11</sup> And so Catherine died at childbirth, so bells tolled for Robert Jordan, so wounded Harry Morgan lay dying in the 'Queen Conch', so old Manuel, depleted of strength and vigour, met his doom from a bull which proved too powerful for him. In fact, all his stories end either in death or in failure. And the unsuccessful attempt of the old Cuban fisherman to capture a huge marlin really represents this tragic catastrophe of mankind. "Life is something", wrote Hemingway in *Death in the Afternoon*, "that comes before death."<sup>12</sup> And it is this view of life that gave a stoical flavour to his own pleasures and enjoyments and also to those of his characters.

The spiritual disquietude, the loss of old faiths and values, an unrest both physical and mental, and all those things which characterize the post-war generation find the most poignant expression in Hemingway's writings. "Hemingway's world", writes Philip Young, "is one in which things do not grow and bear fruit, but explode, break, decompose or are eaten away."<sup>13</sup> The persistent factors in it are violence, sex, sport, drink. If these are all "opiums",<sup>14</sup> they do not hide Hemingway protagonists from seeing the ultimate truth, 'the absolute reality', as Robert Jordan calls it. All that Harry felt in *The Snows of Kilimanjaro* was 'a great tiredness and anger that this was the end of it'—the end of his long vagabondage, the end of his voluptuousness, the end of everything. The cycle of violence-pain-death to which I have referred previously bears out the practical illustration in this story. At first violence came in the shape of a scratch on the leg. Then started the gangrene and, together with it, sharp pain. After a while the pain was gone, and death gradually overpowered the man.

10. *A Farewell to Arms*, page 327.

11. *Death in the Afternoon*, page 119.

12. *Ibid.*, page 251.

13. *Ernest Hemingway*: Philip Young, G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., London, 1952.

14. *The Gambler, the Nun and the Radio*.

If one reads the story closely, one cannot miss the operation of this cycle in the fate of Harry. He revolved in this eternal chain without any means of escape. Still he did not give way to resignation. He knew that death was coming; but he asked it to 'go away'. Lying in the cot, he visualized his whole past life, as if in a flash-back, and he felt a wistful longing to go back to bygone days. To the end he gave a fighting resistance to death. And it is this fighting side of man's nature that comes out most prominent in the Hemingway world. "I will show him what a man can do and what a man endures"—the Old Man says to the fish. This honest code of courage and endurance saves the Hemingway world from degenerating into a hollow den. Otherwise we would have the impression of being shut up in a narrow, half-dark room. It is this that adds to his dark vision an alleviating touch. The world offers frustration and disillusionment for everybody. Still man can stick to a level of Promethean valour, endurance, and dignity. And thereby he transcends its limitations. There is always a scope for reaching great tragic heights.

The first reactions of the reader to the Hemingway World are those of horror and repulsion. Bull-fighters gored to the point of death; soldiers and expatriates eaten up with boredom, disease and other maladies; men and women given up to the pleasure of the senses, without any definite purpose in their lives—and even when they have any, not leading up to anything substantial; gangsters and perverts; maniacs and bohemians; these are the recurrent figures in the Hemingway World. Alfred Kazin called it "a world so brilliant in its sickness".<sup>15</sup> It is a world where 'one doesn't mind the blood', where dying is pretty easy, where everything is merged into a frail, ethereal essence of nothingness. We are horrified by a vision which presents life in raw. Being nurtured by the sophisticated civilization, we cannot at first accustom ourselves to any code of primitivism. Even D. H. Lawrence, one of the greatest primitivists on earth, had to face the misfortune of a hostile reading public. Hemingway's code of personal conduct led him to create a world which could hardly be desired to live in. We are nauseated by it. Hence comes the feeling of revulsion. We do not like it. We would give everything not to have our place in it. Nonetheless, we live in it. The irony lies there. To quote Young again:

".....if we choose to look back over our time, what essential facts can we stack against the facts of violence, evil, and death? We remember countless 'minor' wars, and two tremendous ones, and prepare for the day when we may be engaged in a holocaust beyond which we cannot see anything. We may argue against Hemingway's world, but we should not find it easy to prove that it is not the world we have been living in." <sup>16</sup>

15. *On Native Grounds*: Alfred Kazin.

16. *Ernest Hemingway*: Philip Young.

As one enters deeper and deeper into Hemingway's world, one finds that within its rough periphery, there lies, at the core of it, a basic pre-occupation of mankind, namely how to learn and enjoy the art of living. "All I wanted to know", says the hero of *The Sun Also Rises*, "was how to live in (the world). May be if you found out how to live in it you learned from that what it was all about".<sup>17</sup> This problem—how to live in it—has been troubling mankind from time immemorial. Hemingway's own scale of values is offered in dealing with this problem. This scale is something unique by itself. If we consider Hemingway's stand on morality, we will find that it is his own measuring rod of perfection : "What is moral is what you feel good after and what is immoral is what you feel bad after." Judged from this standpoint, Hemingway gives us the most comprehensive world. For he always felt good after a bull-fight, after a boxing bout, after trout-fishing—in fact, after any indulgence of masculine voluptuousness. And he always felt bad after a highly stylized intellectual discussion. In *Death in the Afternoon*, in *Green Hills of Africa*, and in *A Moveable Feast*,<sup>18</sup> Hemingway expresses his aversion to intellectualism of any kind. He believed in the good things of life, and if they are to be enjoyed, they must be enjoyed intensely. The fabric of his universe excludes the possibility of a mediocre or an average level of existence. And this fabric is woven by the author's own personal experience. The close relation between Hemingway's life and art can hardly be over-emphasized. Both are marked by what Fitzgerald would call 'a heightened sensitivity to the promises of life.'<sup>19</sup>

On the 2nd July, 1961, Hemingway died of a bullet shot, while cleaning a gun—a violent death indeed ; and what more fitting end could one conceive of a man who himself preferred violent death all through his life ? ".....One of the simplest things of all and the most fundamental", wrote Hemingway in *Death in the Afternoon*, "is violent death". The way he died is a mystery. Did he kill himself or was it simply an accident ? Was he terribly in need of 'a clean, well-lighted place' ; and finding none committed suicide ; or was it simply an unexpected casualty ? These questions will never be answered and will ever remain a problem for the Hemingway reader. With him ended an epoch, of course not with 'a whimper', but 'with a bang'.

17. *The Sun Also Rises*, page 56.

18. There is an interesting passage in *A Moveable Feast* where Hemingway savagely turns off 'a tall fat young man with spectacles' who comes to talk 'about writing'.

19. *The Great Gatsby* : F. Scott Fitzgerald.

# THE NATURE AND PROBLEMS OF A MIXED ECONOMY,

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A mixed economy is one in which economic activities are performed by two sectors—private and public. In the private sector business is carried on and industrial activity undertaken by individuals or groups of individuals whose aim is to earn profits. In the public sector economic activity is the concern of the government of the country. The government carries on trade and industrial activity for the economic welfare of the people. In industrially advanced countries public investment or government expenditure assumes importance as it provides some services like medical aid, education, provision in old age, etc. In backward countries public investment is of very great importance for implementing schemes for economic development. In industrially advanced countries as well as in under-developed countries the government has, therefore, an important function to perform in the economic sphere. And except in communist countries where economic enterprise is the concern of the state only, the government in every country performs some very important economic functions side by side with a private sector. In the Scandinavian countries where living standards are very high, the government plays a very important role in the economic domain. Even in highly industrialized and capitalist countries like America and England the economic activity of the government is becoming more and more important day by day. And in the under-developed countries of the world investments on a large scale are being undertaken by the governments of these countries for developing their economies through economic planning.

In a mixed economy the merits of capitalism are sought to be combined with the advantages of socialism while the disadvantages of both capitalism and socialism are sought to be done away with. Capitalism is not without merits. It makes possible the full utilization of private initiative and enterprise for the development of productive resources and the production of goods and services. Under capitalism efficiency is promoted through competition among entrepreneurs. And capitalism has made for rapid advances in science and technology. The advantages of socialism are that it ensures an equitable distribution of income and wealth, guarantees employment and fair wages for every worker and promotes the welfare of the common people. In a mixed economy efforts are made to retain all these advantages of capitalism and socialism while the evils of capitalism



like the exploitation of the consumer and the worker and concentrations of economic power in a few hands and the disadvantages of socialism like too much regimentation and the loss of liberty are eliminated as far as possible. In the under-developed countries of the world both private enterprise and public investment have important roles in the economic progress of these countries. There is need for an expanding public sector and increased investment activity in the private sector.

#### *Need for Public Investment*

For the economic development of a backward country the need for a public sector is imperative. The reasons are not far to seek.

First of all, if the economy is left to private enterprise, the development of the economy will be lop-sided. The private sector is interested in those investments which yield profits quickly. It cannot be expected to plan a balanced and all-round development of the economy.

Secondly, the private sector is guided by the profit motive and hence it will undertake investments with a view to maximizing profits. The interests of the common man can never be the concern of the private sector. But the public sector which is guided by considerations of social gain will always make endeavours to promote the economic well-being of the people.

Thirdly, the private sector may be unwilling or unable to spend funds in large amounts for undertaking certain investments which are vital to economic development. For the industrialization of a backward country an industrial base consisting of heavy and basic industries has to be set up. Overhead capital—social and economic—consisting of railroads, bridges, ports, power stations, engineering colleges, hospitals, etc., has to be built. These tasks will have to be accomplished by the public sector as the private sector is not likely to be in a position to undertake investments for the purpose.

And lastly, an important objective of economic planning in under-developed countries is to reduce inequalities of income and wealth and through public investment on a large scale this objective can be achieved to a considerable extent. Through development planning efforts have to be made to promote the economic welfare of the people not only by increasing the national income but also by ensuring an equitable distribution of income and wealth.

#### *Private Enterprise—its importance*

The importance of the private sector lies in the fact that its entrepreneurial activity over long periods gives it valuable experience which it can utilize for the efficient management of industry. It cannot be denied that in most under-developed countries the private sector is much more

efficient than the public sector. This is not to say that public undertakings are always inefficient. Such undertakings have had a late start and are faced with initial difficulties and setbacks. It will take quite some time for these undertakings to reach a high level of efficiency. And private enterprise which has a fairly high standard of efficiency will have to play an important role in the task of economic development.

Moreover, private initiative and enterprise must be given full scope for making contributions to development activity. In the industrially advanced capitalist countries of the West it is through individual initiative that economic progress has been possible. In backward countries too individual initiative and enterprise can be an important factor in economic development.

Furthermore, private enterprise assumes importance because of the fact that the public sector is not in a position to undertake economic activities on an enormous scale so that private enterprise becomes insignificant. The public sector has neither the experience nor the personnel required for taking upon itself the task of management of all the important trading concerns and industrial units in the country. The public sector has to proceed gradually and on the basis of experience gathered. And it may not be necessary for the public sector to proceed beyond a certain limit. Private enterprise will, therefore, not become altogether unimportant in developing countries. On the contrary, by increasing investments the private sector can make important contributions to economic progress.

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In a mixed economy some problems are, however, bound to arise. In under-developed countries where economic development is attempted through centralized planning such problems have to be encountered and solved as far as practicable.

The first problem has to do with objectives. As has already been pointed out, the private sector aims at maximizing profits while social gain is the objective of the public sector. The two sectors in a mixed economy are thus guided by two different objectives which conflict with each other. In one case the objective is to earn huge profits as quickly as possible and in the other it is to improve substantially the living standards of the masses. The private and the public sectors are, therefore, at cross purposes.

A second problem may arise if as a result of public investment private investment declines. Private investment may not actually decline. It may increase, but the increase may be small compared to the needs of the economy. Private investment will be adversely affected if businessmen and industrialists have a fear that the public sector is competing with the private sector. And increasing economic activities by the government may also discourage private foreign investment which is of vital importance in the early stages of economic development. There is, however, no reason why there should be meaningless competition between

the government sector and the private sector. The aim of economic policy is to increase the national income through increased investments on a big scale and both sectors of the economy have to expand. Moreover, public investment is likely to increase private investment by creating a demand for various raw materials and services required in public investment projects and also by making the business outlook cheerful. The private and the public sectors can, therefore, work in co-operation with each other.

The third problem of a mixed economy is that the public sector may find that it cannot function smoothly because of difficulties created by the private sector. When the private sector finds that its profits fall and its opportunities are reduced as a result of public investment on a big scale and regulation of private enterprise by the government, it may try to render ineffective the economic measures of the government. In a developing country the need for price control may arise. But when the prices of some commodities are fixed by the government, the stocks of the commodities may disappear from the market. When the government takes a decision to ensure the payment of minimum wages, industrialists may react by retrenching workers and restricting output. And the private sector may not extend co-operation to the government in executing development schemes. In an under-developed country where the private sector is very large and strong the government will find it very difficult to enforce its economic measures.

In an under-developed country with a mixed economy the need for co-operation between the government and private enterprise has to be underlined. If the necessary co-operation is lacking, the economy will be faced with frictions and difficulties which will prove to be obstacles to planned economic development. It is, however, difficult to ensure co-operation between the public sector and private enterprise. Attempts at co-operation may be made by making joint ventures. The government may utilize the services of experienced personnel of the private sector for the management of public undertakings. Consultations between the government and businessmen and industrialists may also be held from time to time for coming to important policy decisions. But how far co-operation from the private sector will be forthcoming will depend on its willingness to work under the general guidance of the state.

What is, however, of overriding importance is the effective control of private enterprise by the government. It is difficult to regulate and control a strong and large private sector. But the success of centralized planning depends very much on how far the economy can be controlled and regulated by the state. For effective control of private enterprise the government can nationalize some key industries or exercise absolute control over them. And for executing economic policy effectively the administration has to be made strong and incorruptible.

# THE SUPREME COURT—BRITISH INDIAN JUDICIARY

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The charter granted by William III in 1698 became the foundation of the United Company, which was subsequently called the East India Company. By it, the company were vested with the government of all their forts, factories, and plantations, the sovereign power being reserved for the crown. Courts of judicature were also established as before, but nothing was then said about a power of legislation. In George I's Charter of 1726, which also established the Mayor's Courts, the Governors and Councils of the three presidencies were vested with the power 'to make, constitute, and ordain bye-laws, rules, and ordinances for the good government and regulation of the several corporations hereby created, and of the inhabitants of the several towns, places, and factories aforesaid respectively, and to impose reasonable pains and penalties upon all persons offending against the same or any of the,' Such laws and penalties were to be agreeable to reasons, and not contrary to the laws and statutes of England. They were not to have any force or effect until the same had been approved and confirmed by order in Writing of the Court of Directors. And then the charter proceeded : "We do hereby ordain and declare that none of the Corporations hereby created shall have a power or authority to make any bye-laws, rules and ordinances whatsoever other than such rules as they are respectively by these presents empowered to make." The Charter of 1753 gave a similar power omitting the passage quoted.

The grant of Dewanny was accompanied by an imperial confirmation of all the territories previously held by the East India Company under grants from the Emperor. The Nizamat or administration of criminal justice was left in the hands of the Nawab, who received for its support and his own maintenance an annual grant of 53 lakhs of rupees. He thus recognised his dependence, and although the Nizamat remained in his hands, it was, or at anytime might be exercised under the control of the Company. The Company thus became responsible for the collection of the revenue and directly or indirectly for the due administration of civil and criminal justice. "Nevertheless for a period of six years the latter duty was as a heavy and unproductive burden left in the hands of the Nawab ; the criminal part belonging to the Nazim or military governor ; the Civil to the Dewan or fiscal governor" (Mill's History of India, Vol. III, p. 363). The result was that for a time the course of justice was suspended. And 'under the ancient government' says Mr. Mill, "the English as well as other European

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Settlers, instead of demanding payment from a reluctant debtor through the courts of law, seized his person and confined it till satisfaction was obtained." But the administration for the most part of the revenues, and still more of civil justice, was conducted through native agency till the year 1772. The country in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, of Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong was under the superintendence of the Company's European servants. It is doubtful whether the Europeans at that time possessed sufficient knowledge of the civil institutions and the interior state of the country to qualify them for the trust. Mohamed Reza Khan was the Dewan at Murshidabad, and Shital Ray at Patna; and they had till 1769 almost exclusive direction of all details relative to the settlement and collections of the districts in Bengal and Bihar, and therefore of the administration of civil justice, under the Superintendence at their respective headquarters of a European Resident.

With regard to criminal justice, that also was left in the hands of native authorities, subject to the occasional control of the supervisor and councils. Mahomedan Criminal Law was in force throughout the country. administered by Mahomedan Courts. At first but little alteration was made in the existing system. The same law was continued in force, and the same tribunals were charged with its administration. The utter inefficiency of this system to ensure protection to life and property soon became manifest. It was possible for the English at once to assume the duty of administering criminal justice themselves, and the native courts were without any authority. A severe famine which raged in Bengal in 1770 led indirectly to a change of policy. In 1771 the Directors declared their resolution "to stand forth as Dewan and by the agency of the Company's servants to take upon themselves the entire care and management of the revenues" (communicated in their letter to the President and Council at Fort William, dated the 28th August, 1771, Sec. Harington's Analysis, p. 8). This involved the entire remodelling of rights of property in the soil and the assumption of the administration of justice. It expressed the policy which had already been determined upon, *viz.*, to abandon the government through the Nawab's hierarchy of officials subject to English supervision, and to transfer to the Company's servants the direct discharge of the duties of administration.

The next event was that Warren Hastings was transferred from Madras to the Governorship of Bengal, where he landed early in 1772. The office of Naib Dewan was abolished, and the efficient administration of the internal government was at last undertaken by British agency. Immediate measures were taken for the regular distribution of justice. A Committee of circuit was appointed, the report of which was drawn up by Warren Hastings. It drew attention to the inefficiency of the Mohammedan Law Courts then existing, and proposed a plan which was immediately adopted by the government, under which Mofussil Dewani Adawlat, or Provincial Courts of Civil

justice were established in each district. And with reference to criminal jurisdiction, the Mohammedan Law and Mohammedan Officers of justice were continued, but the whole plan was changed. A Court of Criminal judicature was established in each district, called a Faujdaree Adawlat. In it a Kazee and Mooftee sat to hold trials for all criminal offences (see Preamble to Regulation IX of 1793). The English Collectors of revenue were directed to superintend the proceedings of those Courts, to see that the necessary witnesses were summoned and examined; and that the decisions passed were fair and impartial. The Faujdaree Adawlat were placed under the Control of a Sudder Nizamat Adawlat established at Moorshedabad. It was presided over by a Darogah appointed by the Nazim. A Chief Kazee, a Chief Mooftee and three Maulavies sat to assist him. An English Committee of Revenue was at first placed at Moorshedabad to control the proceedings of the Court, in order to prevent the perversion of the Courts of justice. The Court, however, was shortly after its establishment on its new basis removed to Calcutta. In 1775 the Court was removed back again to Moorshedabad, where it remained for fifteen years, the Nazim having the entire control over the department of criminal justice. Besides the Criminal Court of Appeal, a Sudder Dewani Adawlat was also established, and like the Criminal Court, presided over by the President and Members of Council, assisted by Native Officers.

This was the general character of the scheme devised by the Government of Warren Hastings. The adoption of the policy indicated by that scheme, and the assumption of the direct responsibility of government in like of a mere plan of partial supervision of the Nawab's officers, has sometimes been called a dissolution of the double government instituted by Lord Clive. That is one way of regarding it, but on the other hand, the administration of justice was carried on in the name of the Nawab and by his officers or the next eighteen years, during fifteen of which the Chief Court or Criminal Appeal was stationed at Moorshedabad under his immediate control. Warren Hastings had as little intention as to dissolve, as Lord Clive to found, a double government. Both of these statesmen recognised that all real authority was vested in the Company. Muhammedan Law, Law Officers and Revenue Officials were retained, but were gradually replaced by the Company Regulations and servants. The decisive step of bringing Hastings to Calcutta, and of standing for as Dewan both of which measures proceeded from the Directors, may have been stimulated by a knowledge of what was passing in the public mind at Home. A variety of circumstances had tended to draw the attention of the English public to the state of Indian affairs. The general unpopularity of the returned servants of the Company, their wealth, and ostentation, attracted attention, and induced the public mind to believe that the sudden creation of this wealthy class was due to great crimes and great oppression. The strong prejudices thus excited served to strengthen the hands of a few English statesmen, amongst them conspicuously Edmund

Burke who had been roused by the tales of cruelty and oppression which had reached the public ear and who determined to bring the authority of Parliament into action to restrain the excesses of their countrymen abroad. In 1769 the East India Company, disappointed with their expectations of profit, had resolved to send three supervisors to India to control and if necessary to supersede the authority of the President in Council. But every attempt to evade the rights of the Crown, public opinion was gradually requiring strength, and a Committee of Secrecy of the House of Commons was appointed in 1772 to carry out the general demand for investigation. As the result thereof, the Company was prevented from sending out the supervisors. Another apparent result was the rejection of a Bill brought into the House of Commons by Mr. Sullivan for the due administration of justice in Bengal. Sullivan was the Deputy Chairman of the Company, and the celebrated rival and antagonist of Lord Clive on the Board of Directors. According to its provisions a new Court was to have been established in Bengal, the judges to be appointed by the Company, and all christian persons were to have been subject to its jurisdiction, and to have been exempted from the Courts of the Nawab. This project, which would have concentrated all judicial power in the hands of the Company, failed.

The English Government appeared by this time to have determined to interfere directly with the authority of the Company, and to assume the exercise of the sovereign power which had been conceded by the Moghul. With reference to the administration of justice, they were strengthened in their determination by the result of their enquiries. For the Committee of Secrecy (Harington's Analysis, Vol. I, p. 27) previously alluded to reported in 1773, with reference to Courts of Justice which had been established by the Muhammedan Government in Bengal, that 'so far as they were able to judge from all the information laid before them, the subjects of the Mughal Empire in that province derived little protection or security from any of these courts, and then in general, though forms of judicature were established and preserved, the despotic principles of the government rendered them the instruments of power rather than of justice; not only unavailing to protect the people, but often the means of the most grievous oppressions under the cloak of the judicial character.'

Thus accordingly in the same year, an important Act of Parliament was passed "for establishing certain regulations for the better management of the affairs of the East India Company, as well in India as in Europe", which has been commonly called the Regulating Act (13 Geo. III, c. 63). It recited the Charter which established the Mayor's Courts, 'which said Charter does not sufficiently provide for the administration of justice in such manner as the state and condition of the Company's Presidency of Fort William in Bengal do and must require'. One subject with which the Statute dealt was the constitution of the Governor General's Council. It provided that the Government of Bengal should consist of a Governor General and four Coun-



allow a majority to decide and that the Presidents and Councils of Madras and Bombay should be subordinate to the Governor General and Council of Bengal who were thereby constituted the Supreme Government of India, subject to the Court of Directors in England.

The author of the Regulating Act had been called upon to meet, and to provide remedial measures for a very complex and difficult situation. The acquisition of territorial revenues had completely changed the character of the Company and brought the question of sovereignty; on the other hand, it had opened to the company's servants in India wide opportunities of personal profit and aggrandisement, which were being utilised in the most unscrupulous and nefarious ways. Therefore there is no doubt that the situation demanded drastic changes. The Regulating Act sought to settle, among other points, three important questions: firstly, the right of the Company to the territorial revenues, or in other words, the fundamental question of sovereignty; secondly, the provision for the Company of a constitution both in England and India more in consonance with its changed character and wider responsibilities; and thirdly, the creation of some effective checks which would put an end, once for all, to the malpractices of the Company's servants. James Stephen says, "the policy of Parliament was to assert the right of the King of England and to establish in India institution by which those rights might be maintained." In James Stephen's view (Stephen—The story of Nundcomer and the Impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey, Vols. I and II) this displayed itself in the obscurity of the language of the Act about British subjects and also with regard to the relation between the Council and the Court. But the right of the Government had already been asserted and the object of the Regulating Act might not at all have been what James Stephen thinks it to be. Firminger points out: "the policy of the Regulating Act was to improve the existing administration carried on by the Company in Bengal, and not to provide a new Bengal Government" (Firminger—Introduction to the Fifth Report, P. cc. viii). We should come to the question of malpractices of the Company's servants. The acceptance of presents pecuniary or otherwise, as also private trades, is prohibited by sections 23 and 24. Section 26 lays down: "That every such present or reward, and all such dealing by way of commerce shall be deemed and construed to have been received, and done, for the recovery of the full value of such present or gift, or profits of such trade, together with interest at the rate of £ 5 per centum per annum". Section 27 more specifically deals with the question of inland private trade which is entirely forbidden, so far as the collectors, supervisors, or any other of His Majesty's subjects, employed in the administration of justice, or their agents or servants are concerned. But the most important of all was the institution of the Supreme Court which was to have jurisdiction over all British subjects resident in the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and all persons directly or indirectly in the service of the Company, and which was not to be



"a staff composed of Company's servants, removable by Company's servants", but "a court of King's judges and professional men of the law."

It cannot be said that the measures discussed above were inadequate to meet the situation for which they were devised, but their effects were marred by the defects of drafting both of the Act and the Charter. These difficulties might have been minimised by a spirit of reasonable restraint and honourable compromise, but the personnel chosen to represent the Council, as well as the Court, made that, more or less, impossible, and a scene of tension and bitterness ensued, which has hardly any parallel in the whole history of the British in India. The aftermath of the Regulating Act manifested itself in three distinct conflicts: the conflict within the Council; the conflict between the Governor-General and Council; and the conflict between the Court and the Council. But here we are only concerned with the last quarrel which primarily arose on the question of jurisdiction.

The Supreme Court of Judicature was established ostensibly because the Charter of George II "does not sufficiently provide for the due administration of justice, in such manner as the state and condition of the Company's Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, so long as the said Company shall remain in the possession of the territorial acquisitions, . . . .do and must require". The main reason for the establishment of the Supreme Court was, therefore, the change effected in its character by the acquisition of territorial revenues on the part of the Company. This is important to remember, because the extent of the Court's right of interference with regard to the revenue administration of the Company became the principal bon of contention between the Court and Council. We are here concerned with the quarrel as it actually happened and in that connection several points demand special attention. It has been said that the Court was empowered to exercise jurisdiction over all persons directly or indirectly in the service of the Company or any of His Majesty's subjects. The intention is obvious. The servants of the Company were to be checked in their career of rapine and plunder and as in the past the banyans and gomasthas of the European servants of the Company had almost always played a very important part in the nefarious activities of their masters, they too were made subject to the jurisdiction of the Court. But the expression "directly or indirectly in the service of the Company" was vague in the extreme and was bound to lead to different interpretations. In the Patna case the Court decided that "a farmer who rents the revenues for a stipulated price which he is to pay to Government . . . .is, within the Act of Parliament and the Charter, subject to the jurisdiction of the Court, as being a person employed by, or directly or indirectly in the service of the Company could it have been intended to bring under the provisions of the Regulating Act as to the Supreme Court if those who were employed in the collection of the revenue were not to be so included? In like manner, a salt farmer or even contractors of

various sorts who did some kind of work for the government might be regarded as persons "directly or indirectly in the service of the Company" and thus subject to the jurisdiction of the Court. The expression "directly or indirectly in the service of the Company" thus became a source of endless troubles.

As regards the Charter establishing the Supreme Courts of Judicature in India, they are only casually averted to, although the several Charters of Justice form the basis of the entire present law of those Courts, the Charter of 1726 having always been considered to have introduced into India the common and statute law then extant in England. No reference is made to the Courts of Justice established at Prince of Wales' Island, Singapore, and Malacca, an Admiralty Charter for which was granted so late as 1837. We can only account for these omissions by presuming that the collection was compiled for the use of the East India Company above; and that the Editor was not aware of the necessity of introducing the Charters of Justice to render his work valuable to all Judges and Barristers coming to India, to whom such documents are usually furnished by the Company.

We may notice that the last collection contains, for the next part, certain sections only of the statute relating to India and the East India Company, omitting repealed or altered sections, it omits some of the statutes given in the former collections and forming part of the law (introduced by the Charter of 1726) still in force, and it embodies statutes having, as they appear to us, no relation to India, nor to the East India Company, otherwise than so far as the alterations in the law generally affect it equally with other bodies corporate, nor forming part of the law applicable to India, having been passed subsequent to that Charter, and no mention of India being made in them. At the same time it is a compilation which will be valuable to the East India Company, as a useful compendium of reference at the India House.

In addition to the Charters and publications already noticed, it has occurred to us that it might also be of use to give a list of the principal works relating to the administration of Justice in India, including the Parliamentary reports and papers on the affairs of India, and the books usually referred to the authorities on Hindoo and Mohamedan Law. It will be found subjoined to the list of Charters. But we can not conclude our observations without adverting to the valuable Manuscripts notes of decisions of the Court from the year 1774 to 1798, comprised in the note books of Mr. Justice Hyde and Sri Robert Chambers. Mr. Smoult in preparing his collection of orders passed on the plea side of the court from its establishment in 1774 to the year 1813, was permitted to use these Manuscripts.

A list of a few important Charters or Letters Patent etc., granted to the several East India Companies, from the first establishment thereof, in 1601, printed in the collection of 1777.

A.D.    A. Regni    Die & Men

1601    43 Elizabeth    31st December—A Charter of Letters Patent of a special in-corporation of merchants, by the surname of "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East Indies", with diverse privileges, to them and their successors for 15 years from Christmas.

1609. 7 James I. 31st May—A Charter of incorporation, to the said Governor and Company, with divers privileges, to them and their successors for ever.

1661. 13 Charters II. 3rd April—A Charter to the said Company of diverse privileges, to them and their successors.

1698. 10 William III. 13th April—A Charter declaring what number of votes each member of the said Company shall have, which is according to his or her proportion of stock.

1698. 10 William III. 5th September—A charter of incorporation of merchants, by the name of "The English Company trading to the East Indies."

1702. I Anne. 22nd July—A charter of an Indenture quin-quepartite of conveyance of the Possessions and dead stock of the Two Companies.

1726. 13 George I. 24th September—A charter to "The United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East Indies" of incorporation of Mayor and Aldermen, at Madraspatnam, Bombay and Calcutta, and establishing courts of Justice, with diverse privileges to the company.

1753. 26 George II. 8th January—A charter to the said United Company, of incorporation of Mayor and Aldermen, at Madraspatnam, Bombay, and Calcutta, and establishing Courts of Justice, with diverse privileges to the Company.

1728. 2 George II. 4th November—A charter empowering the commissioners of the Admiralty, at the request of the United Company, to give ample power to the commanders of ships belonging to the company, to take foreign ships, trading from the Austrian Netherlands to the East Indies, for six years, from the 20th of May, last.

*Charters or Letters Patent establishing Courts of Justice &c. in India*

A.D.            A. Regni                            Die & Men

1726    13 George I            24th September—already stated in the previous list.

1753    26 George II            8th January—already stated in the previous list.

1760    1 George III            20th December—A charter for establishing Courts of Judicature, etc., at Fort Marlborough.

1761	1 George III	27th January—A charter of commission to the United Company, for the trying of pirates, at Fort St. George.
1761	1 George III	13th March—A charter of Commission to the Limited Company, for the trying of pirates, at Fort Marlborough.
1774	14 George III	26th March—The charter or Letters Patent establishing the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William.
1798	38 George III	20th February—Letters Patent establishing the Recorder's Court, at Fort St. George and Bombay.
1800	41 George III	26th December—Letters Patent establishing the Supreme Court at Fort St. George.
1807	47 George III	25th March—Letters Patent establishing the Court of Judicature of Prince of Wale's Island.
1823	4 George IV	8th December—Letters Patent establishing the Supreme Court at Bombay.
1826	7 George IV	27th November—Letters Patent establishing the Court of Judicature of Prince of Wale's Island, Singapore and Malacca.
1837	7 William IV	25th February—Letters Patent granting Admiralty Jurisdiction to the last mentioned Court.

*The Opening of the Supreme Court*

Supreme Court of Judicature, held at the Town Hall of Calcutta,  
At Fort William in Bengal, on Saturday, the 22nd day of October,  
in the year of our Lord, 1774.

*Present*

The Hon. Sir Elijah Impey, Knight                      Chief Justice.

The Hon. Robert Chambers, Esq.  
The Hon. Stephen Caesar Lemaistree, Esq. } —Puisne Justices  
The Hon. John Hyde, Esq.

The Hon. Sir Elijah Impey and the other Judges take and subscribe the oaths of office and allegiance. The following entry appears in the rolls, signed by the three Puisne Justices.

"The said Sir Elijah Impey, Knight, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal, appointed by Letters Patent of our Sovereign Lord the King, under his great seal of Great Britain, dated 7—2180P—VIII

at Westminster, the twenty-sixth day of March, in the fourteenth year of his Reign, and Robert Chambers, Stephen Caesar Lemaistree, and John Hyde, Esquires, Justices of the same Court, appointed by the said Letters Patent, being here assembled, according to the direction of the said Letters Patent. We the said Robert Chambers, Stephen Caesar Lemaistree and John Hyde, have now administered to the said Sir Elijah Impey the several oaths and the declaration about written, and the said Sir Elijah Impey in the presence of us, so assembled, oath here taken, made and subscribed the said oaths and declaration respectively. In witness whereof we hereunto put our hands and do hereby record the same."

The Court appointed William Magee and Richardson McVeah, Esqrs. Master of the Court of Equity, who thereupon severally took the oaths of office and allegiance. The Court appointed the said William Magee, Keeper of the Records and Muniments, and he thereupon took the oath of office. The Court appointed the said Richardson McVeah, Accountant General, and he thereupon took the oath of office. The Court admitted Thomas Farrer, Esq. an Advocate of this Court, who thereupon took the oath of allegiance. The Court appointed Charles Sealy, Registrar of the Court of Equity, who thereupon took the oaths of office and Allegiance. The Court appointed the said Charles Sealy, Registrar of the Court of Admiralty, who thereupon took the oath of office. The Court appointed the said Charles Sealy, Registrar of the Ecclesiastical Court, and he thereupon took the oath of office. The Court appointed Thomas Bowker, clerk of the Crown, who thereupon took the oaths of office and Allegiance. The Court appointed Edmund Shrimpton, Prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas, who thereupon took the oaths of office and Allegiance. The Court appointed John Mills, Examiner of the Court of Equity, who thereupon took the oaths of office and Allegiance. The Court appointed Richard Litchfield and North Naylor, clerk of the papers, and clerk of the depositions, and they severally thereupon took the oaths of office and Allegiance. The Court appointed William Inge and Charles Newman, sworn clerks of the Court of Equity, and they severally thereupon took the oaths of office and Allegiance. The Court appointed James Pritchard, Sealer, who thereupon took the oaths of office and Allegiance. The Court appointed the said Thomas Bowker, William Inge, Charles Newman, and James Pritchard, Attornies, and Proctors, and they were severally sworn in accordingly. The Court also appointed Ralph Uvedale, Thomas Morris, James Drivers Christian, Frederick Brix, Stephen Bagshaw, and Robert Jarrott, Attornies and Proctors and they accordingly severally took the oath of Allegiance, and were sworn in. The Court ordered that a Mandamus should issue to Charles Sealy, late Registrar of the Mayor's Court, to deliver all the Records and Muniments of that Court into this Court. The Court ordered that a Mandamus should issue to Stephen Bagshaw, late clerk of the Courts of tyer and Terminer and Goal Delivery, to deliver all the Records and Muniments of the said Courts into this Court.

The Court adjourned to Monday, the 7th day of November next, at eight of the clock in the forenoon.

The local jurisdiction of the Supreme Court at Fort William was limited to the town of Calcutta, which for this purpose was bounded on the west side by the river Hoogly, and on the other sides by what is called ditch. Within these limits the Court exercised all its jurisdictions, civil and criminal, over all persons residing within them, with the exception of its ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which had not been applied to Hindus and and Muhammedans beyond the granting of probates of wills. The persons residing within these limits, and therefore subject to the local jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, were computed at about 413,182. The number of British-born subjects subject to the jurisdiction of the Court, including the members of the Covenanted services, civil and military, but exclusive of the Queen's troops and their families was, on the 30th March, 1851 (according to the Parliamentary Census Returns), a little over 22,387. Therefore the Court exercised all its jurisdictions over all these British-born subjects—persons who had been born within the British islands, and their descendants, who were residents in any of the provinces which were comprehended within the Presidency of Bengal, or the Subordinate government of Agra.

All persons resident at any places within the said provinces, who had a dwelling house and servants in Calcutta, or a place of business there where they carried on any trade, through their agents or servants, were held to be constructively inhabitants of Calcutta for the purpose of liability to the Common law and equity jurisdictions of the Court. Moreover natives of India, within the said provinces, who had bound themselves upon any contract or agreement in writing with any British subjects, where the cause of action exceeded the sum of 500 rupees, to submit to the jurisdiction of the said Court, were subject to its jurisdiction in disputes relating to the said contract. In like manner, persons who availed themselves of the Court's jurisdiction for any purpose, were held liable to its jurisdiction in the same matter, even on other sides of the Court than that of which they had availed themselves.

All persons who, at the time of action brought or cause of action accrued, were or had been employed by, or directly or indirectly in the service of the East India Company, or any British subject, were liable to the Civil jurisdiction of the Court in actions for wrongs or trespasses. Again, all persons who, at the time of committing any crime or oppression, were or had been employed, or directly or indirectly in service as aforesaid, were liable to the criminal jurisdiction of the Court.

The Ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Court extended over Bengal, Behar and Orissa towards and upon British subjects then residing in the same manner as it was exercised in the diocese of London, "so far as the circumstances and occasions of the said provinces or people shall admit or

require." The Court also was empowered to appoint guardians of infants and of insane persons and of their estates. The Admiralty jurisdiction of the Court extended over the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, "and all other territories and islands adjacent thereunto, and which are and ought to be dependent thereupon," with power to hear and determine all causes and matters, civil and maritime, and to have jurisdiction in crimes, maritime, according to the Course of the Admiralty in England.

In Civil Cases an appeal lay to the Privy Council in such manner and form and under such rules as were observed in appeals from plantations or Colonies or from the islands of Jersey, Sark and Alderney. In Criminal Cases power of appeal was also given, but subject to considerable restrictions.

It will be useful here to state shortly some of the provisions of the Charter which gave birth to the Supreme Court by superseding the Mayor's Court. By the 13th Section, the Supreme Court at Calcutta was empowered to try and determine all actions and suits arising in Bengal, Behar and Orissa, and all pleas, real, personal or mixed, arising against the United Company and the Mayor and Aldermen of Calcutta, and against any of the King's subjects resident in Bengal, Behar and Orissa, or who should have resided there, or should have debts, effects, or estates, real or personal, within the same, and against the execution and administrators of such subjects, and against any other persons who should at the time of such action being brought or when any action should have accrued, be or have been employed in the service of the said Company, or the said Mayor and Aldermen, or of any other of the King's subjects, and against all other persons, inhabitants of India, residing in Bengal, Behar or Orissa upon by contract or agreement in writing with any of the King's subjects, where the cause of action should exceed the sum of 500 current rupees, and when such inhabitants should have agreed in the said contract, that in case of dispute, the matter should be determined in the said Supreme Court. The same section limited the jurisdiction thus given as follows: that the said Court should not try any suit against any person who should, at the time of action brought, be resident in Great Britain or Ireland, unless such suit or action against such person who then resident in Great Britain or Ireland should be commenced within two years after the cause of action arose, and the sum to be recovered should not be of greater value than 30,000 rupees.

By the 18th Section of the Charter the Supreme Court was constituted a Court of Equity, as the Court of Chancery in England. The 19th Section constituted it a Court of Oyer and Terminer, and Goal Delivery, for Calcutta and Fort William, and Factories subordinate thereto, with power to summon grant and petit juries, and to administer criminal justice as in the Courts of Oyer and Terminer in England, giving it jurisdiction over all offences committed in Bengal, Behar and Orissa, by any subject of his Majesty or any person in the service of the United Company, or of any of



the King's subjects. The 22nd Section empowered the Supreme Court to exercise Ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Bengal, Behar and Orissa. The 25th Section empowered the Court to appoint guardians of infants and of insane persons, and of their estates; and by the 26th Section the said Court was appointed to be a Court of Admiralty in and for the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. And under Sections 30-33, an appeal lay, from the decisions of the Supreme Court at Fort William to the King in Council. No appeal was to be allowed except the petition was preferred within six months, and the amount in dispute exceeded 1,000 pagodas.

So far as the jurisdictions of the Supreme Courts at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay were concerned, they had criminal jurisdiction over all British subjects for crimes committed at any place within the limits of the Company's Charter, that is, any part of Asia, Africa, or America, beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan, or for crimes committed in any of the lands or territories of any Native Prince or State, in the same way as if the same had been committed within the territories subject to the British Government in India.

It is essential here to refer to the laws which obtained in the Supreme Courts in the three presidencies :—(i) The Common law, as it prevailed in England in the year 1726, and which was not subsequently altered by Statutes especially extending to India, or by the Acts of the Governor-General in Council. (ii) The Statute law that prevailed in England in 1726, and which was not altered by Statutes especially extending to India, or by the Acts of the Legislative Council of India. (iii) The Statute law extending to India, which was enacted from 1726, and was not from that time repealed, and the Statutes which were extended to India by the Acts of the Governor-General in Council. (iv) The Civil law as it obtained in the Ecclesiastical and Admiralty Courts in England. (v) Regulations made by the Governor-General in Council and the Governors in Council previously to the 3rd and 4th Will. IV. C. 85, and registered in the Supreme Courts, and the Acts of the Governor-General in Council made under the 3rd and 4th Will. IV. C. 85. (vi) The Hindu law and usages in actions regarding inheritance and succession to lands, rents and goods, and all matters of contract and dealing between party and party in which a Hindu is a defendant. (vii) The Muhammadan law and usages. It is to be mentioned that the abovementioned last three classes of law administered by the Supreme Courts, were peculiar to the Courts in India.

Thus the Supreme Court was the only tribunal in the Country, with the exception of the Court of Requests and a few inferior authorities, which owed its existence to the English Crown. The Adawlat established under the plan of Warren Hastings derived their authority from the Company, whether acting under the powers derived from the Moghul, or as the *de facto* masters of the country. Besides the inconveniences arising from political power being vested in a majority of Councils instead of a responsible Governor,



there were serious omissions, whether intentional or otherwise, in the provisions regarding the Supreme Court. Although the Act was intended to be the basis of a general settlement of Indian affairs, in a very few years its policy was entirely reversed, and its leading features swept away. The criticism of some later judges of the Supreme Court upon it was "that the Legislature had passed it without fully investigating what it was that they were legislating about; and that if the Act did not say more than was meant, it at least said more than was well understood" (See—5th Appendix to 3rd Report of Select Committee of H/C, 1831).

Thus there were established in India two independent and rival powers, viz., of the Supreme Council and of the Supreme Court, the boundaries between them being utterly undefined, one deriving its authority from the Crown, and the other from the Company. For seven years the conflict between them raged. The Court issued its writs extensively throughout the country, arrested and brought to Calcutta all persons against whom complaints were lodged, Zemindars, farmers, and occupiers of land, whatever their rank or consequence in the country. Defaulters to the revenue were set at liberty on Habeas Corpus; the Government of the Nabab, which still remained in the hands of the Company, the effectual instrument for the administration of criminal justice, was declared by the Government to be "an empty name, without any legal right, or the exercise of any power whatsoever," (Mill's History of India, Vol. IV, p. 223) and the production in Court of papers containing the most secret transactions of Government was insisted upon. The Court was charged with stopping the wheels of Government by the technicalities of English law, and of effecting a total dissolution of social order.

It is impossible to defend the acts of the judges, but it must be remembered that their position was from the first antagonistic to the Council; and that they carried out in India a scheme which had been prepared in England without adequate information or competent skill for the purpose of checking the excesses of administration and of re-establishing order on principles totally strange to the inhabitants. The essential character and object of the scheme were to weaken the power of the Government by vesting it in the hands of a majority, and to plant in its neighbourhood a Court, framed after the fashion of the existing Courts in England, with jurisdiction over all its executive acts and a veto on all its legislation. It might on one side adjudge a man to be absolute owner of property, and on the other side consign him to perpetual imprisonment if he did not, in his character of trustee, forthwith give it up to those beneficially entitled. The result was that the Court exercised large powers independently of Government often so as to obstruct it, and had a complete control over legislation. Political power was thus vested in judges who had neither the responsibilities nor the machinery of Government. Such a system could not endure under any circumstances. Although the Courts are independent of Government of England, both are absolutely subordinate to the Legislature. To make

the legislature subordinate to the Court, instead of the Court subordinate to the legislature, and at the same time to direct it to enforce a system of law utterly inapplicable to India, independently of the Government, appears to be the most destructive and pernicious policy that wit could devise. Although the judicial service should be independent of the executive, yet it must be subordinate to the legislature.

The plan of controlling the Company's Government by the King's Court entirely failed. The tribunal came to be regarded by the Natives, for whose protection it was established, with the utmost abhorrence. The policy which shaped the Regulating Act was well-intentioned, but it was rashly and ignorantly executed. The result was that British power in the West was subverted and in the East was for a time seriously endangered. The anarchy which ensued continued till the policy of the Regulating Act was reversed, and Indian society assumed the form which it retained till the Company and the Moghul Empire vanished. The Bengal Government and the English Parliament had thus in 1774, by their combined efforts, established a political and judicial system in the Lower Provinces. The events of the next seven years showed clearly that, whether from the antagonism of the local authorities or from inherent faults, the provisions of the Regulating Act were unsuited to the wants of the country. Those events deserve some study, as they throw considerable light on the subsequent history and account for the crude and unsatisfactory condition in which the judicial institutions of the country were placed for very nearly a century.

The aftermath of the Regulating Act manifested itself in the conflict between the Court and the Council: and the quarrel primarily arose on the question of jurisdiction. The main reason for establishment of the Supreme Court was the change effected in its character by the acquisition of territorial revenues on the part of the Company. This is important to remember, for the extent of the Court's right of interference with regard to the revenue administration of the Company became the principal bone of contention between the Court and the Council. We are concerned here with the quarrel as it actually happened and in that connection several points demand special attention. It has been seen that the Court was empowered to exercise jurisdiction over all persons directly or indirectly in the service of the Company or any of His Majesty's subjects. But, as can easily be seen, the expression "directly or indirectly in the service of the Company" was vague in the extreme and was bound to lead to different interpretations.

It would be difficult in any age or country to discover a parallel to the conduct which this set of judges exhibited on the present occasion. Their own powers, as it was impossible for them not distinctly to see, were totally inadequate to the Government of the country; yet they proceeded, contrary to the declared, though badly expressed, intention of the legislature, to avail themselves of the books and handles which the ensnaring system of law, administered by them, afforded in such abundance, to draw

within their pale the whole transactions of the country ; not those of individuals only, but those also of the Government. That this was to transfer the Government into their hands is too obvious to require illustration. When the Government is transferred one to another set of hands, by a simple act of despotism, every branch of authority is directly supplied ; the machine of Government remains entire ; and the mischief may be small, or the advantage great. But when the wheels of Government were threatened to be stopped by the technical forms of a Court of English law ; and when nothing but those forms, and set of men who could ostensibly perform nothing but through the medium of those forms and the pretence of administering justice, who provided to supply the place of Government which was destroyed, a total dissolution of the social order was the impending consequence. The system of English law was so incompatible with the habits, sentiments and circumstances of the people, that, if attempted to be forced even upon that part of the field of Government which belonged to the administration of law, it would have sufficed to throw the country into the utmost disorder, would have subverted almost every existing right, would have filled the nation with terror and misery, and being, in such a situation, incapable of answering the purposes of law, would have left the country in a state hardly different from that, in which it would have been, under a total absence of law. But when the judges proceeded to apply these forms to the acts of Government, the powers of administration were suspended ; and nothing was provided to supply their place. Either with a blind ignorance of these consequences, which is almost incredible, unless from our experience of the narrowness which the mind contracts by habitual application to the practice of English law, and habitual indulgence of the fancy that it is the perfection of reason ; or, with a disregard of these consequences, for which nothing but love of power too profligate to be stopped by any considerations of human happiness or misery is sufficient to account ; the judges proceeded, with the apparent resolution of extending the jurisdiction of their Court, and leaving as little as possible of the business of the country exempt from the exercise of their power.

To palliate the invasions which they made upon the field of Government, they made use of this as an argument that the great end of their institution was to protect the natives against the injustice and oppression of the Company's servants, and that without the powers which they assumed, it was impossible for them to render to humanity this eminent service. But to force upon the natives the miseries of English law, and to dissolve the fauds of Government was to inflict upon the people far greater evils than those from which they pretended to relieve them. If the end proposed by the legislature was really to protect the natives from the injustice of Englishmen, they made a very unskilful choice of the means.

The representations, upon this subject, which the Government and Council transmitted to England, induced the Court of Directors in the month

of November, 1777, to lay a statement of the case before the Ministers of the Crown. The supposed dignity of a King's Court, as it inflated the pretensions of the judges, who delighted in styling themselves King's Judges, contrasting the source of their own power with the inferior source from which the power of the Governor-General and Council was derived; so it imposed awe and irresolution upon the Court of Directors. They ventured not to originate any measure, for staying the unwarranted proceedings of the Supreme Court; and could think of no better expedient than that of praying the ministry to perform this important service, in their behalf. The Directors represented to the ministry that the Zemindars, farmers, and other occupiers of land, against whom writs, at the suit of natives, had been issued into all parts of the provinces, it was not the intention of the legislature to submit to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court; that the proceedings, by which they were hurried to a great distance from their homes, their persons arrested, and long confinement in the Common goal inflicted upon them, appeared to be replete with irregularity and injustice; that the parties are "sure to suffer every distress and oppression with which the attorneys of the Court can easily contrive to harass and intimidate them," before the question whether they are subject or not to the jurisdiction of the Court can be so much as broached that, after pleading to the jurisdiction, they are sure of an adverse decision, "unless they are able to prove a negative; that is, unless a native of Bengal is able, from an act of part which the Governor-General and Council have declared liable to different constructions, to prove himself no subject to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court;" that the consequences were in the highest degree alarming, as almost all the Zemindars in the country, standing in the same predicament, felt themselves exposed to the same dangers; as the disgust and hatred of the natives was excited by the violation of their customs and laws; and the collection of the revenue was impeded, and even threatened with suspension.

They represented also that the Supreme Court, besides extending its jurisdiction to such persons, had extended it also to such things, as it was clearly the intention of the legislature to exempt from it: That these were "the ordering, management, and government of the territorial revenues," including the powers which that ordering and government required: That over this department, the whole Bench of Judges had declared their resolution to exercise a power, superior to that of the Company: That accordingly, the process of the ordinary Revenue Courts was opposed; persons whom they had confined being released by the Supreme Court; suits which were Cognizable in none but the Revenue Courts being instituted and entertained in the Supreme Court; prosecutions being carried on by the Supreme Court against the Judges of the Revenue Courts, for acts done in the regular performance of the business of the Court; farmers of the revenue, who had fallen into arrear, refusing to obey the process of the Revenue Courts and threatening the judges with prosecution in the Supreme Court, if any Co-

erative proceeding is employed : That in consequence of these acts, the operation of the Dewanee Courts was, in some instances, suspended ; in others, the very existence of them destroyed ; and that the Governor-General and Council in their capacity of a Court of Appeal or Sudder Dewanee Adaulat, were discouraged from the exercise of this important jurisdiction, under the apprehension that their powers might be disputed, and their decrees annulled.

Under the third head of complaint, the Directors represented that the Supreme Court had, on the pretext of requiring evidence, demanded the production in Court of papers liable to contain the most secret transactions of the Government, that the Section of Council was served with the writ called a *sub poena duces tecum*, and attending the Court without papers was informed that he had brought upon himself all the damages of the suit ; that upon his representing the impossibility of his producing in the Court the records of the Council which the Council had forbidden to be so produced, he was ordered to declare which of the Members of the Council voted for the refusal of the papers, and which (if any) for the production ; that upon his demurring to such a question a positive answer was demanded, and every Member of the Council who had concurred in the refusal was declared to be liable to an action ; that the Council agreed to send such extracts as had a reference to the matter in dispute, but persisted in the refusal to exhibit their records ; that of this species of demand various instances occurred ; and that it was manifestly impossible for the Board to deliberate and act as a Council of State, as the administrative organ of Government, if publication of their minutes might at any time be called for, and if every Member was answerable, in an action of damages, for any measure in which he concerned, to as many persons as might think themselves aggrieved by it.

In the fourth place, the Directors represented that the penal law of England was utterly repugnant to those laws and customs, by which the people of India had been hitherto governed ; that nevertheless, Maharaja Nuncomer, a native of high rank in Bengal, was indicated, tried, convicted and executed for an offence which was not capital by the laws of the country where the offence was committed ; that if the Court was unable to mitigate the punishment it might have deemed it provident to use its power of respiting the prisoner until the pleasure of the King was known ; that this the Directors, "conceived to be a matter of the most serious importance, and big with the consequences the most alarming to the natives of India ; that the judges seemed to have laid it down as a general principle, in their proceedings against Nuncomer, that all the criminal law in England is in force, and binding upon all the inhabitants within the circle of their jurisdiction in Bengal." The Directors, therefore, adjure the Minister to consider what will be the consequences, if this principle, and the example grounded upon it, were followed up with consistency. "Can it be just," they say,

“or prudent, to introduce all the different species of felony, created by what is called the Black Act?—or to involve, as what is called the Coventry Act involves, offences of different degrees in one Common punishment?—or to introduce the endless and almost inexplicable distinctions by which certain acts are or are not burglary.” They ask, whether Indian offenders, of a certain description, were to be transported to his Majesty’s Colonies in America, or sent to work upon the river Thames? And whether every-man convicted for the first time of bigamy, “which is allowed, protected, nay almost commanded by their law, should be burnt in the hand if he can read, and hanged if he cannot read?” “These”, are only some of the consequences which we conceive must follow, if the Criminal law of England be suffered to remain in force upon the natives of Bengal. If it were legal to try, to convict, and execute Nuncomer for forgery, on the statute of George II, it must, as we conceive, be equally legal to try, convict, and to punish the Subahdar of Bengal, and all his Court, for bigamy, upon the Statute of James I.

On the 2nd of January, 1777, a suit was instituted before the Provincial Council at Patna, which afforded occasion to the Supreme Court of carrying the exertion of their powers to a height more extraordinary than they had before attempted. A person of some distinction and property, a native Muhammadan died, leaving a widow and a nephew, who had for sometime lived with him, in the apparent capacity of his heir, and adopted son. The widow claimed the whole of the property, on the strength of a will, which she affirmed the husband had made in her favour. The nephew, who disputed the will, both on the suspicion of forgery, and on the fact of the mental imbecility of his uncle for sometime previous to his death, claimed in like manner the whole of the estate as adopted son and heir of the deceased. For investigation of the causes the decision of which depended upon the principles of the Mussalman law, the Provincial Councils were assisted by native lawyers, by whose opinion in matters of law it was their duty to be guided. In the present instance, the Council of Patna deputed a cauzee and two Muftes, by a precept, or perwannah in the Persian language, directing them to take an account of the estate and effects of the deceased, and secure them against embezzlements; to enquire into the claims of the parties; to follow strictly the rules of Muhammedan law, and report to the Council their proceedings. In all this, nothing appeared which was not reasonable, and which was not according to the approved and established mode of procedure.

On the 20th of January, the Cauzee and Muftes, having finished the enquiry, delivered their report, in which, after a statement of the evidence adduced, they declared their opinion, that neither the widow nor the nephew, had established their claims, and that the inheritance should be divided according to the principles provided by the Muhammedan law for those cases in which a man dies without children and without a will; in other-words, that it should be divided into four shares; of which one should be

given to the widow, and three to the brother of the deceased, who was next of kin, and father of the nephew who claimed as adopted son. Upon a review of the proceedings of the native judges, and a hearing of the parties, the Provincial Council confirmed the decree and ordered the division of the inheritance to be carried into effect. They did more : As it appeared from the evidence that part of the effects of the deceased had been secreted by the widow before they could be secured by the judges, and that both the will, and another deed which she produced, were forged, they put her five principal agents under confinement, till they should account for the goods ; and directed that they should be afterwards delivered to the Phonsdary, to take their trial for forgery.

It is to be observed, that the widow had opposed all these proceedings, from the beginning, not by course of law, but such irregular and violent acts, as suggested themselves to an angry and ignorant mind. When called upon by the *cauzee* to appoint, in the usual manner, a *vakeel*, or representative, to act in her behalf. She positively refused ; and when the *cauzee* recommended to her a relative, who had lived in the house, was much in her confidences, and acted as her principal agent, she persisted in her refusal, but sent her seal, with the message that the judges might appoint him if they pleased. Upon the arrival of the *Cauzee* and *Muftees*, to carry the decree of the council into execution, the widow resisted. The *Cauzee* and *Muftees* proceeded to enforce the orders under which they acted. The widow, contrary to their request and remonstrance, left the house, and betook herself to an asylum of *Fakeers*, which was in the neighbourhood, carrying along with her certain title deeds, and the female slaves. The *Cauzee* and *Muftees* divided the remaining effects, upon the valuation of appraisers mutually chosen by the parties, into four shares, of which the *Vakeel* of the widow chose one for her, and the rest were set apart for the brother of the deceased. The widow refused to submit to the decision, or to accept of her share. She also refused to give up the title deeds, which she had carried away, or the female slaves. In consequence of this proceeding, a petition was presented to the Council, by the nephew, representing, that she had not complied with the decree, but by absconding reflected, according to the Muhammedan custom, disgrace upon the family, and praying that she might be compelled to deliver up the paper and slaves, and to return to the house, under his protection as representative of the heir. An order was directed by the Council to comply with this request. After sometime another petition was presented by the nephew, complaining that the *Cauzee* and *Muftees* had not yet complied with the injunctions of the Board. Upon this the Council agreed, that the *Cauzee* should be reprimanded for his delay, and directed to proceed immediately in the execution of these orders. The *Cauzee* represented by memorial, that he had not only made frequent demands upon the widow, but had placed *hircarrahs* to watch her, and that in his opinion, the species of constraint, which was



authorised by the Mussalman law, and customary in the country, namely, restriction from all intercourse by a guard of soldiers, was necessary to be applied. The guard was ordered and continued for a space of six weeks. The widow still refused compliance; and at that time the guard was withdrawn.

The widow was advised to bring an action in the Supreme Court, against the nephew, the Cauzee, and Muftes on the ground of their proceedings in the cause; and laid her damages at 600,000 sicca rupees about 66,000%. The objection taken on the part of the nephew, to the jurisdiction of the Court, the Judges over-rules, on the pretence that every renter was a servant of the Company. (This decision greatly increased the alarm among the farmers and other landholders. In the province of Behar, they joined in a petition to the Governor-General and Council, praying for protection against the process of the Supreme Court, or if that could not be granted, for leave to relinquish their farms, that they might realise into another country. Report at Supra P.S., Patna Appendix, No. 14).

The justification set up for the Cauzee and Muftes was, that they had acted regularly, in their judicial capacity, on obedience to the lawful orders of their legal superiors; that the Provincial Councils were vested with a power of determining suits between the natives, with the advice and assistance of the native lawyers; that the established mode in which the Provincial Council availed themselves of that advice and assistance was, by directing them to hear the parties, to collect the evidence, and to deliver in a report of the whole, comprehending their opinion of the decision which ought to be pronounced, which decision to Council, upon a review of the whole, or with the addition of such other inquiries as they might think the case required, affirmed or altered, subject only to an appeal to Governor and Council; and that a judge acting in his judicial capacity could not be responsible in damages to those who might suffer by the execution of his decrees. This defence, which to the eye of reason appears appropriate, the Court treated with the utmost contempt, and upon a ground which rouses surprise and astonishment. A form of words, among numerous loose expressions, which fall from the lips and pens of English lawyers, without any binding authority, or any defined and consistent application, occurred to the Judges. This was the phrase, *Delegatus non potest delegare*, 'he who is delegated can not delegate.' And upon this, and no other reason, so much as alleged, they declared that the Cauzee and Muftes, for acting regularly, acting as they were obliged to act, and had in fact been accustomed to act ever since the jurisdiction of the country had passed under English control, were liable to actions of damages at the suit of every person whom the proceedings displeased, *i.e.*, one at least of the parties in almost every cause. It would be itself absurd, to attempt obey illustration to render more apparent the deformities of this proceeding. To quote of a maxim of English law, though ever so high in authority, and invariable into force,



as a ground for committing in India a flagrant violation of natural equity against persons who knew not the English law, nor owned its authority, was an act of chicane, which the history of judicial encroachments, rich as it is in examples of injustice, cannot frequently surpass. It is, however, a maxim, of which, even where admissible, the authority is so little determined, that, like many more, with which the appetite of the Judges for power is in England so quietly gratified, it has just as little weight or as much as, in such particular instance, the Judge may happen to please. And in a variety of remarkable cases, the established course of English law goes directly against it.

Deciding upon the strength of this assemblage of words, that the Provincial Council could not delegate any authority to the native magistrates, even as their agents ; and hence that everything which these assistant magistrates had performed was without authority, the Supreme Court thought proper to enter minutely and laboriously into the whole of the case, and after voluminous proceedings, gave judgement against the defendants, damages 300,000 rupees, and costs 9,208, amounting to the sum of about 35,000.

At the commencement of the suit a *capias* was granted, with a bailable clause. A bailiff proceeded from Calcutta, and arrested at Patna the nephew, and also the Cauzee, as he was returning from his duty in one of the Courts of justice. The bail demanded was 400,000 rupees or about 44,000? The Council of Patna, struck with consternation, at the probable effects of so extraordinary a procedure, upon the minds of the people, upon the authority of Government, upon the collection of the revenue, and upon the administration of justice, which it threatened to stop, by determining the native lawyers and judges from yielding their services, resolved, as the best expedient which the nature of the case afforded, to offer bail for the prisoners who after a confinement of sometime in boat upon the river were enlarged. The Governor-General and Council, as soon as they were informed of these proceedings, resolved, "That as the defendants are prosecuted for a regular and legal act of government in the execution of a judicial decree, they be supported and indemnified by government from all consequences from which they can be legally indemnified." Judgement being given, the defendants were put under a guard of Sepoys, that they might be conveyed to Calcutta to be surrendered. The Cauzee, an old man, who had been chief Cauzee of the province for many years, was unable to endure the vexation and fatigue ; and he expired by the way. The rest were carried to Calcutta, in lodged in the common goal, where they remained till relieved by the interference of the British Parliament in 1781. By that authority a pecuniary compensation was awarded to them for their losses and hardships, and the Muftees were ordered to be not only re-instated in their former situation and condition, but to be elevated to the office of Muhammedan Counsellors to the Court and Council of Patna.

The Supreme Court and the widow were not satisfied with these proceedings against the native magistrates. An action was also brought against Mr. Law, and two other members of the Provincial Council at Patna. As this prosecution was instituted for official acts performed in the Company's service, the Governor-General and Council thought it fit that the Company should bear the burden of their defence. Here too the Court decided in favour of the party who brought it jurisdiction; and awarded damages to the amount of 15,000 rupees; which money was paid from the Company's treasury.

Now we shall turn to "the Dacca Case". In their letter, dated 18th September, 1777, the Dacca Council complained that the extension of the authority of the Supreme Court through the unwarranted activities of Mr. Peat was practically making all business of government, more or less, impossible. The Dacca case thus brought on a direct collision between the Supreme Court and the Nizamat, and which, but for the tact and moderation displayed by the Dacca Council, might easily have led to dreadful consequences. The case also shows how sometimes the situation was further aggravated by the thoughtless arrogance of the Court's officers. Indeed, in a sense, most of Peat's activities at Dacca were illegal. The combination of functions of an Attorney and a Deputy Sheriff in the same person was illegal. It appears to us that the Dacca case furnishes a very clear proof of the Governor-General's complaint that the Court never cared to suit their procedure to the exigencies of time and place. The records give the unmistakable impression that the Governor-General and Council in most instances acted with reasonable restraint, but their efforts were almost always frustrated by the obduracy of the Court and its numerous myrmidons. At last the hands of the Governor-General and Council were forced and the crisis of the Kasijora case arose.

The quarrel between the Court and the Council at last came to a crisis in the well-known Kasijora case and made intervention by Parliament more or less inevitable. The Council openly resisted the process of the Supreme Court, justifying their action on the plea of State necessity. The opposition, if not strictly legal, the Council considered "as justifiable upon the necessity of the circumstances" and appealed to Parliament for indemnity. The case arose in connection with the claims of Kasinath, a rich merchant of Calcutta, against Sundar Narayan, the Zamindar of Kassijora. Kasinath on the 13th of August, 1779, commenced a suit against the Raja of Kasijora in the Supreme Court. In this case it seemed clear that the internal difficulties that the processes of the Court wantonly created and the external dangers amidst which the company's government was placed, justified the extreme step that the Governor-General and Council adopted in forcibly resisting the Court's processes on the Zamindars.

However, representations and Counter-representations produced no immediate result and the quarrel went on with increasing vehemence. At

last three petitions being presented to Parliament, one from John Touchet and John Irving, the second from the Governor-General and Council, and the third from the United Company of merchants in England, in all of which bitter complaints were made against the alleged excesses perpetrated by the Supreme Court, a Select Committee was appointed and to it all these petitions were severally referred. The Committee, commonly known as Touchet's Committee, submitted a voluminous Report on the whole history of the controversy between Supreme Court and the Supreme Council in 1781, and in the same year an Act was passed to regulate anew the Supreme Court of Judicature. Herein almost all the contentions of the Council were upheld and the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court practically limited to the British Subjects residing in the three provinces and the inhabitants of Calcutta.

The Act of 1781 (21 Geo. III, c. 70) was passed to explain and amend the Act of 1773, "and for the relief of certain persons imprisoned at Calcutta under a judgement of the Supreme Court, and also for indemnifying the Governor-General and Council and all officers who have acted under their orders or authority in the undue resistance made to the process of the Supreme Court." It recited that doubts and difficulties had arisen with regard to the provisions of the Act of 1773 and the charter which had been issued under it, and that "by reason thereof dissension hath arisen between the Judges and the Governor-General and Council and the minds of many inhabitants subject to the government have been disquieted with fears and apprehensions, and further mischief may possibly ensue from the said understanding and discontents if a reasonable and suitable remedy be not provided." And then the Preamble proceeded, "whereas it is expedient that the lawful government of the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa should be supported, that revenues thereof should be collected with certainty, and that the inhabitants should be maintained and pretented in the enjoyment of all their ancient laws, usages, rights, and privileges."

The Act expressly declared that the Supreme Court should not have any jurisdiction in any matter concerning the revenue or concerning any acts ordered or done in the collection thereof according to the practice of the country or the regulations of the Governor-General and Council. It was also declared that no person should be subject to its jurisdiction by virtue of possessing any interest in, or authority over, lands or rents within Bengal, Behar and Orissa, or by reason of his becoming security for the payment of such rents. Employment of a person directly or indirectly, by the Company, or the Governor-General and Council, or by a native of Great Britain, was declared not to subject such person to the jurisdiction of the Court in any matter of inheritance or succession to lands and goods, or in any matter of dealing or Contract between party or parties, except in actions for wrongs or trespasses, or also except in any civil suit by agreement of parties in writing to submit the same to the decision of the said

Court. Further no action for wrong or injury should lie in the Supreme Court against any person whatsoever exercising a judicial office in the country Courts for any of his judicial decisions, nor against any person acting thereunder.

The Act of 1781 also declared that the Governor-General and Council should not be subject jointly or severally to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court "for or by reason of any act or order, or any other matter or thing whatsoever, counselled, ordered, or done by them in their public capacity only and acting as Governor-General and Council." It again provided that the order of the Governor-General and Council in writing should amount to a sufficient justification of all acts done thereunder; except that where British subjects were concerned, the Court should retain its jurisdiction. The Supreme Court was, by the 17th Section of this Act, empowered to determine all actions and suits against the inhabitants of the city of Calcutta; provided that their succession and inheritance to lands, rents and goods, and all matters of contract and dealing between party and party, should be determined in the case of Mohammadans by the laws and usages of Mohammadans, and in the case of Gentoos by the laws and usages of Gentoos; and where only one of the parties should be a Mohammadan or Gentoos by the laws and usages of the defendant. It was also provided that the Supreme Court might frame such process and make such rules and orders for the execution thereof in suits, civil or criminal, against the Natives of the Presidency as might accommodate the same to the religion and manners of the Natives, so far as the same might consist with the due execution of the laws and attainment of justice.

Perhaps the most important part of the Act, and the one which most completely reversed the policy of the Act of 1775, was the recognition by Parliament of the Civil and Criminal Provincial Courts, existing independently of the Supreme Court. The Act also declared that no action should lie in the Supreme Court against any judicial officer in the country Courts in respect of any judgement or order of his Court, nor against any person for any act done in pursuance of such order. And finally with regard to the indemnity in respect of the hostilities which had been carried on between the Court and the Council, wherein said the Act "many things have been done not justifiable by the strict rule of the law," it was enacted that the Governor-General and Council and Advocate-General and all persons acting under their orders, so far as the same related to the resistance to any process of the Supreme Court from Jan. 1, 1779 to Jan. 1, 1780, were thereby indemnified, discharged, and saved harmless from any action, suit, or prosecution.

In this way, therefore, within eight years the main provisions of the Regulating Act were swept away. The Supreme Court, however, continued to exist, and ultimately with its diminished powers and pretensions, own its

way to greater authority and respect, both from Europeans and Natives, than any other tribunal which has ever existed in India. Nothing, however, in its subsequent history serves to justify or excuse the policy of its founders. Their attempt to introduce an English superintendence of law and justice on the part of the Crown, and an administration of English rules of law and equity by an English Court, was made rashly and ignorantly, without any sufficient scheme or due preparation. "The Act of 1781 at all events settled the difficulties which had arisen under the Regulating Act, and the Settlement, Crude and unsatisfactory as it was, was copied in other Presidencies, and endured so long as the Company and the Mughal Empire existed."

In that era the Supreme Court acquired authority and renown; and English lawyers in India have laid the foundation of a complete system of Anglo-Indian jurisprudence. They had carried out the ultimate end and object of the Regulating Act—an object which had redeemed the character of the Statute, and of its immediate policy—*viz.*, to teach both rulers and subjects in the East that respect for law which was the foundation of social order and the greatest gift which England had in its power to bestow on India. The opposition which had been at times excited died away, and as India was now united under a monarchy which was itself limited by law, and was settling down, into a law governed country, the wishes of the authors of the Regulating Acts which they so utterly failed to accomplish may be said to have been ultimately fulfilled. When the subsequent history of the legislative authorities and related institutions which had from time to time been brought into existence, of the Supreme Courts and other judicial authorities, might have been traced for another eighty years, we arrived at a new epoch, the date from which nearly all existing legislative and judicial authority derived its origin.

\* \* \* \* \*

Reforms in the Laws, judicial Establishments, and procedure of British India, was now under the consideration of the Imperial Parliament and of the Indian government for a quarter of a century. In 1833, by S. 53 of Statute 3 and 4 William IV. Cap. 85, the Governor-General of India in Council was empowered to appoint a Commission, not exceeding five members, to enquire into and report upon the jurisdiction of the existing Courts of Justice, and the operation of Laws in India, with a view to their consolidation and amendment. In pursuance of the powers thus conferred, an Indian Law Commission was, in the year 1834, appointed. It consisted of five members—the Legislative Councillor appointed under the Act of 1833, another English barrister, and three Civil Servants, one from each of the three Presidencies. Their first work was to prepare a single Penal Code for all British India.

But the conflict of opinion both in England and in India as to various suggestions offered by the Law Commission having rendered its enquiries practically inoperative, the vacancies arising in it from time to time by

death or resignation were not filled up, and it was thus permitted to become gradually extinct. In 1853, by S. 28 of Statute 16 and 17 vict. Cap. 95, Her Majesty was empowered to appoint Commissioners in England to consider and report upon the Reforms proposed by the India Law Commissioners, appointed under the provisions of Statute 3 and 4 Will. IV, Cap. 85.

In fulfilment of the duties thus developed on them, the Commissioners presented four Reports, the last of which bears date May 20, 1856. These Reports recommended an amalgamation of the Supreme and Sudder Courts existed then at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, respectively, into one Court at each of those cities, to be designated the "High Court". They also recommended the establishment at Agra, where no Supreme Court existed, of a "High Court" for the North-West Provinces, similar to those proposed for the three Presidencies. They further recommended that the High Court at Calcutta shall consist of not less than eight judges—those at Madras and Bombay respectively of not less than five, and that at Agra not less than four judges. Finally, the Supreme Courts at the three Presidencies were abolished with the establishment of "High Court" at each of the three Presidencies by the passing of the Act of 1861.

## Reviews and Notices of Books

**An Enquiry into the Nature and Function of Art**—Published by the University of Calcutta. Price Rupees Ten only.

Aesthetics is a rather neglected area in philosophical studies in India. It is, therefore, heartening to find Dr. S. K. Nandi's well-written treatise on aesthetics, namely, *An Enquiry into the Nature and Function of Art*. He has presented and examined with great skill the aesthetic theories of some of the great thinkers from Plato onwards, including Romain Rolland and Tagore. He has quoted extensively from the works of the various thinkers in support of his thesis which is sympathetic to Croce's and Tagore's theories of art. The inclusion of Romain Rolland's theory of art is very helpful as very little is known about his aesthetics. Besides, suitable references from the works of Aurobindo and Tagore give the reader an insight into the contemporary Indian aesthetics. All in all, the book is indispensable to students of aesthetics.

Of course on account of the limited scope of the book Dr. Nandi has not undertaken examination of language which otherwise is the source of many of our confusions. Nor has he discussed aesthetics in the light of the recent developments in Psychology and linguistic analysis. Another treatise covering the aforesaid points would be a very useful addition to the present one and undoubtedly Dr. Nandi is eminently qualified to write one.

Prem Nath.

# Ourselfes

## CENTRE OF ASIAN STUDIES

A seminar on Asian Studies organised by Indian School of International Studies was held in February and March, 1965, and made certain recommendations for setting up a centre of Asian Studies in this University. The recommendations were as follows :—

1. Asian Studies should be developed within the framework of area studies and should, therefore, comprise the language, geography, history and culture and social, political and economic trends and institutions of the individual countries and generally of the region or the area to be studied. In order that such a comprehensive study is fruitful, it was agreed that wherever feasible interdisciplinary cooperation should be encouraged.

2. In view of the above, it is necessary that area studies while, no doubt, forming part of the regular academic disciplines, should preferably have a skeleton staff of their own and that this staff should be representative of several disciplines.

3. Asian Studies, like any other area studies, should be language-oriented. It was felt that teaching of the language of the area should form a basic requirement of area studies and that the study of the language or languages should be encouraged by offering intensive language programmes. It was also agreed that language training, if possible, should precede the area specialisation programme. It was considered necessary that language study should be made attractive by offering suitable scholarships to good candidates.

4. In order to create and sustain interest in area studies and specialization, it is desirable that knowledge of the area may be introduced; even if in a rudimentary form, through the existing syllabi in the various subjects at the undergraduate level, but that this must certainly be an integral part of the post-graduate courses in various academic disciplines. In the opinion of the Seminar, such a step, apart from creating a permanent interest in such studies, will also help in generating a demand for specialists who could be absorbed in the Universities and institutions of higher learning.

In this connection, the Seminar gave consideration to the proposal for the institution of an M.Litt. degree in area studies. Such a degree could well be an intermediate degree, higher than the M.A. and lower than the Ph.D., to be available to those who want a greater specialisation than is available at the M.A. level but for some reason are prevented from pursuing a Ph.D. course.



5. In view of our limited resources, both material and human, initially a few strong centres—centres of excellence—may be developed and adequate resources may be made available to such centres. In course of time, other centres could develop and, in fact, these strong centres may be able to help other centres with human materials, that is, the specialists.

6. Area specialisation should be discipline-biased. Naturally it should maintain the closest links with traditional academic department in the universities and, in fact, should function on the basis of the closest coordination between research and teaching. It was noted that in the West, particularly in the United States, the centres of area studies have been a kind of extension of normal university departments and continue to work in close relationship with those departments. Such an arrangement, it was also felt, would enable a scholar to obtain his degree in a particular discipline while pursuing specialisation in a particular area and thus ensure his prospects of normal employment.

7. Area studies should have a great degree of research-orientation. In view of this special character, it would be necessary to give area studies a special treatment, particularly in respect of their needs. The Seminar, therefore, recommended that such centres should have :

(a) a reasonable number of fellowships to attract academically sound and research-oriented scholars to join such studies. The U. G. C. may be requested to set apart a number of its Junior and Senior fellowships for area specialisation and the same may be awarded to such scholars who have joined area studies and are recommended by the authorities of such programmes.

(b) adequate funds for training of teachers and research scholars in the field for a minimum of two years and further for periodical visits by the permanent staff of such programmes to keep them up-to-date with the developments in the areas of their specialisation.

(c) funds also for inviting visiting scholars from well-known institutions abroad. In this connection, the Seminar felt that the Universities should be allowed reasonable freedom in exercising their discretion in the matter of inviting scholars whom they consider academically sound and useful ;

(d) liberal grants and matching foreign exchange quota for equipment, field work and library needs of such programmes.

The matter is receiving the attention of the University.



## Notifications

### UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification No. C/272/89 (Aff.)

It is hereby notified for general information that in extension of the affiliation already granted, the Gobardanga Hindu College has been affiliated in Sanskrit to the B.A. Hons. standard and in Education in Ancient and Modern India to the B.T. standard with effect from the commencement of the session 1965-66 i.e. with permission to present candidates in the relevant subject at the B.T. Examination in 1966, at the B.A. Hons. Part I Examination in 1967 and B.A. Hons. Part II Examination in 1968 and not earlier.

Senate House,  
Calcutta,  
The 7th August, 1965,

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
*Registrar*

### UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification No. C/292/136 (Aff.)

It is hereby notified for general information that in extension of the affiliation already granted, the Shyampur Siddheswari Mahavidyalaya, Howrah, has been affiliated in Mathematics to the P.-U. Arts and B.A. Pass standards; in English, Bengali, Physics, Chemistry and Mathematics to the P.-U. Science standard and in Physics, Chemistry and Mathematics to the B.Sc. Pass standard with effect from the commencement of the session 1965-66 i.e. with permission to present candidates in the relevant subjects at the Pre-University Examination in 1966, B.A. and B.Sc. Part I Examinations in 1967 and B.A. and B.Sc. Part II Examinations in 1968 and not earlier.

Senate House,  
Calcutta,  
The 9th August, 1965.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
*Registrar.*

### UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification No. C/326/141 (Aff.)

It is hereby notified for general information that in extension of the affiliation already granted, the Belonia College, Tripura, has been affiliated in Commercial Arithmetic and Book-keeping to the Pre-University Arts standard and in Education to the B.A. Pass standard with effect from the commencement of the session 1965-66 i.e., with permission to present candidates in the above mentioned subjects at the Pre-University Examination in 1966, B.A. Part I Examination in 1967 and B.A. Part II Examination in 1968 and not earlier.

Senate House,  
Calcutta,  
The 14th August, 1965.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
*Registrar.*

## UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification No. C/408/159 (Aff.)

It is hereby notified for general information that the Kandi Raj College of Commerce, Berhampore, has been affiliated in English, Bengali, Commercial Geography, Elements of Civics and Economics, Commercial Arithmetic and Elements of Book-keeping to the Pre-University Arts standard and in English, Bengali, Economic Theory, Economic Problems of India, Commercial and Industrial Law, Accountancy, Business Organisation, Economic Geography, Secretarial Practice, Commercial Mathematics and in Elective Group 'A', i.e. Advanced Accountancy and Auditing to the B.Com. Pass standard from the session 1965-66 i.e. with permission to present candidates in the above mentioned subjects at the Pre-University Arts Examination in 1966, B.Com. Part I Examination in 1967 and B.Com. Part II Examination in 1968 and not earlier.

Senate House,  
Calcutta,  
The 21st August, 1965.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
*Registrar.*

## UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification No. C/401/159 (Aff.)

It is hereby notified for general information that the Sewnarayan Rameswar Fatepuria College, Beldanga, Murshidabad, has been affiliated in English, Bengali (Vernacular), Elements of Civics and Economics, History, Logic and Commercial Geography to the Pre-University Arts standard and in English, Bengali (Vernacular), Economics, Political Science, History and Philosophy to the B.A. Pass standard from the session 1965-66 i.e. with permission to present candidates in the above mentioned subjects at the Pre-University Arts Examination in 1966, B.A. Part I Examination in 1967 and B.A. Part II Examination in 1968 and not earlier.

Senate House,  
Calcutta,  
The 21st August, 1965.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
*Registrar.*

## UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification No. C/394/157 (Aff.)

It is hereby notified for general information that the Sree Chaitanya College of Commerce, Habra, 24-Parganas, has been affiliated in English, Bengali, Elements of Civics and Economics, Commercial Arithmetic and Elements of Book-keeping and Commercial Geography to the Pre-University Arts standard and in English, Bengali, Economic Theory, Economic Problems of India, Commercial and Industrial Law, Accountancy, Business Organisation, Economic Geography, Secretarial Practice, Commercial Mathematics and in Elective Group 'A', i.e. Advanced Accountancy and Auditing to the B.Com. Pass standard with effect from the session 1965-66, i.e. with permission to present candidates in the above mentioned subjects at the Pre-University Arts Examination in 1966, B.Com. Part I Examination in 1967 and B.Com. Part II Examination in 1968 and not earlier.

Senate House,  
Calcutta,  
The 21st August, 1965.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
*Registrar.*

## UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification No. C/515/67 (Aff.)

It is hereby notified for general information that in extension of the affiliation already granted, the Viharilal College of Home and Social Science, has been affiliated in Household Science to the B.A. and B.Sc. Honours standards with effect from the commencement of the session 1965-66, i.e., with permission to present candidates in the above mentioned subject at the B.A. and B.Sc. Part I Examinations in 1967 and B.A. and B.Sc. Part II Examinations in 1968 and not earlier.

Senate House,  
Calcutta,  
The 28th August, 1965.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
*Registrar.*

## UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification. No. C/502/65 (Affl.)

It is hereby notified for general information that in extension of the affiliation already granted, the Vidyasagar Evening College has been affiliated in Political Science to the B.A. Honours standard and in Advanced Accountancy, Auditing and Income Tax and Costing to the B.Com. Honours standard with effect from the commencement of the session 1965-66, i.e. with permission to present candidates in the above mentioned subjects at the B.A. and B.Com. Part I Examinations in 1967 and B.A. and B.Com. Part II Examinations in 1968 and not earlier.

Senate House,  
Calcutta,  
The 27th August, 1965.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
*Registrar.*

## UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification. No. C/543/160 (Affl.)

It is hereby notified for general information that the Dakshin Barasat College, 24, Parganas, has been affiliated in English, Bengali, Elements of Civics and Economics, History, Logic, Commercial Geography and Commercial Arithmetic and Elements of Book-keeping to the Pre-University Arts standard and in English, Economics, Political Science, History and Philosophy to the B.A. Pass standard with effect from the session 1965-66, i.e. with permission to present candidates in the above mentioned subjects at the Pre-University Examination in 1966, B.A. Part I Examination in 1967 and B.A. Part II Examination in 1968 and not earlier.

Senate House,  
Calcutta,  
The 28th August, 1965.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
*Registrar.*

## UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification No. C/481/88 (Affl.)

It is hereby notified for general information that in extension of the affiliation already granted, the Girls' College, Howrah, has been affiliated in Alt. English and Hindi to the P.U. Arts Standard, in Alt. English, Hindi, Elective English and Mathematics to the B.A. Pass standard and in English and Education to the B.A. Honours standard with effect from commencement of the session 1965-66, i.e. with permission to present candidates in the above-mentioned subjects at the Pre-University Examination in 1966, B.A. Part I Examination in 1967 and B.A. Part II Examination in 1968 and not earlier.

Senate House,  
Calcutta,  
The 31st August, 1965.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
*Registrar.*





# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

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## SHELLEY'S THEORY OF POETRY

DR. P. S. SASTRI, M.A., M.LITT., PH.D.

*Head of the Department of English, Nagpur University, Nagpur.*

1. Thomas Love Peacock's *Four Ages of Poetry* argues rationalistically, though cynically, that poetry is bound to decay and to disappear in the age of utility. According to him the period in which poetry originated in Europe was the age of iron. This was followed by the age of gold wherein flourished Homer, Aeschylus and Pindar. Then came the age of silver, the period of Virgil and of the other Augustans. At the end came the age of brass, the late Roman decadence whose typical representative was said to be Nonnus. In English poetry the age of iron was the Middle age; the golden age was that of Shakespeare. The age of silver was that of Dryden and Pope. The age of brass was his own period. Accordingly he ridicules the "egregious confraternity of rhymsters, known by the name of the lake poets". He refers to Shelley when he mentions the "querulous, egotistical rhapsodies, to express the writer's high dissatisfaction with the world and everything in it". In the modern times the poet is said to be "a semi-barbarian in a civilized community". Poetry is "the mental rattle that awakened the attention of intellect in the infancy of civil society."

Peacock observed that Shelley's *Defence of Poetry* 'is a defence without an attack'. The only trace of its being a reply to Peacock's *Four Ages* (1820) is to be found in Shelley's over-emphasis on the value of poets and of poetry. The easy mirth of Peacock provoked an intensely serious *Defence*. Shelley shows the superiority of creative imagination. But what Peacock argued was not the superiority of reason but the inevitable rise of reason. Shelley has not met this problem squarely.

In trying to refute the arguments of Peacock, Shelley began his *Defence of Poetry* (1821) after a close study of *Biographia Literaria* and

Sidney's *Apology for Poetry*. The *Defence* is closely modelled after the *Apology*. Both the defenders are at heart Platonists, and both are determined to defend poetry from the standpoint of moral values and ideals. Neither offers a comprehensive or an analytic discussion of the subject. Shelley's, however, is a sympathetic and creative study of the nature and value of poetry. Just as Sidney failed to meet Gosson's main charge squarely, so did Shelley.

Unlike Sidney, we find Shelley taking a wider view of poetry. This view was the product of the great movement of feeling called the French Revolution and of the great movement of ideas known as the Renaissance. As a result, Shelley's central doctrines are inspiration, imagination, and morality.

But his theory is essentially charged with his emotionalism whence it is unsystematic. Sidney, on the other hand, presents his view, though a not correct one, with remarkable consistency and cogency.

In defending Poetry against Peacock's charges, Shelley tends to make poetry lose its identity in a loose synthesis of philosophy, morality, and art. In the fashion of the Renaissance critics, he combines in himself the offices of the scholar, teacher, and prophet. Not only does he speak of the greatness of poetry, he maintains contradictory positions. "A poet is a nightingale, who sits in darkness and sings to cheer its own solitude with sweet sounds" (Shawcross: Shelley's Literary and Philosophical Criticism, p. 129); and yet we are told that the poet portrays "beautiful idealisms of moral excellence", and that he "excites a generous impulse, an ardent thirst for excellence." And all this is interwoven with the twin doctrines of inspiration and imagination, which are again related intimately to the principle of love. There is something of the neo-Platonist spirit in such an approach. As Gayley and Scott observed, the *Defence* should be read along with Plato's *Ion*, *Philebus*, *Phaedrus*, and *Symposium*.

2. The Platonic doctrine is the central basis of the *Defence of Poetry* (1821). Poetry is the creative principle in man. Poets are "not only the authors of language and of music, of the dance and architecture, and statuary, and painting, they are the institutors of laws, and the founders of a civil society, and the inventors of the arts of life" (p. 124). They are "men of the most spotless virtue, the most consummate prudence, the most fortunate of men" (p. 156). They are "philosophers of the very loftiest power." And "poetry is the record of the best and happiest moments of the happiest and best minds" (p. 154); it is "the centre and circumference of knowledge" (p. 152) and it "comprehends all science". Consequently "poets are the unacknowledged legislators of the world" (p. 159).

And yet there is a historical process operating in the stream of poetry. Shelley sketches the social history of literature. This sketch has nothing to do with the platonic doctrine. It is a sketch reminiscent of Herder

and Rousseau. In the naturalistic manner of these writers, he describes the origins of poetry. These origins go to the time that saw the origins of man. The first expression of the emotions by the primitive man were about the objects in his environment. Later he was said to have expressed his emotions about man in society, about man 'with all his passions and pleasures' (p. 121). Even in those early periods men are said to have observed "a certain order in their words and actions, distinct from that of the objects and the impressions represented by them" (p. 122). Later they began imitating natural objects, all the while observing "a certain rhythm or order." This imitation being an 'approximation to the beautiful' it was capable of giving rise to an intenser and purer pleasure.' And the poets accordingly are those in whom this pleasure exists in excess. One is a poet when he "apprehends the true and the beautiful. He apprehends the good which exists in the relation subsisting between existence and perception, and between perception and expression" (p. 123).

This naturalistic tale about the origins of poetry is fanciful, though the conclusion drawn from it is valuable. Shelley's emphasis on the moral value of poetry makes him speak in exaggerated tones of the prevalence of great literature during the periods of moral and intellectual greatness. There have been periods in the past when great literature emerged even when there was no corresponding moral greatness in the times. Instead of moral greatness, we find in such epochs intense social activity. Poetry may minister to social good; but it cannot be said to arise from the greater goodness prevailing in society.

3. Taking the view that evolution is cyclical, he argues that "every original language near to its source is in itself the chaos of a cyclic poem" (p. 124). The erotic poems of later times are "episodes to that great poem, which all poets, like the cooperating thoughts of one great mind, have built up since the beginning of the world" (p. 139). Even the history of the Roman empire is a series of "episodes of that cyclic poem written by time upon the memories of men" (p. 140).

In Shelley's view *literature appears to be a social product*, a product of the collective spirit. He observes that "the highest perfection of human society has ever corresponded with the highest dramatic excellence; and that the corruption or the extinction of the drama in a nation where it has once flourished, is a mark of a corruption of manners, and an extinction of the energies which sustain the soul of social life" (p. 137).

Even the literary forms represent a collectivist theory of evolution. Homer, Dante, and Milton are the only genuine epic poets because they "bore a defined and intelligible relation to the knowledge and sentiment and religion of the age in which they lived" (p. 146). Virgil, Tasso, Ariosto, and Spenser cannot be called true epic poets because they are not the representatives of their times (p. 147). Likewise Shelley tells us that when his contemporary poets have been able to fathom "the depths of human



nature with a comprehensive and all-penetrating spirit," this "is less their spirit than the spirit of the age" (p. 159). Such a view does scant justice to the creative genius. But since moral values are *essentially social values*, Shelley exaggerates his conception of a poet's relation to his society.

Talking about Dante, he observes that "a great poem is a fountain for ever overflowing with the waters of wisdom and delight; and after one person and one age has exhausted all its divine effluence which their peculiar relations enable them to share, another and yet another succeeds, and new relations are ever developed, the source of an unforeseen and an unconceived delight" (p. 148). This conception of a stream of poetry makes a poet like Shelley the contemporary spectator of his age and also a participant in the stream. This stream of poetry is an integral part of the greater process of history. Poetry consequently becomes an integral and powerful element in the fabric of society.

"All high poetry is infinite" (p. 147). It reveals the permanent even as it appears to sum up the life of the times when it was composed. It gathers into itself the total spirit of the past and passes it on to the future. It contains within itself embryonically the entire subsequent history. "It is as the first acorn, which contained all oaks potentially" (p. 147). Great poetry is, no doubt, charged with great suggestion. But its greatness is also found in the profound influence it wields over succeeding ages. The stream of poetry is continuous; and as it progresses, it acquires greater and greater dignity and value. In this light Shelley could say of his own age that it "will be a memorable age in intellectual achievements"; for, that was the period where lived "such philosophers and poets as surpass beyond comparison any who have appeared since the last national struggle for civil and religious liberty" (p. 159). The Platonic vision rarely left Shelley.

3. Shelley looked at the world like a Platonist. The world is an appearance which now and then reveals the light of a hidden power. That power is within the world, struggling to transform the entire universe. It is a power embodying the realized perfection of all that is good and beautiful on earth; and it therefore reveals the unity in life. It is called differently at different places. It is the Intellectual Beauty of his *Hymn*, the Liberty of his *Code*, the 'Great Spirit' of Love, the One of *Adonais*, the Spirit of Nature of *Queen Mab*, and the Vision of *Alastor* and *Epipsychidion*. His skylark embodies the same perfection. Everywhere there is the same one Spirit's 'plastic stress'; and poetry too is one of the modes through which this power is revealed.

Poetry thus is a revelation of this power. The poet does not create anything from his own mind. He creates in the sense that he reveals "those forms which are common to universal nature and existence." Accordingly "a poem is the very image of life expressed in its eternal truth" (p. 128). It "is the creation of actions according to the unchangeable forms of human

nature" (p. 128) It is not an imitation, but an expression of an eternal value. This value is not created because it exists always; and since we are not familiar with it in normal life, it strikes us as a creation. The work of invention and execution is subordinate in the creative process. Hence he appeals to the greatest poets whether it is not an error to declare that the finest passages arise from study and labour. This labour, however, appears in connecting the various inspired passages (p. 153).

During the creative moments, the poet is an inspired being. He is under the influence of a power which he can neither understand nor control, because, as Plato said, there is a divine afflatus flowing into the poet. In this state the poet is forced to realise images of perfection. He "participates in the eternal, the infinite, and the one" (p. 124); and poetry "acts in a divine and unapprehended manner, beyond and above consciousness" (p. 129). Since poetry is the product of an inspired moment, no one can say, 'I will compose poetry' (p. 153). And this power called inspiration 'arises from within'. Such exceptional moments come without notice and leave equally suddenly. During those moments arise elevating and delightful thoughts and feelings. It is then that we have "the interpenetration of a diviner nature through our own" (p. 154), and the poet seeks to arrest those moments and to "redeem from decay the visitation of the divinity in man" (p. 155).

The moment of inspiration does not endure for a long time. It sets the imagination into action and there arises a quick succession of thoughts and feelings. What is then visualised appears consequently dim; but it has an intensity. In giving expression to it the poet introduces his own conscious will; and this tends to the disappearance of inspiration. Moreover, expression cannot keep pace with the imagination. Thus he observes that "when composition begins, inspiration is already on the decline" (p. 153). "The mind in creation," he observes, "is as a fading coal, which some invisible influence, like an inconstant wind, awakens to transitory brightness" (p. 153). It begins to fade away because the volitional act which is necessary for expressing the vision seeks to impose a control on the uncontrollable power. The mind in execution is like a fading coal. It fades and yet it illumines. This illumination compels the poet to combine two or more ideas or feelings, whence the expression becomes metaphorical. The metaphorical language reveals the hitherto "unapprehended relations of things and perpetuates their apprehension" (p. 123). Hence though the composition is a feeble shadow of the imagination, the metaphorical expression makes it both original and distinct.

Since the *Defence* originated in his desire to refute the inevitable supremacy of reason and utility advanced by Peacock, Shelley exaggerates his views. His greatest works did not come to him naturally and easily. They cost him a great labour which is incompatible with an over-emphasis on inspiration. His manuscripts abound in many variants. But usually

he allowed himself to express at the height of his experience. If a troublesome word or line came in his way, he left it at that and later came to fill it up and to moothen the passage. Consequently he maintains throughout his work the language of the creative imagination. Since this language is surcharged with emotion, imagination and metaphor, at times it appears to be diffuse, obscure, trailing and amorphous. About the poem *Life of Life*, Tennyson aptly remarked that "he seems to go up into the air and burst." Shelley's practice is a continuous rejection of the theory of recollection in tranquillity. He never held that poetry is to be deliberately produced at any time subsequent to that of the original experience. Poetry is intimately bound up with the first experience, not with its revival.

4. The supreme power or divinity appears in a variety of forms which are all united in terms of the ideal power. The varied manifestations of the power are all forms of poetry. Peacock argued that poetry declines as civilization progresses, and that the imagination has to give way to reasoning and to utility. As against this, Shelley argues that it is imagination which makes anything possible and which reveals the intrinsic value of the given. Reason cannot create. it needs the products of imagination to operate upon. Reason gives rise to utility, and the utilitarian concepts are detrimental to human development. When imagination is absent, there is the absence of sympathy; and then we cannot feel what we know. As Coleridge said in his *Dejection* seeing and feeling must co-exist if we are to overcome dejection.

Imagination is sharply distinguished from reason. When the mind contemplates the relations between one thought and another, we are having the reasoning mind. But when the mind "acts upon those thoughts so as to colour them with its own light; and composes from them other thoughts" (p. 120), we have the imaginative activity. The former is the principle of analysis, and the latter that of synthesis. As synthetic it emphasises 'the similitudes of thought,' and is therefore 'the perception of the value' of things and thoughts. Reason thus is like the instrument, body, or shadow of imagination. Such an imagination in the poetic act does not admit ugliness as such. Even if it has to deal with the distorted material, it renders it beautiful, because the poets "can colour all that they combine with the evanescent hues of this ethereal world". Imagination colours the facts in the sense that it transmutes them into the ideal, and this transformation is necessary to all poetry. By Poetry then Shelley means "the expression of the creative imagination". Prose writing is as much poetry as anything else. Likewise the other fine arts, actions, inventions, institutions, legal systems, religious systems are all forms of poetry because these are brought into being by imagination in its striving after perfection. When one sees or visualises the beauty of an imagined entity and translates it into a specific form, he is to that extent a poet.

In every act of imagination, the soul of the individual visualises or feels a perfection which it seeks to realize. This fills it with delight because it represents the soul's own future or possible state of perfection. This alone can explain why one is not only delighted with what he visualises of intuitions, but realises his oneness with it. There results a harmony between the individual and what he intuitively feels. Such a harmony which is the work of the creative imagination exists at various levels. The harmony of will and feeling is virtue; the perfect union of soul with soul is another harmony called love. The harmony of social relations is the origin of the social institutions and of law. The harmony or adjustment of intellectual elements is truth. In other words, truth, virtue and the like do not constitute the function or end of poetry, since they are the products of the poetic activity. They are forms under which the perfect Intellectual Beauty reveals itself to us.

Each such form is an imaginative idea which is beautiful. It is desirable and valuable for its own sake. It is an image of a perfection revealing order, harmony, or unity. It has a rhythm. This rhythm can express itself even in a social system. Thus Shelley observes that "the true poetry of Rome lived in its institutions: for whatever of beautiful, true and majestic they contained, could have sprung only from the faculty which creates the order in which they consist" (p. 140). This is taking a very wide view of poetry. And Shelley seems to argue that poetry is at the very basis of human life. Then even reasoning, utility and the like acquire a meaning or significance only when they are grounded in the poetic or creative imagination. This is Shelley's indirect answer to the inevitable predominance of reason advocated by Peacock.

5. Poetic inspiration is common to poetry and many others. But poetry differs from the rest in the kind of expression it takes up. The medium here is language not virtue, not action. Language is the most direct and the most plastic of all media. It is, says Shelley, "arbitrarily produced by the imagination" (p. 125). It is related only to thoughts. The medium of any other art has its own nature and its own direct relations to the others.

But to say that language is the product of imagination is to ignore the utilitarian aspect of language. The other media too have their own advantages and they too can claim their origins in imagination. It is equally difficult to accept Shelley's view that the medium in the other arts is an obstacle preventing the proper expression of the artist's conception. A sculptor does not think or feel like a poet; nor does the musician or the painter. In each art there is an inseparable unity of the expressed content and the medium proper. The medium of any art is both an obstacle and a medium. And the greatness of the artist lies not in the medium he chooses, but in the way he seeks to overcome the limitations imposed on him by his medium.

The language employed by the poet is not the language of a scientist or that of the historian. It is measured language, and this need not be metrical. But metrical form, he declares, is "convenient and popular, and to be preferred, especially in such composition as includes much action" (p. 127). The metrical pattern as something existing in its own right has no necessary relation with poetry; and no poet is to be tied down to it. But measure is an absolute necessity. The poet is sensitive to the order of the relations of thoughts and feelings. This is intimately bound up with his sensitiveness to the order of the relations of sounds. (p. 126). And since the creative imagination involves the idea or image of perfection or harmony, the two-fold sensitiveness is intimately bound up with the harmony of words and the harmony of meaning. And the resulting measured language being a harmony of meaning, words and sound, Shelley speaks of 'the vanity of translation' (p. 126). Untranslatability is no doubt the mark of great literature. Every great work of art is a perfect unity of form and content; and in a translation we transfuse only the content from one language into another. But Shelley's translations of the *Hymn to Mercury* and of Agathon's speech in the *Symposium* are outstanding exceptions to this criterion of untranslatability.

Allied to this is his distrust of any theory of style like that of the eighteenth century, or that of Wordsworth or Keats. In his preface to the *Revolt of Islam* he said: "Nor have I permitted any system relating to mere words to divert the attention of the reader, from whatever interest I may have succeeded in creating, to my own ingenuity in contriving." His intention has always been to choose "the most obvious and appropriate language". The result is a measured and yet metrical language. Poetry is therefore that which "expresses those arrangements of language and especially metrical language, which are created by that imperial faculty" called imagination. Though Shelley held that the distinction between prose and verse is not admissible in accurate or exact philosophy, he insists on the metrical form in his own way. He felt the accuracy of the distinction, but he could not rationalise it to himself.

Shelley's argument not only points to the difference between measured and unrhythmical language, but it is also applicable to the difference between the metrical and the merely measured language. Shelley does not enter into a deeper examination of this problem because of his emphasis on the content of poetry. He does recognise the indispensability of the form. Yet when he talks of poems or poets, he is not so attentive to their words, phrases and forms as to their substance. As Bradley said, "Poetry was to him so essentially an effusion of aspiration, love, and worship, that we can imagine his feeling it almost an impiety to break up its unity even for purposes of study, and to give a separate attention to its means of utterance."

6. Poetry communicates "the wisdom which is mingled with its delight". In this task it awakens and expands the mind with the many "unapprehended combinations of thought". These combinations are inherent in reality. Poetry only "lifts the veil". In so doing it offers delight. There is a 'durable, universal and permanent' pleasure beside the 'transitory and particular' one. That which produces either of these forms is useful. "Whatever strengthens and purifies the affections, enlarges the imagination, and adds spirit to sense, is useful" (p. 148). This is the kind of utility associated with the pleasure that arises from the exercise of imagination. The other kind of utility is what is usually spoken of as sensuous, selfish or materialistic. In contradistinction to this second variety, the first is now not designated utility, but value.

Poetry has to express an ideal, a perfection, which evokes delight or delightful aspiration. Poems answering to this description are frequent in Shelley's work. Homer is said to have "embodied the ideal perfection of his age in human characters." He reveals "the truth and beauty of friendship, patriotism, and persevering devotion to an object" (p. 129). But there are poems where this kind of ideal perfection is not found. Shelley has many melancholy lyrics which are the 'sweetest songs' that 'tell of saddest thought'. Satire, epic and tragedy too do not directly portray ideal perfection. Shelley therefore observes that the poet has to "colour with the hues of the ideal everything he touches." *Where a relation to the ideal is absent, there we have no poetry.* But the relation can be direct or indirect. Shelley's own melancholy lyrics communicate the lament arising from the loss of the ideal. Though the joy of poetry is often wholly unalloyed, he observes that "the pain of the inferior is frequently connected with the pleasures of the superior positions of our being", that "the pleasure that is in sorrow is sweeter than the pleasure of pleasure itself", and that "sorrow, terror, anguish, despair itself, are often the chosen expressions of an approximation to the highest good" (p. 150). Tragedy delights us because it communicates "a shadow of the pleasure which exists in pain". The kind of pleasure that interests us is that which is mixed with pain. It is therefore an error in judgment to speak of pleasure as such as the end of poetry. Shelley points to the unique experience of tragedy where we have a curious blend of pleasure and pain, and this union focusses our attention on the meaning implicit in such a unity.

It is the awareness of the ideal that results in the intensely painful emotions. The Athenian tragedies represent "the highest idealisms of passion and of power" (p. 133); and there we become aware of ourselves "under a thin disguise of circumstances, stripped of all but that ideal perfection and energy which every one feels to be the internal type of all that he loves, admires, and would become" (p. 134). Accordingly he held *King Lear* to be the greatest drama in the world. Referring to his *Ocean* he remarked that "the poetry which exists in these tempestuous sufferings

and crimes, mitigates the pain of the contemplation of moral deformity". Count Cenci is a poetic character and as such is a form of expression of the ideal. That is, perfection includes also those qualities which can become the instruments of evil. Here appear 'energy, power and passion of the soul'. These are essentially forms capable of revealing perfection directly or indirectly. *The ultimate substance of poetry is therefore the ideal not the actual.*

And yet Shelley underrated his own *Cenci*. He never enjoyed comedy which may be said to glorify the ideal by presenting the absurdity of the actual. He preferred Prometheus to Satan because the latter's imperfections are said to come in the way of our interest. This inconsistency is due to Shelley's impatience with the actual world of imperfection.

7. Poetry has to express ideal perfection. The poet then may have to express his beliefs about this ideal; and then poetry will have a moral function. But Shelley tells us that the poet should not have a moral end in view, nor should he give vent to his own ideas of right and wrong" (p. 131). "Didactic poetry", he says in his preface to *Prometheus*, "is my abhorrence: nothing can be equally well expressed in prose that is not tedious and supererogatory in verse". The great poets do not give us didactic poetry. But "those in whom the poetical faculty, though great, is less intense, as Euripides, Lucan, Tasso, Spenser, have frequently affected a moral aim, and the effect of their poetry is diminished in exact proportion to the degree in which they compel us to advert to this purpose" (p. 132).

These statements draw a distinction between didacticism and moral value. A poet can have the general purpose of doing good. A poet can also write a poem like *Hellas* with a view to communicating a specific moral effect. Moreover, one of the main functions of poetry is to portray moral ideals. Shelley himself admits that "he has tried to familiarise the minds of his readers with beautiful idealisms of moral excellence."

What Shelley is then objecting to is the attempt to *instruct* men in morals, to convey doctrines. Such attempts are based on rational arguments as the discourse on education found in *The Excursion*. Poetry can and does have a moral purpose. But this purpose in poetry should not be realised by an appeal to the reasoning intellect. Any such appeal, as he said in his preface to *Cenci*, is tantamount to the 'enforcement' of a 'dogma.'

In January, 1819 he informed Peacock, "I consider poetry very subordinate to moral and political science." He considered reasoning on moral problems to be very valuable. But it has no place in poetry since it can be expressed in unmeasured language in a much better way. In the second place, Shelley recognised that while the poet's own ideas about moral problems are those of his own country and time, the content of poetry must be of eternal and universal interest. The former is central to didacticism.



Shelley's central argument on these problems is based on his theory of imagination. *Poetry produces its moral effect through the imagination* which is stimulated into activity in the inspired moments. Imagination, he says, is "the great instrument of moral good" (p. 131). *This imagination is of the nature of sympathy. It effects a union, and is thus a form of love.* Accordingly we are told that "the great secret of morals is love" (p. 131). If people "hate and despise and consure the deceive and subjugate one another," it is not because they have no 'admirable doctrines'. It is because they want love; and love is "*a going out of our own nature, and an identification of ourselves with the beautiful which exists in thought, action or person not our own.*" This is the nature of imagination, and it is vital to morality. Hence we are told that "a man to be greatly good must imagine intensely and comprehensively" (p. 131). Imagination is thus the cause whose effect is moral good. Poetry expresses the cause whose necessary effect is the moral good. By strengthening imagination it promotes morality. Moral reasoning, on the other hand, has no reference to its cause; it analyses the effect.

8. The poetical faculty, says Shelley, has two functions: "it creates new materials of knowledge and power and pleasure," and "it engenders in the mind a desire to reproduce and arrange them according to a certain rhythm and order which may be called the beautiful and the good" (p. 152). The creations of imagination are new and beautiful at the same time. The novelty and beauty of the product interests us and acts on our imagination. When our imagination is stimulated, there is generated an experience that is similar to the one which the creative artist had prior to the act of composition. This similarity is again due to that element of sympathy which is an essential aspect of imagination. Under the impact of imagination our feelings and emotions are awakened into an activity.

In poetry we find imagination acting on the emotion; and there arises a moral effect. The moral interpretation of life offered by poetry should accordingly be one capable of satisfying the imagination. The "deepest and most original interpretation" comes "by the way of imagination". In this sense does poetry come to discover or to create ideas. That is, great poetry does not offer an interpretation which we already possess. The great artist rejects a stereotyped or narrow morality, not morality as such. In Shelley's, *view this moral ideal is the same as love* which he also called Intellectual Beauty, Liberty, and Spirit of Nature. As Bradley remarked, "Whatever in the world has any worth is an expression of Love. Love sometimes talks. Love talking musically is poetry."



# NATIONALIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

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In all under-developed countries aiming at economic development through planning the nationalization of industries is an important economic issue requiring very careful attention. The question of nationalization has to be viewed in its proper perspective by taking into account the objectives of nationalization and the possibility of realization of these objectives under the economic conditions obtaining in the country. In an under-developed economy the role of nationalization in the development process has to be ascertained in terms of the desirability of nationalization as well as the efficient management of nationalized industries. Nationalization may be desirable, but failure to manage nationalized undertakings efficiently will defeat the very purpose for which a programme of nationalization is undertaken.

## *Objectives of Nationalization*

The objectives of nationalization are different in different countries. In under-developed countries planning for economic development nationalization may become necessary for several reasons.

First of all, some basic and key industries may have to be nationalized in order to regulate and control the economy. Economic planning cannot be successful unless the Government is in a position to make its economic measures effective. A large and strong private sector, motivated by the goal of profit-maximization, may often render the economic measures of the Government ineffective and thus prevent the proper implementation of development plans. In such a case the Government has to exercise absolute control over some basic and key industries through nationalization. Government ownership of some important industries may thus become essential to development planning.

Secondly, a diffusion of economic power, which is an important goal of economic policy in backward countries, can be brought about by nationalization. A socialistic society has been set as a goal of development planning in many under-developed countries where concentrations of wealth and economic power are considered extremely undesirable. Through nationalization disparities of income and wealth can be removed to a considerable extent and this is one of the arguments advanced by socialists in defence of nationalization. In fact, by pursuing a policy of nationalization a Government can not only distribute national income in an equitable manner but also build the foundations of a socialistic society.

Thirdly, the wastes of competition can be eliminated through nationalization. Under a system of private ownership of the means of production a single industry, when it is not a monopoly, consists of several or many competing firms which constantly strive to undersell each other by incurring expenses which are a waste from the point of view of the economy as a whole. In a developing economy human and material resources have to be put to the best possible use and wastes have to be reduced to a minimum. Nationalization may be used as an instrument to avoid the wastes resulting from meaningless competition. Nationalization is also desirable where the economies of large-scale production are not available to an industry owing to the existence of many competing firms, each producing a small output. In such a case unified management and control of the industry will be of great advantage to the economy by way of reduced costs and prices.

Lastly, nationalization is an effective device for putting an end to the abuses of monopoly. Actuated by the profit motive, monopolies may not invest funds for expanding output when increased production is necessary for meeting the growing needs of the economy. Again, the existence and growth of monopolies leading to an increasing exploitation of the consumer and concentrations of economic power, go counter to a policy that aims at the maximization of economic welfare. In a developing economy the Government may find it a difficult job to make a monopoly operate in the best interests of the public and nationalization may be the only avenue open to it for safeguarding the interests of the consumer.

It has, however, to be pointed out that some objectives of nationalization can be realized even without nationalization. The distribution of national income can be altered by tax devices by which income can be transferred from the rich to the poor. The wastes of competition can be minimized, though not eliminated, by regulation. The power of monopolies can be curbed by regulatory means and price control. But the existence of a large and strong private sector can easily make regulation and control ineffective. The key sectors of the economy have, therefore, to be in the hands of the State for the regulation and control of the economy as a whole. And effective control of the economy is indispensable for the successful implementation of development plans. It is for this purpose alone, if not for anything else, that nationalization is necessary in a planned economy.

But it has to be borne in mind that while the nationalization of some industries may be necessary, the objectives of nationalization cannot be realized unless a high level of efficiency is maintained in the nationalized industries. Nationalization gives rise to a number of problems relating to management and control, but these are certainly not problems that defy solution.

*Management of Nationalized Industry*

In nationalized undertakings one very important problem has to do with incentives. In a capitalist economy it is the motive of profit-maximization that provides the incentive to work. It may be supposed that in a state-owned industry the disappearance of the profit motive will mean that no incentive to work can be provided. But a little reflection will make it clear that incentives do not really present a problem in nationalized enterprises. In joint-stock companies in capitalist countries the profit motive is at work only in a remote sense as the day-to-day management of these companies is in the hands of managers and not share-holders who are the owners of the companies. The share-holders of a joint-stock company control the business of the company through a Board of Directors elected by them. The Directors formulate policies and review the working of the concern from time to time. The task of management is left to managerial personnel appointed by the Board of Directors. The profit motive is thus of little importance in providing an inducement to business enterprise. Moreover, in nationalized industry a system of rewarding managers and workers for efficient work may be introduced with a view to giving them inducements to work. Those whose performance is exceptionally good may be publicly honoured as is the practice in the Soviet Union. In some cases some workers and managers may have to be penalized in order to prevent efficiency from falling to low levels. In fact, there is nothing that stands in the way of efficient working of nationalized concerns and the performance of these concerns may be far better than that of similar concerns under private enterprise.

The efficient management of nationalized industry depends, however, not only on incentives but also on the measure of control exercised by a central authority. While Parliament should control all nationalized undertakings in the interests of the nation, too much interference in the affairs of a nationalized concern may prove to be an obstacle to the smooth working of the concern. A nationalized undertaking has to be autonomous in some respects if its efficient management is to be ensured. Again, it has to be controlled by a central authority like Parliament in order that the national interest may be safeguarded and the growth of vested interests prevented. It is now an accepted view that while Parliament should discuss and decide questions of policy regarding a nationalized industry, the day-to-day administration should be left entirely to the management concerned. It may, however, be pointed out that consultations between the management of a nationalized concern and the Ministry responsible for its efficient working may be very useful indeed in formulating policies and executing them.

Again, it has to be mentioned in this connexion that labour-management relations are extremely important from the point of view of the day-to-day work of nationalized industry. In a capitalist society

trade unions press for increased wages and good working conditions and regard capitalists as their antagonists. In capitalist countries the working population has to fight for its rights and entrepreneurs try to resist the demand of labour and seek to minimize the cost of labour and maximize profits. In the case of nationalized industry, however, labour-management relations must be entirely different from what they are under capitalism. The days of struggle between labourers and entrepreneurs must be over. What is needed is co-operation between workers and managers for the achievement of a common objective—the maximization of economic welfare. And consultations between workers' representatives and managers will go a long way in creating a suitable climate for the efficient functioning of nationalized industry.\*

#### *Productivity in Nationalized Industry*

It may be argued that in nationalized undertakings productivity cannot be stepped up to the maximum possible extent and hence costs cannot be reduced to a minimum. In a free enterprise economy costs of production are reduced through competition between the firms of an industry. It may be presumed that in the case of nationalized industry which eliminates competition no such reduction of costs is possible. In this kind of argument competition is supposed to have no role in the nationalized sector of an economy. It must not, however, be forgotten that competition is not ended by nationalization. In many cases a nationalized industry may consist of several units or establishments competing with each other. Each unit will try to reduce costs and prices in order to increase sales much in the same way as a firm tries to increase profits by utilizing the factors of production in the best possible manner and thereby reducing costs and prices. A comparison of the cost conditions of the units making up a nationalized industry will reveal the progress or otherwise of every such unit. If the cost per unit of output shows a tendency to rise, prompt action can be taken to reduce the cost. A rise in costs may be due to inefficient management in which case an improvement in the organization of production will have to be brought about. An increase in costs may also be due to the use of old equipment which must be replaced suitably if costs are to be reduced. It is also possible that an establishment cannot reduce costs because of the smallness of its size. In this case the establishment must attain the optimum size or cease to exist. In this way the units constituting a nationalized industry will be able to increase productivity. All that is necessary to maintain productivity at a high level through an element of competition is to review the working of all

\*For details the reader is referred to "Joint Consultation in Nationalized Industry" by A. M. F. Palmer in "Problems of Nationalized Industry," edited by W. A. Robson.

the establishments of a nationalized industry at short intervals.\*\* It is however, important to note in this connexion that every nationalized industry cannot be split into several units, some nationalized industries inevitably become gigantic state monopolies. But state monopolies which are constantly subjected to public criticism and are, therefore, unable to abuse their monopoly position, are to be preferred to private monopolies.

#### *Conclusion*

In fine, it must be pointed out that every nationalized industry is likely to face some initial difficulties. But initial difficulties and setbacks must not be taken as an index of bad management of nationalized undertakings. Every nationalized undertaking must be given sufficient time to overcome initial difficulties and evolve ways and means for the efficient management of industry. Much has to be learnt through trial and error and there is need for experimentation to devise the right methods of management. It has also to be noted that every industry has problems peculiar to its own and no uniform system of management and control can be imposed on all industrial units. To ensure a high level of efficiency of nationalized industry rigid uniformity in matters of industrial management and control of industry must be avoided.

Furthermore, it is desirable that nationalized industries should be decentralized as far as possible. Decentralization will ensure efficient management through competition between the different units making up any particular industry. Moreover, the existent of gigantic state monopolies may be undesirable. In big and unwieldy state undertaking efficiency may sag and vested interests may grow in huge state corporations.

Lastly, the importance of scientific research must be emphasized. In every nationalized enterprise research work must be given due attention. Through research efforts must be made to turn out products of improved quality, reduce costs, promote efficiency, and explore the possibilities of developing new techniques of production. It is operational research which must receive attention in all nationalized undertakings while the State must take responsibilities for setting up institutions where there may be an endeavour to add to the stock of scientific knowledge through fundamental research.

\*\*For a detailed discussion of this point, see Gabriel Ardant, *"The Measurement of Productivity in State Undertakings and Public Services"*, I. L. O., Geneva, 1953, pp. 4.10.

# SYMBOLS IN MODERN ENGLISH POETRY

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Sometime or other we use symbols to give sensuous, imaginative shape and significance to our experience. In the far-off past men's first response to the world expressed itself in fables, myths and legends. The fables of Æsop and the beautiful legends of ancient Greece and Rome present experience in symbolic form. Allegories of the Middle Ages convey suggestions beyond their surface meanings. Beatrice in Dante's *Divine Comedy* symbolizes Christian theology, while the eagle in Chaucer's *House of Fame* stands for soaring contemplation. Symbol is the earliest and still the most direct and immediate form of human expression.

But symbol is not confined to literature only. It is also widely used in science. Triangle, for example, is a symbol for a geometric concept. The figure 1 represents one unit in counting. But there is a good deal of difference between a mathematical and scientific symbol and a literary one. The meaning of a scientific symbol is fixed and does not change under any circumstances. But the symbol in literature is flexible and may yield different meanings in varying context. Yeats, for example, says of his poem, *The Cap and Bells* : "The poem has always meant a great deal to me though, as is the way with symbolic poems, it has not always meant quite the same thing."

We may note also different significance in many symbols used by T. S. Eliot. The Yew-tree is used many times in the last three poems of *Ash Wednesday*. It also occurs three times in *Four Quartets*. But the Yew-tree gives several levels of meaning. In *Ash-Wednesday* the Lady in Section IV is seated between two yews. The protagonist pleads

"But when the voices shaken from the Yew-tree drift away  
Let the other Yew be shaken and reply."

The plain meaning of the two lines is "when worldly experiences and the memory of them have passed, I hope for a revelation of the divine." The two Yews are here representatives of past and future times.

Again in the second verse of the lyric in *Burnt Norton* "the chill fingers of the Yew" give us a vague sense of foreboding. At the close of *The Dry Salvages*, on the otherhand, the phrase "not too far from the Yew tree" gives a sense of security. Thus the familiar Yew of the Churchyard becomes the symbol of both mortality and immortality.

In his brilliant analysis of *The Waste Land* Cleanth Brooks refers to the symbol of the rock to show that literary symbols resist complete equation with a simple meaning. Throughout the poem the rock seems to be one of the desert symbols.

"Here is no water but only rock  
 Rock and no water and the sandy road  
 The road winding above among the mountains  
 Which are mountains of rock without water...

(*What the Thunder said*).

But Eliot gives a startling twist to the general meaning in the first part of the poem *The Burial of the Dead*. Rock becomes a place of refuge :

Only

There is shadow under this red rock,  
 (Come in under the shadow of this red rock.)

Cleanth Brooks reads in it a possible reference to the Grail symbolism.

'In Parzival, the Grail is a stone : And this stone all men call the Grail. .As children the Grail doth call them, 'neath its shadow they wax and grow'. The paradox, life through death, penetrates the symbol itself.'

The examples cited above clearly show that there is a penumbra of uncertainty about the meaning of a symbol used by poets. This suggestive indefiniteness makes for some amount of ambiguity. Modern poets have thickened this inherent ambiguity into near obscurity by the arbitrary use of symbols for the expression of their ideas or emotions. But the poets down the ages up to the end of the Victorian Era have used the familiar kind of symbolism that is conventional and fixed. Dante created his image by the accepted symbols of Christian Heaven and Hell. These symbols from Christianity are hallowed by time and familiar from centuries of religious art. They are easily recognised and appreciated at their full value. The sun-image in Shakespeare's *Richard II* standing in general as the symbol of royal majesty or Wordsworth's *Leech—gatherer* symbolising resolution and independence, is drawn from sources of every-day poetic thinking. Readers find little difficulty in understanding these 'symbols of everyday poetry'. But modern poets sometimes use these accepted symbols but more often they invent new symbols or press new meanings into old symbols. Readers find it difficult to understand and appreciate them. In an interesting article this is described by Stephen Spender as the crisis of symbols.

Stephen Spender names two English poems as a signpost in a landscape of poems. One of them is *The Oxen* by Thomas Hardy about Christmas. The other is *The Second Coming* of W. B. Yeats. The first poem is about an exhausted Christian symbol.

“Christmas Eve and twelve of the clock  
 Now they are all on their knees.  
 So fair a fancy few would weave  
 In these years ?.....”

The poet expresses a poignant regret that symbols of a universal poetry have lost their hold on humanity.

*The Second Coming* is a poem about the rebirth of symbols. The poet finds that “things fall apart ; the centre cannot hold.” But it is not the birth of Jesus Christ for the peace and happiness of mankind, as announced in the Bible. It is the birth of a “rough beast” that “slouches towards Bethlehem to be born”. Stephen Spender thinks that it is a remarkable synthesis of traditional and pure symbolism. It links up the terrifying image of the rough beast with the idea of Christ.

Spender gives some reasons why old symbols gradually shrank and a new type of symbols emerged in modern poetry. Up to the end of the eighteenth century the principal sources of symbols were the defined mythology of Christianity, older superstitions and an enormous wealth of legends and romances to be derived from Travellers’ tales. “By the time of the romantic movement these accepted symbols had lost their Universality.” Science had advanced and made the Travellers’ tales about the barbaric wealth of the gorgeous East untrue or falsified the fabulous tales of the New World. “The Christian symbols had already begun to lose their force, and to symbolize the divisions instead of the unity of humanity.” In *Chapman’s Homer* Keats simply referred to fables which were known to be untrue : “Much have I travelled in the realms of gold.”

The Romantics turned away from the objective universally accepted symbols and looked inward for the secret, hidden universal despair or what is described as the ‘Romantic agony’ by Mario Praz. Shelley’s *Ode to the West Wind* is the symbol of an aching heart :

“Oh, lift me as a wave, a leaf, a cloud!  
 I fall upon the thorns of life! I bleed!”

Keat’s *Ode to a Nightingale* is an agonised cry for peace and happiness :

“The weariness, the fever, and the fret  
 Here, where men sit and hear each other groan.”

Thus the Romantics invented symbols to express their romantic inner mood.

But as we come to modern times with Yeats and Eliot, poetic symbol acquires a new dimension and significance. Yeats and Eliot find that the complex experience of modern times cannot be adequately expressed by plain, narrative statement or in the form of allegory. So they take to the symbolic method to communicate unique personal feelings through a series of images. As Edmund Wilson says : “Symbolism may be defined



as an attempt by carefully studied means—a complicated association of ideas represented by a medley of metaphors—to communicate unique personal feelings.”

As stated above, the modern poets have sometimes restated traditional symbols within an entirely new context. By means of parallelisms and contrasts they have often summoned the visions of the glorious past to expose the horror, boredom and futility of modern civilization. A few examples will show the new way of symbolic writing in modern poetry.

‘Rose’ as a symbol is generally equated with supreme beauty and love. It often stands for Virgin Mary, as in Dante’s *Paradise* :

“Here is the Rose

Wherein the word Divine was made incarnate.”

(Canto XXIII, Lines 70-71, Cary’s translation)

D. G. Rossetti uses this traditional symbol in his poem, *The Blessed Damozel* :

“Her robe, ungirt from clasp to hem,  
No wrought flowers did adorn,  
But a white rose of Mary’s gift,  
For service meetly worn.”

But Yeats puts the same rose symbol to different uses. In the poem, *The Rose of Peace*, he uses the accepted symbol—the symbol of absolute peace.

“And God would bid His warfare cease,  
Saying all things were well,  
And softly make a *rosy peace*,  
A peace of Heaven and Hell.”

There is a variation in significance in another of his poems, *The Rose of Battle*. It is associated with a sense of suffering, an infinite longing for something unattainable :

“Rose of all Roses, Rose of all the World !

.. .. .

Beauty grown sad with its eternity  
Made you of us, and of the dim grey sea.”

But in *The Secret Rose* Yeats splices it to contemporary Ireland with a prophetic vision of deliverance :

“Surely thine hour has come, thy great wind blows,  
Far off, most secret, and inviolate Rose ? ”

In T. S. Eliot the traditional symbol of the rose ‘suffers a sea-change into something rich and strange’. In *Ash Wednesday* the rose is explicitly religious in significance, suggesting Dante’s “rose sempiterna” of *Paradise*. The image of the “rose garden” represents a moment of rare consciousness and “sudden illumination” which flashes across the drab flux of ordinary life. But in *Burnt Norton* the symbol is widened in its implications to mean search for spiritual refreshment, a change of heart :

"Footfalls echo in the memory  
Down the passage which we did not take  
Towards the door we never opened  
Into the rose garden."

Stephen Spender remarks that this restatement of traditional symbols in the religious poetry of T. S. Eliot "has been made possible by the physical collapse of the objects and institutions invented by ourselves. Beyond this collapse we see a vision of spiritual values and the necessity of reassessing the visions of men in the past."

The gradual evolution of poetic symbol into its modern shape may be studied with special reference to Yeats and Eliot.

In his earlier poetry Yeats uses what Prof. Bowra describes as "mythological symbolism." In *The Hosting of the Sidhe* his desire to get away from ordinary life is figured in the Sidhe, the fairy people who travel in the Wind and seduce men from their habitual lives. When he wishes for the end of the World, his beloved becomes the "white deer with no horns", and he himself "a hound with one red ear," animals who represent forces of desire, and the coming destruction is figured in the "boar without bristles", an old image of death. The popular poem, *The Stolen Child*, is taken from the common stock of Irish fairy tales and superstitions. The subject of *The Song of Wandering Aengus* is old and traditional. But Yeats gives a new meaning and a new magic to it. He takes the story of a poet who saw a divine being and spent his life searching for her. This individual bard becomes a symbol of universal longing :

"Though I am old with wandering  
Through hollow lands and hilly lands,  
I will find out where she has gone,  
And kiss her lips and take her hands...."

But in later poetry Yeats abandons this familiar legendary symbolism to create new symbols by a series of vivid, concrete images. In *Sailing to Byzantium* he wishes to be gathered "into the artifice of eternity" like—

"...sages standing in God's holy fire  
As in the gold mosaic of a wall."

Thus he invents a fitting symbol for intellectual joy. *Byzantium* is a magnificent example of the controlled fusing of images. It suggests that through the imaginative life of the great arts man can find the timeless and the pure and ride safely "astraddle on the dolphin's mire and blood." The bird of gold—

"Planted on the star-light golden bough,  
Can like the cocks of Hades Crow."

Like Yeats Eliot also follows what he himself describes as "the mythical method" in the use of symbols. His early poems up to *The*

*Waste Land* are concerned with the "immense panorama of futility and anarchy which is contemporary history." He 'manipulates a parallel' between past and present. We may cite some poems to illustrate this point.

In *Burbank with a Baedekar : Bleistein with a cigar* the characters are symbolic embodiments of a conflict in values. The Young American tourist is superseded in his affair with the Princess Volupine by a "Curbuncular Jew". He meditates on the power and glory of the old city and the decay of the Venetian aristocracy and culture in modern time :

"who clipped the lion's wings  
And flea'd his rump and pared his claws ?"

In *A Cooking Egg* the childish day-dreams of dazzling successes are compared with the drab and unsavoury present moment. After a call upon a mild, dull spinster the poet expresses his disillusion :

"Where are the eagles and trumpets ?  
Buried beneath some snow-deep Alps,"

There is again an ironic contrast between the more or less innocent materialism of the secular world and the hypocritical materialism of the "True Church" in *The Hippopotamus* :

"The Hippopotamus's day  
Is passed in sleep ; at night he hunts ;  
God works in a mysterious way—  
The Church can sleep and feed at once."

Eliot mixes up the old pagan and Christian legends of the Holy Grail to produce a unified sensibility in *The Waste Land*. The whole poem is a complete expression of the theme of emotional starvation in the modern age.

From *Gerontion* to the *Four Quartets* Eliot turns to religious poetry and uses symbols richer in suggestion and deeper in significance. Traditional Christian symbols are shot with a new meaning and purpose. He also invents sensuous symbols to convey his unique personal feelings. The new use of the Christian symbols of the Yew tree and the rose has already been mentioned.

Eliot invents new symbols to give vivid sensuous shape to his complex experience. The symbol of "the still point" is a dominant symbol in Eliot's poetry since *The Waste Land*. In *Ash Wednesday* we have the image of the wheel which always turns, yet, at the axis, always remains still :

"Against the Word the unsettled World still whirled  
About the centre of the silent word".

Again in the second section of *Burnt Norton* he writes :

"Garlic and sapphires in the mud  
Clot the bedded axle-tree".

The visible axle-tree evidently turns but there is an axis at the centre which remains unmoving—"the still point of the turning world." The still point symbolizes the ultimate point of human perfection. Garlic and sapphires are the usual kinds of impediments to its attainment.

Eliot makes a magnificent use of the ancient symbol of the wheel of Fortune, whirling men ceaselessly upward to prosperity and downward to misery : "The Way up and the way down are one and the same.

Christian symbols are reset to new context to express obscure states of mind which have neither clear outline nor distinct character. In *Gerontion* he writes :

"In the juvenescence of the year  
Came Christ the tiger.

In depraved May, dogwood and chestnut, flowering Judas."

Prof. Pinto explains that "the connections between religion and erotic experience, and between creative activity and decay which we all feel obscurely and which cannot be expressed in any merely rational form are admirably suggested by the image of Christ as a tiger coming into the world in the Spring of a new age which is also the 'depraved' corruption of an old one." The whole passage is an expression of fear of life, the emergence of an age of evil." That fear, "Prof. Pinto adds," "is certainly a characteristic of the modern world, particularly of the world as it was in the years immediately following the Treaty of Versailles."

It may be noted here that this image of 'Christ the tiger' has the same terrifying feature as the 'rough beast slouching towards Bethlehem in Yeats' *Second Coming*. It is different from the symbolism of Blake's *The Tiger*. In Blake the tiger is the symbol of the energy of the Creator expressing itself in all forms of physical incarnation. In Eliot as well as in Yeats the symbol points forward to the birth of a new paganism.

One or two more examples will show clearly the rebirth of symbols in the modern age. In vivid concrete images the settled wisdom of old age is dismissed as a deception in the last two lines of *East Coker* :

"The houses are all gone under the sea."  
The dancers are all gone under the hill."

Another example may be picked from his early writings, *Preludes*, to show the new technique of symbolic writing. The ugliness and squalor of a common urban scene is raised to a condition of poetic intensity concretely by a set of symbols—"the thousand sordid images." "The burnt-out ends of smoky days" are not the City dusk but the twilight of an epoch. 'A gusty shower wraps the grimy scraps of withered leaves about your feet.' In the morning the light creeps between the shutters and man's soul,

"Stretched tight across the skies  
That fade behind a city block."

Man is "some infinitely gentle and infinitely suffering thing." But he has to submit to the inevitable :

"The Worlds revolve like ancient women  
Gathering fuel in vacant lots."

This is, in short, the nature of the crisis of symbols in modern poetry. Traditional symbols have been charged with a new meaning in the context of the harsh and unpleasant realities of the modern age. New symbols have been invented by 'a complicated association of ideas represented by a medley of metaphors' to communicate unique personal feelings. The rich variety of symbolic writing is an interesting subject for study.

# SCHEME OF LOW-PRICED FOREIGN TEXTS FOR INDIAN UNIVERSITIES—THE EXTENT OF BRITISH COLLA- BORATION REQUIRED

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In the changing pattern of world situation and cross currents of economic and political affairs, it is indeed a very great responsibility to formulate the educational structure by selecting foreign texts to suit the national university curriculum of a specially emerging and just developing country like India. Our population has enormously increased and is still increasing. With the independence of the country some eighteen years back, there has developed a growing tendency of reading—reading in all branches and fields, and more specially in the fields of Management Studies, Applied Sciences, Technological Studies, Statistics, Institutional Management, Engineering and General Sciences. In fact, there has been a speedy and all-round growth of institutions of all kinds including Polytechnics and Industrial Training Centres imparting Trade Courses side by side with diploma courses in various technical and engineering curriculum. The number of universities has increased greatly and so also there has been upgrading of the secondary schools. On the primary side, apart from recognised Public Schools, schools controlled by inter-state Councils, District Boards and Corporations, there has been a mushroom growth,—in fact in the form of a craze, of K. G., Nursery and preparatory schools all privately run.

Not only have the educational institutions thus grown up on such a large scale,—institutions of all categories from the primary, secondary, higher secondary, training, technical as well as the universities (numbering into 62) and post-graduate institutes of national importance, but side by side, there has grown up research organisations and libraries. These indeed were all practically non-existent prior to our independence, when only the universities were the only centres for controlling education in the country, all the schools and colleges right from the secondary stage being controlled by the universities, the number of universities being only a handful.

What with the large growth of educational bodies and their affiliated institutions as well as independent organisations on the one hand, and the disproportionate number of students in each such institution ultimately having been compelled to limit admission each year and refuse students

in view of the huge rush, the problem has arisen of providing such an enormous reading people with sufficient reading matter,—suitable books on very many subjects which our country has yet been unable to produce, and more specially books on the advanced sciences.

Here comes the question of Foreign Collaboration for which at the present time, all interested in Educational Publishing and Development of Culture in India are so very anxious. Apart from the private enterprises endeavouring to supply requirements in the field like Macmillan, Oxford University Press, Orient Longman, Blackie and of late the Pergamon Press, there has been consistent efforts on state levels also in studying specific requirements in the field particularly for adoption and adaptation. Of particular reference in this respect may be made of the English Language Book Society Scheme for supply of Low-priced texts for developing countries under patronage of Her Majesty's Government in Great Britain, inasmuch as such Scheme has satisfied such requirements.

# THE DATE OF RAGHUNANDANA

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Smārta Bhattāchārya Raghunandana appeared as a reformer in the society of Bengal in the 16th century A.D. He was alive more than seventy years. But about his date no finality has yet been reached.

The literary works of Raghunandana are quoted and criticised by *Vīramitrodaya*<sup>1</sup>, *Nilakaṇṭha*<sup>2</sup> of seventeenth century A. D. and by Gadādhara in his *Kālasāra*<sup>3</sup>. The *Kālasāra* must be dated not earlier than 1600 A.D.

As these writers mention the works of Raghunandana it may be said that he can not be later than 1600 A.D.

Again as Raghunandana quotes Mādhavāchārya, Sūlapāṇi, Rāyamukuta, Rudradhara and Vācaspati Miśra, the period of his literary activity must be placed later than 1500 A.D.

The Ms. of the *Chhandoga Śrāddhatattva* of Raghunandana was copied in Śaka 1497 (i.e., 1575 A.D.)<sup>4</sup> and the Ms. of the *Maṭha-pratiṣṭhātattva* of him was copied in Śaka 1498 (i.e., 1576 A.D.)<sup>5</sup>

From this point of view it may be said that these two works must have been written before 1575 A.D.

It is to be noted that from the careful study of the Tattvas of Raghunandana it is apparent that these Tattvas are definitely the results of wide study and mature thought of the author. Hence it is not the product of Raghunandana's immature thinking and not the composition of his early age. These were written probably when his knowledge was profound and his learning was vast.

<sup>1</sup> *Vīramitrodaya*, pp. 53, 60 etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Vyavahāramayūkha* of Nilakaṇṭha, pp. 21, 30 etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Kālasāra*, pp. 421, 468. etc.

(It is remarkable here that Haraprasād Śāstri includes Gadādhara among those Smṛti writers who flourished in the 17th and 18th cen. A. D.)

See Śāstri A. S. B. Catalogue, vol. III, Preface p. xxxvii. But Mr. Dr. P. V. Kane in his *Hist. of Dharma Śāstra*, vol. I. pp. 580 and 692 mentions Gadādhara of 1450-1500 A. D.)

<sup>4</sup> R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sans. Mss.* vol. III, p. 50, No. 1061.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, p. 58. No. 1062.



According to tradition, Raghunandana Chaitanyadeva, the great Vaiṣṇava saint of Navadvīpa and Raghunātha Śiromaṇi, the founder of Navya Nyāya in Bengal, were the fellow students of the same teacher, Vāsudeva Sārvabhouma<sup>6</sup>. In this connection the Sloka of Ghataka Nulo Pañchānana of the later age of Nadia, is to be noted—

Vāsudeve tin śiṣya chaiye Raghudvaya ।

Nader loka yāhāder nāme jīye raya ॥

Śrichaitanyadeva was born in 1485 or 1486 A.D. So the date of Raghunandana should not be placed much earlier than 1480 A.D.

In his *Jyotistattva* (p. 200) Raghunandana mentions Śaka 1421 (i.e., 1499 A.D.), as the year in which the Viṣuva lays half way between the Zodiacal signs Mīna and Kanyā and in the same Tattva he takes Śaka 1489 (i.e., 1567 A.D.) as the basis for calculating Ravi Saṁkrānti (p. 202).

From this observation it is proved that the *Jyotistattva* of Raghunandana was not written before 1567 A.D. Hence it is probable that Raghunandana was younger than Śrichaitanya.

Again it is found that Harihara Bhaṭṭāchārya, the father of Raghunandana, mentions at the Colophon of his work *Samayapradīpa*, that collecting the materials from Jyotiṣa works he lightens his *Samayapradīpa* in 1431 Śaka (i.e., 1509 A.D.) at the request of his disciples<sup>7</sup>. This evidently throws some light on the question of Raghunandana's date.

There is difference of opinion among the learned scholars about the priority of Govindānanda to Raghunandana. Mm. Dr. P. V. Kane<sup>8</sup> and Kamala Kṛṣṇa Smṛtitirtha<sup>9</sup> opine that Raghunandana referred to the works of Govindānanda in his *Mulamāsattva* and *Ahnikatattva*. In their opinion *Varṣakṛtya* as mentioned in *Mulamāsattva* is to be taken to be the *Varṣakriyākaumudī* of Govindānanda and the work *Kriyākaumudī* mentioned in the *Ahnikatattva* is said to be written by Govindānanda. Govindānanda himself refers to that *Dānakaumudī*<sup>10</sup> and *Śrāddhakriyākaumudī*<sup>11</sup> were the parts of his digest, *Kriyākaumudī*. But Rai Bāhādur Mānmohan Chakravorty<sup>12</sup>, Dr. Rajendra Chandra Hazra<sup>13</sup> and Dr.

<sup>6</sup> Bāṅgālir Sārasvata Avadāna, Part I, f. n. p. 98.

<sup>7</sup> Notices of Sans. MSS. Vol. III, R. L. Mitra, Ms. No. 1088, p. 55.

<sup>8</sup> Hist. of Dharma Śāstra, Vol. I, p. 415.

<sup>9</sup> Preface of *Varṣakriyākaumudī*, p. ii.

<sup>10</sup> *Dānakaumudī*, p. 206.

<sup>11</sup> *Śrāddhakriyākaumudī*, p. 559.

<sup>12</sup> Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1915.

<sup>13</sup> Works and period of literary activity of Govindānanda, *Journal of Original Research*, Madras, 1951.

Suresh Chandra Banerjee<sup>14</sup> mention that there is no reference to be traced either to Govindānanda or to his works in any of the works of Raghunandana.

But it is remarkable here that there is no reference of *Kriyākaumudī* mentioned by Raghunandana in *Varṣakriyākaumudī* and *Dānakaumudī*. From this point of view Rai Bāhādur Manmohan Chakravorty, Dr. Hazra and Dr. Banerjee have come to the conclusion that there is no reference of any work of Govindānanda in any Tattva of Raghunandana.

In this connection the unpublished manuscript of Govindānanda's *Kriyākaumudī* of which I have made a careful study casts a welcome light. This unpublished manuscript remains in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.<sup>15</sup> This manuscript is worm-eaten and incomplete. But we can say evidently that this manuscript is an independent work of Govindānanda and this is not a part of *Dānakaumudī* or any other work of him.

The references of *Kriyākaumudī* mentioned in the *Ahnikatattva*<sup>16</sup> of Raghunandana, are present in the topic of cleansing the teeth (Dantadhāvana) in this *Kriyākaumudī* of Govindānanda as preserved in the form of unpublished manuscript in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal<sup>17</sup>.

Dr. Hazra observes that a 'Kaumudī' is referred to in the *Ahnikatattva*<sup>18</sup> of Raghunandana, but actually no such indication is available in the extant works of Govindānanda which admits of such reference. But we have traced the said text in this *Kriyākaumudī* of Govindānanda<sup>19</sup>.

The text cited by Raghunandana in his *Ahnikatattva*<sup>20</sup>, as

<sup>14</sup> Smṛtiśāstre Bāṅālī, p. 20.

<sup>15</sup> A. S. B. Ms. No. I B. 57.

<sup>16</sup> Ahnikatattva, p. 126—

Kriyākaumudyām Vasiṣṭhaḥ—

Guvākatālahintāśtathā tāḍī cha ketakī  
Kharjuranārikelau cha Septaite tṛparājekāḥ  
Tṛparājasirāpa rair yaḥ kuryyād dantadhāvanam  
Tāvad bhevati chaṇḍālo yāvad gām naiva paśyati.

<sup>17</sup> A. S. B. Ms. No. I B 57, Folio 7.

<sup>18</sup> Ahnikatattva, p. 138—

Śādrodakair na kurvīta tathā meghādivinihartairiti darśanāditi kaumudī.  
(Works and period of literary activity of Govindānanda—Dr. Hazra-  
Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, 1951, P-105).

<sup>19</sup> A. S. B. Ms. No. I B 57, Folio 84.

<sup>20</sup> Ahnikatattva, p. 127—

Kriyākaumudyām—

Jaleukāgñībhāpādeścha  
kṛmīgandupadādikam  
Kāmāddhastena saṁspṛāya  
Nityakarmāṇi samyajet

belonging to the *Kriyākaumudī*, also tallies in verbatim with what is found in the aforesaid manuscript<sup>21</sup>.

It may be further mentioned that in the *Rāsa-jātrātattva* too Raghunandana refers to the works of Govindānanda<sup>22</sup>.

From these findings, we may conclude that Raghunandana made use of the text of Govindānanda and referred to the same in his own Tattvas.

Dr. Kane holds that the works of Govindānanda are the parts of his general digest, *Kriyākaumudī* by name. But this view does not seem to be sound. For the *Kriyākaumudī* of Govindānanda as we have traced, is a separate and independent work. That this *Kriyākaumudī* has been written by Govindānanda, is evident from the mention of his name in the beginning of this manuscript<sup>23</sup>. The other works of Govindānanda likewise mention his name in the beginning of the texts. Mm. Kamala Kṛṣṇa Smṛtitirtha in the preface (p. ii) of *Varṣakriyākaumudī* makes it a point to mention that there is a separate text *Kriyākaumudī* written by Govindānanda.

Govindānanda mentions Madana Pārijāta, Rudradhara and Vācaspati Miśra, accordingly the period of his literary activity cannot be placed earlier than 1500 A. D. Though it is admitted that Rudradhara, Vācaspati Miśra, Govindānanda and Raghunandana etc. were contemporaries, yet from the indebtedness of Raghunandana to Govindānanda it is certain that the latter was older than Raghunandana. Except *Kriyākaumudī* there is no reference of Govindānanda's other works in the Tattvas of Raghunandana. The omission of reference by Raghunandana to the other works of Govindānanda may be explained possibly in two ways. Most probably the other works of Govindānanda did not reach Raghunandana and even if they had reached him, he did not like to give such importance to them. This is an apparent conjecture which one may be inclined to lend voice too.

<sup>21</sup> A. S. B. Ms. No I B 57, Folio 8.

<sup>22</sup> The Nibandhas.

Prof. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya.

Cultural Heritage of India, vol. II, 1962, p-367.

The Ms. of *Rāsa-jātrātattva* was presented to Sanskrit Sāhitya Parishad Library, Calcutta, by Prof. Dinesh Ch. Bhattacharya. But we are unfortunate that though the name of this Ms. is listed (No. 380) in the Catalogue of that Library, there is no trace of that Ms. now.

<sup>23</sup> Śrīmat tātāpadāravindavīlāsad dhōlibharoddhātataḥ Śrīgovindakaviḥ karoti viduṣām Kṛtyām kriyākaumudīm kavikakṣapāḥditāḥ pituṣccharaṇāmbhojayugopadeśataḥ.

(*Kriyākaumudī* Ms. A. S. B. No. I B 57, Folio I.)

But as a matter of fact we have reasons to believe that the other works of Govindānanda did not fall within the range of Raghunandana's study. For Govindānanda in most of his works vehemently opposes the so-called views of the novice (Ādhunika) and possibly makes a tacit reference to Srinātha, the teacher of Raghunandana and had these works reached Raghunandana he would certainly come forward in defence of his teacher.

Some say that 'Varsakṛtya' quoted by Raghunandana in his Tattvas, is *Varsakriyākaumudī* of Govindānanda. But this is not convincing. The *Varsakṛtya* is a work written by Vācaspatimiśra of Mithilā. The references are all available in the said *Varsakṛtya* of Vācaspatimiśra<sup>24</sup>.

However, the work which is mentioned by Raghunandana as '*Vidyāpatikṛtavarsakṛtya*' is written by Vidyāpati himself. One should not confuse it with Vācaspatimiśra.

Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjee says that in the *Srāddhakriyākaumudī* Govindānanda refers to the *Kriyākaumudī*, but he does not mention it as his own work. We may answer that the well-known Nibandhakāras, i.e. Sūlapāṇi. Raghunandana etc. do not usually mention the texts, they refer to as their own, even when they refer to their own works. So it is natural for Govindānanda to have conformed to the said convention.

According to Haraprasād Sāstrī, Raghunandana refers to the text of the *Haribhaktivilāsa* of Gopālabhattacharya in his *Pratiṣṭhātattva*<sup>25</sup>. But there is no trace of reference to the *Haribhaktivilāsa* in either of Raghunandana's *Devapratīṣṭhātattva* or *Maṭhapratīṣṭhātattva*.

<sup>24</sup> (a) *Maṣamāsatattva* of Raghunandana, p. 274—varsakṛtye—

Māsadwayasya madhye tu  
Samkrāntir na yadā bhavet  
Prakṛtastatra pūrvaḥ syād  
Uttarastu malimlucaḥ.

(Varsakṛtya of Vācaspatimiśra, A. S. B. Ms. No. G 8682, Folio 12.)

(b) *Tīthitattva*, p. 41 and *Durgāpūjāttva*, p. 46—varsakṛtye—Vittam brahmaṇi  
kāryasiddhiratuḥ Sakre hutāśe bhayaṁ yāmye etc.

(Varsakṛtya of Vācaspatimiśra, F. 38).

(c) *Ekādāśatattva*, p. 460—

Samkate Viṣame prāpte dvādaśyām pārayet katham etc.

(Varsakṛtya, F. 53).

(d) *Maṣamāsatattva*, p. 290—

Niṣpāvaṇ Rājamaśāśmocha Supte deve Janārdane etc.

Niṣpāvaḥ Svetaśimbirīti Varsakṛtyam.

(Varsakṛtya, F. 46).

(Raghunandana took the meaning 'Devadhānya' for the word 'Niṣpāva', but in the *Varsakṛtya* of Vācaspatimiśra the meaning 'Svetaśimbī' was mentioned for Niṣpāva. It is to be decided that Raghunandana explained the Śloka in his own way to come to his conclusion. Therefore there is no certainty that Raghunandana must take the same meaning directed by *Varsakṛtya* or any other work).

<sup>25</sup> Cat. of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper MSS. belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal, Cal. 1906, H. P. Sāstrī, Preface, p. XVII.

In his *Ahnikatattva* and *Ekādaśitattva* Raghunandana cites a reference to the *Haribhakti* (not the work *Haribhaktivilāsa* by name), but that quotation is not traced in the *Haribhaktivilāsa* of Gopālabhata. From this it appears that the *Haribhakti* is a work quite different from Gopālabhata's *Haribhaktivilāsa*. Hence the information of Haraprasād Sāstri does not call for any serious attention.

From what has been indicated above, we may arrive at a conclusion that Raghunandana was born possibly in 1490 or 1500 A. D. Śrīchaitanyadeva and Raghunandana are contemporaries, though the former is older than the latter. It has been already shown that Raghunandana refers to Govindānanda more than once and accordingly he must have been younger than the latter. His literary activity seems to fall within the period of 1520—1575 A. D.

# SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE SIZE OF THE FOURTH PLAN

KARUNAMOY NANDI

Today planning has become a part and parcel of the Indian life. Planning in some sense or other, of course, is inextricably woven with every economic life—developed or underdeveloped. Because, “strictly speaking all economic life involves planning. To plan is to act with a purpose, to choose, and choice is the essence of planning.”<sup>1</sup> Even an individual with a very small sum of money at his disposal will have to plan this way or that if he is rational enough and wants to maximise his satisfaction. But we do not use the term planning in this sense when we speak of planning as an indispensable instrument for economic development of a country. Planning here implies a scientific and well-thought-out process of utilising the available resources of the country most economically. In other words, economic planning denotes “a calculated effort on the part of the state to secure within a given period of time the maximum of well-being for the members of the community by the most economic allocation and utilisation of available amount of resources.”<sup>2</sup>

Our economy has been passing through a continuous process of planned development for the last fourteen years. Two of our Five Year Plans have already been completed, the Third one is on the way of completion, and we are on the threshold of the Fourth. It has been tentatively decided by the planning authorities that the total outlay of the Fourth Plan will be of the order of Rs. 21,500 crores to Rs. 22,500 crores. In financial terms, therefore, the Fourth Plan will be nearly double of the Third, three times the Second and as big as about seven times the First Plan. Or it is an aggregate of all the three Plans. Fear and doubts are, therefore, haunting the minds of economists and laymen alike about the wisdom of our planning authorities for making such a tremendous venture. Warnings as well as encouragements are pouring in streams about the size and targets of the Plan. The question before us is: How far such a bold plan is desirable in the interest of the nation? And, if at all it is desirable, how far our resources—domestic and foreign permit of such a bold venture.

## II

When we consider the basic economic problems of the country, the justification of the large size of the Fourth Plan becomes obvious. In other words, considering the excessively high rate of population growth, the low per capita income and hence the poor standard of living of the people and the increasing level of unemployment, there seems no way out but to accelerate the rate of planned outlay.

<sup>1</sup> Lionel Robbins—*Economic Planning and International order*.

<sup>2</sup> Pramathanath Banerjee—*A study of Indian Economics*.

To begin with, the rate of population growth during the first ten years of economic planning was about 2.15% per annum which was beyond the expectation of our planners. This, of course, is not an uncommon phenomenon at the initial stage of a growing economy. Even in countries like England and Japan, the population grew double in the first sixty years of industrialisation. This phenomenon, as it is inevitable, has certain economic implications. In the first place, a rapid rate of population increase swallows up a large share of the increase in national income. That is, however high the rate of rise in national income may be, the rate of rise in per capita income will lag far behind it. Assuming the existing annual rate of population growth, it is estimated that though the national income may rise by 127% between 1960 and 1975, the per capita income is expected to go up by only 60% during the same period (at 1960-61 prices). "In other words, somewhat more than half of the additional income obtained will be used up to supply the needs of the increased population." Another implication of a rapid rate of population rise is its impact on the standard of living which follows partly from the level of per capita income and partly from the general price-level. The per capita consumption increased by only 1.6% per annum in the first ten years of economic planning. In the Third Plan period, the rise in consumption per head is expected to be of the order of 2.6% per annum. This is less likely to be realised as it is evidenced from the Mid-term Appraisal of the Plan that during the first two years of the Plan the standard of living has increased by only 1% per year. A further implication of the rapid rate of population growth is its impact on the level of employment. None of the three plans aspired for reaching the goal of full employment of the total manpower available in the economy. The Second and the Third Plan inherited a backlog of unemployment of 5.3 millions and 9 millions respectively from the previous plans. In the same manner, the Fourth Plan is expected to inherit a backlog of 12 millions unemployed. Besides this, during the five year period of the Fourth Plan, the additional unemployment will be 23 millions. Thus the total number of jobs to be created during the Plan is about 35 millions. The creation of employment of this level is beyond the capacity of the Fourth Plan with its proposed size. During the Third Plan period, 14 millions jobs are expected to be created with a total investment expenditure of Rs. 11500 crores. If this ratio of capital expenditure to employment creation is maintained, a provision for employment of 35 millions would require a capital expenditure the order of which will be  $1\frac{1}{2}$  times the total outlay of the proposed Fourth Plan. Judged from this point of view, the Fourth Plan cannot be called an abnormally big one.

Another important point of consideration is the amount of capital resources necessary to produce a certain amount of additional output which is called the capital-output ratio. In the First Plan, the actual capital-output ratio was 2:1, though it was anticipated to be of the order of 3:1. In the Second Plan, it was 3.6:1. During the Third Plan, this ratio works out to be 2.5:1. But on the basis of past experience it appears that this ratio is lower than what is likely to prevail during the

Third Plan period. It is not likely to be lower than 8:1 and may in fact rise higher than this. Because "as the economic system using better techniques grows in complexity, the capital output ratio is almost invariably raised. A higher capital output ratio simply means that with greater construction of capital, the overall productivity of capital gradually comes down."<sup>3</sup> The experience of the U.S.A., illustrates this fact, where the ratio rose from 3:1 during 1889 to about 4:1 during 1934 and then again fell to 2.5:1 during 1948.<sup>4</sup> During the Fourth Plan period, national income is expected to rise by 7.5% per year. It is extremely doubtful if the Fourth Plan outlay would be able to realise this target even assuming the Third Plan capital-output ratio, which is most likely to rise in the years to come because of the increasing round-aboutness of the technique of production.

While the Fourth Plan promises a rise in income by 7.5% per annum, it does not make allowance for price-increase which is almost a common feature of our planned economy. That is to say, if we are to get the actual rate of rise in income after a year of planning, we must deflate this percentage (7.5) by the percentage of price-rise over the particular year. In the same manner, the real value of the total outlay of Rs. 22,500 crores would work out much less when it is deflated by the percentage of price-rise over the five year plan period.

Following the line of logic of increasing capital-output ratio over time, it is often argued that the growth potential of a developing economy at the earlier stage of development is of a much higher value than at the mature stage. This statement is supported by the experience of advanced countries like England, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. etc., where the rate of growth was much higher at the earlier stage than it is at present. This suggests that if we can exert maximum efforts now, we would be able to reap a higher rate of returns than after three or four decades.

And, above all, the requirements of defence because of the Chinese aggression and a continuous threat of "zihad" from Pakistan, have compelled the framers of our Plan to make it a bigger one. In fact, the formulation of the Fourth Plan had to take into consideration two important factors—defence and development. The higher allocation for defence in the 1965-66 Central Budget than in the 1964-65 Budget reflects our deep concern for safeguarding the freedom of the country.

### III

So far we have analysed the arguments why the Fourth Plan should be a very big one. But there is a good deal of difference between what we should aim at and what we can actually do. We should not chalk out such a big plan the implementation of which is beyond the capacity of our economy. In fact, the size of our Plan is limited by several factors.

<sup>3</sup> Dhiresb Bhattacharyya—*India's Five Year Plans*.

<sup>4</sup> Inter-relation between Capital and output in the American Economy by Evsey L. Domar in *Economic Progress* edited by Dopycz.



There is nothing wrong in admitting that our economy by its very nature is poor in capital equipments. We require machinery not only for producing consumer goods but also for the production of the first type of machinery. For both these types of machinery we are to depend on imports from foreign countries which require abundant foreign exchange. Thus the first important limit to the size of the Plan is set by the scarcity of foreign exchange. The Fourth Plan would require Rs. 3200 crores in foreign exchange of which a sum of Rs. 2100 crores is expected on the trade side, while the payment of interest and repayment of principal of foreign debts would require Rs. 1100 crores. If past experience be any guide, there is not much scope for enthusiasm. It is estimated that "the servicing of foreign debts now costs India \$ 255 millions a year and the cost will double by 1966. India cannot meet these debts."<sup>5</sup> The only hopeful element in the situation is the proposal that the repayment money may be used to refinance new projects.

The second significant limit to the size of the Plan is set by inelastic foodsupply. Any increase in income in the form of wage-earning through additional employment will have a direct impact on the demand for food. The target for the production of foodgrains is fixed at 125 million tons a year for the Fourth Plan. The Third Plan target was only 100 million tons which would by no means be reached within the specified period. Food production has more or less become stagnant around a figure of 80 million tons. "Indeed, in production of foodgrains, the Third Plan has so far failed to beat even the performance of the best year of the Second Plan."

There are some other limiting factors to the size of the Fourth Plan which are no less significant. Instead of analysing them all in details, we would like to select only one or two more. A very serious challenge is posed by the conspicuous lack of a comprehensive and well-planned price policy in the first two plans. Although a word or two can be found in a very scrappy manner in the Third Plan, that the authorities have completely failed to tackle in an effective manner the problem of holding the price line is evident from the bitterest experience of mounting price-rises in the years 1964-65. Assuming that any large amount of development expenditure contains some element of inflationary potential, it is necessary "to achieve efficiency in production and step up in a decisive way the myriad producers in the decentralised sectors of the economy". When there is sufficient proof of the failure of our administrative machinery, when the prices are rising rapidly, when most of the goods are scarce and there is acute mal-distribution of wealth, it is extremely risky to plan an outlay of Rs. 22,500 crores. The important question to be examined here is not merely what financial resources we are able to raise to meet the target expenditure, but also whether within the next plan period the economy will be able to absorb this massive outlay.

As we cast a glance over the resource position of the plan, our vision is further blurred by signs of disappointment. Certainly there are some sources of finance where the success seems to be fairly bright, but there

<sup>5</sup> Indian Foreign Affairs, January, 1966.

are some which are really doubtful. One such case is the market borrowing programme through which a sum of Rs. 1100 crores is expected to be raised by the centre and the states. This is double the level of public borrowing envisaged in the Third Plan. Even if this venture proves successful, it would be only at the cost of heavy drain of private savings.

Throughout the entire period of the Fourth Plan, an excessively heavy dose of taxation would be extracted from the economy. The amount of additional taxation over five years is estimated to be Rs. 1500 crores. In order to minimise inflationary consequences of taxation, more reliance will be made on direct taxes. This greater reliance on direct taxes is in conformity with the objective of reducing inequality in personal consumption. Expectations about the possibility of imposing additional taxes are based on the assumption that with a rise in national income, a greater slice can be secured for the purposes of development. But this expectation seems to be extremely unrealistic specially when in the past, in spite of very earnest efforts of raising tax revenues, the proportion of taxes to additional income could not be increased significantly. Further, even if we assume that the economy would be able to bear this additional tax burden, "the efficiency and equity of the tax-system which is to be devised to raise this additional revenue will require close scrutiny as new methods of finding revenue are introduced in the coming years".

But no target of the Fourth Plan is perhaps so overambitious as that of exports. Both the Planning Commission and the Ministry of Finance expect the export target of Rs. 1200 crores per annum during the Fourth Plan period and Rs. 1100 crores for the last year of the Third Plan. Only a miracle can boost up India's export earnings to this figure from the present level of Rs. 793 crores. We should not forget that India's exports did not increase significantly during the first two plans and have shown some hopeful signs only from the commencement of the Third Plan while there is a steady and continuous rise in imports all throughout the planning era. While our exports have gone up by only 15%, the imports have swelled by about 50% during the decade that ended in 1962. Further, cost inflation at home and stiff competition for our exports abroad make the realisation of the export target more doubtful.

#### IV

Our country is making a new experiment with two contradictory social values; viz democracy and economic planning based on the philosophy of socialistic pattern of society. The success of this experiment will not only shape the destiny of the millions of people of our own country but will also be a road-finder to many newly developing countries of the world. It is true that the success of a plan depends largely on the enthusiasm and active co-operation of the people. At the same time, our planners should be prudent enough to pitch our hopes reasonably high and make the targets realistic so that the people's aspirations are not

frustrated by continuous unfulfilment of our promises and projections. "If investment does not produce results, if people are eternally consoled with the solacing slogan of 'jam to-morrow and not jam to-day', what use then building a super-structure of investment which fails to achieve the primary aim of improving the standard of living of the people? "

\* The Hindusthan Standard, Calcutta Edition, May 25, 1964.

# THE NAURŪZNĀMA OF 'UMAR KHAYYĀM—II'

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We shall now refer to some of the habits and customs of the Persian kings (with special reference to the *New-Year Day*); and then shall we again describe the *Naurūz*, by the help of God and at His Divine grace.

## THE HABITS AND CUSTOMS OF THE PERSIAN KINGS

It was the general habit of the Persian Kings to spread the auspicious table with whatever best food was available, and when the period of the Caliphs came, they never took pains to observe the Ceremony of spreading the table (*khwān nihādan*), as it is described, and specially during the 'Abbāsid Caliphate various kinds of drinks and soups, curries, sweetmeats and a specially prepared broth of young pigeons and such other foods were supplied, which were never seen before. Special kind of sweets with admixture of almonds, honey and sesame oil, and with admixture of bread with broth; a confection of almonds, bread, and a salutary decoction and such other varieties were the specialities of the Caliphs; and they took pride in spreading over the tables as were the customary rules of them.

Of the other habits of the Persian kings were administering justice, building up of palaces, propagating learning, discussing philosophy, and honouring the learned men, the last of which was their greatest aspiration. Ambassadors and news-masters were deputed to different cities and towns to inform the kings whatever happened in the country or outside, so that they might order according to the situation. As such was the condition, the hands of oppression were made shortened, and artificers (and mischief-mongers) were not able to make any extortion by forcible exaction of money from any one. The officers also could not demand anything from the subjects beyond the established law and rule. In short, women and children were in all safety and protection; and the people could do their own work and profession without any fear from their kings. Any bread offered to a client was not taken back; and every amount was paid up in due time according to the agreement of the promised year and month. If any person passed away leaving his children behind, who were

<sup>1</sup> Last appeared in the August, 1905, issue of the *Calcutta Review*.

capable to do the same work and service, was offered the employment of their father.

Moreover, the kings were always eager and enthusiastic in building up magnificent edifices; and whenever a king sat on the throne, day and night he was anxious to find out any place of good climate so that he might establish a town there, which would make his name remembered to the world for founding a city. And it was the custom of the kings of Persia, Turkey and Rome, who were originated from Afridūn, that if any king had built up a grand edifice, founded a town, a village, a monastery or a fort, or excavated a canal, and that construction could not be complete in his time, his son or successor whoever sat on the throne after him, had his bounden duty to complete the construction left unfinished by his predecessor so that people might be aware that they were no less enthusiastic in the prosperity of the country than their ancestors. But the sons of a king used to be more eager in this affair for the following reasons:

One used to say, "It is obligatory on me to complete the unfinished construction of my father, for the royal throne is more profitably inherited to me from my father". And another used to say, "My father had constructed this edifice either for the prosperity of the kingdom, or for the sake of high ambition and good name, or for reason of 'striving himself to draw near to God the great', or out of joy and satisfaction; (and) I also require the prosperity of the country, desire the great name and fame, crave for His consent and satisfaction, and love comfort and pleasure to myself". Accordingly he used to order for the completion of any construction, and stood aright so that it might be completed; and if it was not completed in his time, those succeeding him used to make it complete. People also held the king with great honour and distinction, saying, "God the great has made this construction completed through his hand". Thus the building of the seven cities by *Kisrā* (or Cyrus) was taken over by Shāhpūr, *dhul-aktāf*<sup>2</sup> and after him other kings had the same constructed, till it was completed in the hand of Noshīrwān, the just. Likewise may be said of the bridge of Andīmaskh,<sup>3</sup> and of such constructions there are many.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. possessor of shoulders, an epithet of Shāhpūr, or rather Shapur of the Shoulder Blades,—so called for his taking out the shoulder-blades of Arab captives and afterwards releasing them.

<sup>3</sup> Yāqūt Hamavī in his *Mu'jamul-Buldān* says in regard to Andāmish or Andīmaskh, "It is a town between the mountainous region of Lur and Jundīshāpūr. It is also said by the name of *Dizful* or *pul-diz* situated near the river *Diz* by the western side of Jundīshāpūr. It is said to be constructed by Shapur, the second, and is also known as *Qantara* Andāmish (or the bridge of A.), or simply as *Al-Qantara*, ruins of which are still found to be existing. And Hamdolla Mustaufi, after a description of *Dizful* and the river

Another characteristic of the kings of Persia was this that whenever anyone presented a thing before him, or a minstrel recited a song or gave a good admonition, the significance of which was very pleasing to them, they said aloud, 'Zih', that is, 'how excellent'. As once *Zih* has come out from their tongues they used to present thousands of *diram*<sup>4</sup> to that person from the imperial treasury,<sup>5</sup> and applaud him with much honour and respect.

The other characteristic of the Persian kings was this that they used to pardon any kind of sin except these three: The first is revealing out the secrets of the king; the second is saying anything by any one in disrespect of God; and the third is non-compliance of the royal order in time and despising the same. They used to say, "Whoever does not regard the secrets of the king, there can be no reliance on him; whoever says in disrespect of God, is an infidel; and whoever does not perform the royal order, has made him equal to the king, and is thus turned an enemy of him". At the time of public punishment they used to give a royal sermon in regard to these three sins, "Whatever the kings possessed of the gifts of the world, the subjects also have their benefits. The difference between the king and others is his sovereignty: when the king is such that his order is ruled out, then what is the difference between the king and others!"

Besides, they constructed caravansaries in the forests and in different places of destination, and dug out wells there. They made the roads safe and secure from thieves and mischief-mongers. Whenever they ordered for any pension or livelihood to any one, it was conveyed every year to him without any requisition. If any tax-collector took any thing in excess over a town or a village in contradiction to the fixed regulation, it was refused to him; but he was publicly punished, so that the others might not be covetous by taking more from the people, and thus make the country depopulated. And whoever of the servants performed his duties properly, was humanely treated and offered presents profusely, such that for the good recognition of his service others became envious of it. Again,

of Jundishāpūr, says, "A bridge of 42 arches (*chashma*) is constructed over the river; it is 520 cubits (*gām*) in length and 15 cubits in breadth; and the construction is also known by *Puli-Andīmasbk*" (Cf. editor's note).

<sup>4</sup> *drachma*, a silver coin, generally about two-pence sterling

<sup>5</sup> The famous minister *Nizām-ul-Mulk* of the Persian king *Malik Shāh* also says likewise in his *Siyāsatnāma* (p. 93-4), "Such was the custom of the *Sāsāniyan* kings that whenever any person sang a song or showed a skilful performance before them, which pleased them and made them utter the word "*zih*", they used to present thousands of *diram* from the royal treasury". The description of other characteristics, that follow, has also similarity with those of *Siyāsatnāma*.

if from any person any kind of iniquity and deficiency was found out, he was immediately corrected for the right of service. And though sent to prison, if any one interceded for him, he was pardoned. Of these characteristics, there are many others, the reference of which will make the treatise long. This much is sufficient.

Now, let us again turn to *Naurūznāma*, which is the subject of this book.

*Coming forward of the Chief of the Fireworshippers (Maubadi-maubadān<sup>6</sup> and his performance of the Naurūz*

From the age of Kai Khusrau to the days of Yazdjird Shahrīār, who was the last of the Persian (or Sasanian) kings, it was the custom of the (ancient) kings of Persia that on the occasion of the *Naurūz* at first from among the unknown people a person who is the Chief of the *Magi* came forward before the king with a golden Cup full of wine, a ring, a silver coin, a *khusrawāni*<sup>7</sup> gold coin, a handful of barley corn whose sprouts are not out, a sword, an arrow, a bow, an inkpot with a pen, a horse, a falcon, and a slave with good appearance; and praised him with benediction in their own fashion of (ancient) Persian language. When the chief of the priests finished his encomium, the grandees of the state intered in and put forward their services before the king.

*Encomium of the Chief of the Priests in the traditional manner*

“O King, on the occasion of the ceremonial observation of the *Farwardīn* (or *Naurūz*) in the month of *Farwardīn*, praise God<sup>8</sup> and the religion of the great kings. May *Sarosh*<sup>9</sup> make you the knower and seer by his skill: May you live long with your dignified nature, and be happy on the golden throne! Drink wine from the Cup of *Jamshīd*, and preserve the customs of your ancestors with high ambition and good nature accustomed to justice and truthfulness. May your head be ever-green, and your youth like barley corn! May your horse be successful and victorious, your sword be bright and active against the foe, your falcon be prehensile and fortunate in hunting, your work be straight and aright like an arrow and also conquer new countries.<sup>10</sup> For the throne silver and gold coins (are

<sup>6</sup> *Maubad* from *maghu* (*mugh*) and *bad* (skt. *pati*), chief of the *Magi*.

<sup>7</sup> A species of old money coined by king *Khusrau*.

<sup>8</sup> *Yazdān*, God or name of the spirit who is the principle of good, opposite to *Ahriman*, the originator of evil.

<sup>9</sup> The Angel Gabriel, i.e., supreme intellect.

<sup>10</sup> It refers to ring (*Angushkari*), the symbol of rulership and domination over other countries.

required), but to you the artist and philosopher is all valuable, and the coin is despised. May your house be prosperous, and your life be increased !"

With these words he presents to the king the food and the cup, and places on the other hand the barley-corn. He places the silver and gold coins before his throne ; and with this action he desires that on the new day and also on the new year on whatever the great persons look at with an eye of expectation, they may remain in prosperity with joy and cheerfulness till the next year enjoying those things. And let these be auspicious to them, for joy and happiness of this world rest on these things which they present before the king.

Now, we shall begin to say of the utility, quality, and speciality of Gold, and we are of opinion that gold is the King of all dissolvent jewels, (*gauharhāj*)<sup>11</sup> and a decoration of kings.

*With reference to Gold and what is obligatory for it*

Gold is the elixir of the Sun, and Silver that of the Moon ; and the first person who brought out gold and silver from the quarry was *Jamshīd*. While bringing them out he ordered to turn gold like the disc of the Sun, and on both the parts of its body was imprinted the form of the Sun. It is said that gold<sup>12</sup> is the emperor of the people in this world like as the Sun of the celestial orb. And when the Silver was made like the disc of the Moon, and on both the sides of its body was imprinted the shape of the moon, it was called the *Kadkhudā* (or master of the family) of the people in this world like as the moon in the Heaven. Gold, the master of elixir, is called the *Shams nahār al-jadd*, that is, the Sun, the prosperity of the Day. And Silver is called the *Qamar layl al-jad*, that is, the Moon, the prosperity of the Night. A Pearl is called *Kaukab samā'al-ghani*, that is, the Star enriching the Heaven. A section of the wise (specially skilful in the interpretation of dreams) has called gold the *Nār shītā' al-fapr*, that is, fire for the winter of poverty or ascetic mortification, and others call it by different names, such as *Qulūb alā' jullat*, meaning the harvest of great souls, *Narjis raudat al-mulk*,

<sup>11</sup> *Gauhar* meaning jewel: it may also mean a precious stone, lustre of a gem, origin, essence, and any hidden virtue or intellect.

<sup>12</sup> Comparing gold with an enlightened heart, *Hāfis* has thus sung in one of his *ghazals* :

Dast az mīl-wa'fīd chu mardāni-rah bashuyī;  
Tā kimīyāyi-'ishq bayābi u zar shawī.

(Wash away your hand from the copper of this existence like the brave ones of the Path, so that you may gain the elixir of Love and thus turn into a Gold).



that is, the narcissus of the garden of royalty, and *Qurrata-‘ain al-dīn*, that is, the lustre of the eyes of religion. The honour of gold is placed above all other dissolving pearls in such a way as of men over other living things ; and of the special qualities of gold the first is that the sight of it makes the eye enlightened and the heart joyful ; secondly, it makes a man bold, and thus his intelligence is strengthened ; thirdly, it increases the beauty of a figure, refreshes youthfulness, and thus the old age is belated ; fourthly it increases joy and pleasure, and (by its influence) one becomes endeared to the eye. For the dignity which it possesses, the kings of Persia never separated themselves from two golden things, one being the Cup and the other goblet. It has also been mentioned in regard to its other special qualities that when the little child is supplied with milk through a golden *dārūdān* (or medicine-chest), his speech becomes eloquent, the heart sweet and his body bravely, and he is saved from any epileptic disease and is not afraid in dreams ; and when his eye is anointed with collyrium through a golden bodkin, it is saved from any purblindness at night and water-drenching, and the power of the eye-sight is increased to a great extent. When a golden anklet is fastened on the leg, its bearer is bolder in hunting and advances more joyously. Any wound which is received by gold, is soon recovered, but is not re-composed. And for this reason the wealthy women make the ears of their daughters and sons pored by golden needles so that their holes in the ear may not again be re-composed. While thirsty a golden juglet for drinking water is a safety, and it also makes the heart pleasant. And for this reason the medical men prescribe gold, silver and pearl as species for exhilarating medicines and (fall back to) aloe, musk and silk for the reason that any weakness that arises in the heart owing to sorrow or anxiety, may be recovered by the essence of gold and silver ; and whatever gives rise to constipation may be a cause of well-being through the effect of musk, aloe and silk. In the same way whatever causes bloodshedding can be healed up by amber and *nadd* (or perfume composed of musk, ambergris and the wood of aloe), and in the case of congealment of the blood pearl and silk are effective.

*On the Characteristics of Hidden Treasures (dafinhā)*

On every land in which there is a Treasure hidden, no snow can stand and it has no melting effect. And of the characteristics of the Hidden Treasure one is that when a land is spoilt with no

harvest and only sweet basil (*sipargham*, lit. buckler of anxiety) is grown there, they know it to be a land where is *dafin* (or Treasure). When they find there the twig of a rape-seed (*kunjad*) or that of a *bādinjān* (skt. *bāliṅgan*, brinjal) by the side of a mountain and is beyond any harvest, it is a place of hidden Treasure. When a land is saltish and is so desolate to be well benumbed like the cowhide, or is muddy befitting virginity, it is known to be a place of *dafin*. When they find a flock of vultures, and there is no carrion, they know it of a *dafin*. When rains come down and the waters accumulate in a place where there is no hollow, they know it to be a place of *dafin*. When there is found a place where (even) in Winter no snow stands, and (if it stands), it soon melts away, while the other places around it are being effected as usual, then they know it to be a *dafin*. When a stone is found to be a *ka'bada* (or a place for public spectacles), which is not provoked or moistened by oil that is scattered on it, and by any rain or water that comes down there, they know it to be a place of hidden treasure. And when they find a *tadharr* (or a cock-pheasant) and a *durrāj* (a kind of partridge), both of which descend to a same place, and play and enjoy themselves together; or they find a honey-bee roaming about in a place out of the season; or a tree that brings forward a bough apart from all other branches to the direction of a place, and is much more increased than other boughs,—know it to be a *dafin*. All these the wise have marked out for sake of remedy, so that in times of difficulty they may well come to (or rather divulge) the secret of this *dafina*.

Whoever keeps gold in an earthen pot (*khumbara*), a copper vessel (*chizi-masīn*) or a glass-pot (*ābgīna*), and hides it under the ground, and when after a lapse of a year he goes to have it out, he does not find the gold there, and (consequently) he imagines that it is taken away by any one. (But) it is really not stolen, it has (only) gone deep into the earth; for the reason that gold becomes heavier every day, and it goes down and down till it reaches the water. And of the power of gold I remember some of the stories that run thus: *Story*: One day *Naushīn-rawān* called for a barber in his garden-house to shave his hairs. When the barber kept his hand on the head of the emperor, he said, "O lord, offer your daughter in marriage to me, so that I may be relieved of the work entrusted to me by the emperor". *Naushīn-rawān* said to himself, "What does this vile one say?" He wondered at the speech of him. But for the dread of the razor that was in the hand of the barber, he did not dare say anything. He only replied, "First you shave my hairs,

so that I may do as you say". When the hairs were shaved, he called for *Buzarj-mihr*, his minister, and stated the whole affair to him. *Buzarj-mihr* asked him to call for the barber. He then asked him, "When shaving the hairs, what did you say to the emperor?" The barber replied, "I said nothing". It was then ordered to dig out the place where the barber was standing at the time (of shaving). They found there wealth beyond measure. The minister said, "O lord, what he said at that time was not (as) the barber, but (representing) that wealth; for the reason that his hand was kept on the head of the emperor and his feet on the surface of that (hidden) treasure. And there goes the Arabic proverb: "Whatever the treasure beneath his foot desires, his want asks for beyond the measure".

*Story*: They presented before *Panā Khusrau*<sup>13</sup> the information that a person in Āmul (in Tabaristān) bought a desolate land and made it a harvest of rice (*birinjislān*); and at the present time there grew so much rice as was not available in any other land, and from this every year thousands of *dinār* were profited. *Panā Khusrau* himself bought the land with the price asked for, and ordered to dig it out. He found underneath forty jars of royal dinars. And he declared, "This is the power of the (hidden) treasure that the rice-land gives the return in such a way".

*Story*: I heard from a friend in whose words I had much confidence that in Bukhārā there was a mad woman whom the other women called for and made amusements and played tricks with her. They used to laugh at her words. One day they put on her the garments of brocade and made her adorned with ornaments of gold and jewels. They then said to her, "We shall give you in marriage". When that woman was looking at those (ornaments of) gold and jewels, and found her adorned in such a way, she began to converse wisely such that the people thought of her being relieved of madness. When the ornaments were put off from her, instantly the madness came back to her.

And it is said that when the great men desired relationship with a lady or a damsel, they used to fasten a golden ornament round her waist; and she was advised to adorn herself. They used to say, "When you do accordingly, the child becomes brave, wise, and of perfect formation and good behaviour. He will also become sym-

<sup>13</sup> *Panā Khusrau* is a member of the royal dynasty of the Buwaihids, and his full name is *Abu Shajā Panā Khusrau Iqūd-dawlah*, son of *Rukn-dawlah Hasan*.

pathetic towards other people. Then you give birth to a male healthy child, and swing a piece of gold or silver in his cradle". They say that these two together are the lord of the people.<sup>14</sup>

*On the Ring and whatever is obligatory about it*

A ring<sup>15</sup> is a very good ornament that is essential for the finger. According to the wise, it is not for virility that the wise do not put on the ring. The first person who made the ring and put it on the finger was Jamshīd. It is thus related that a finger of the great with no ring is like a kingdom without any royal standard. A ring to the finger is like a girdle to the waist. As a girdle makes the waist more handsome, in the same way a ring to the finger of a great man signifies to his great virility, good judgment and strong determination. For, any one who has great virility cannot be without its mark in him; and consequently, one with good judgment must also be with strong determination; and when he has the strong determination, there must also be the mark of it in him. Likewise, a letter from a great man with no seal signifies its feeble judgment and weak determination; and a treasure without its royal impression signifies its humility and negligence. It is for this reason that when Solomon, peace be on him, deprived himself of his ring, the kingdom was (also) lost to him, the honour of which was really connected with the seal, not with the ring. The prophet Muḥammad put on a ring on his finger, and the letters which were despatched to neighbouring countries were always sealed. The cause of it was that when his letter reached Parvīz with no seal, the Persian King became enraged at this, and at once he tore it without reading the same. And he opined thus: "A letter with no seal is like a head without the crown, and a crownless head does not befit the royal assembly. A letter that does not possess a seal can be read by any

<sup>14</sup> In its spiritual sense Gold is the spirit and silver the mind; and the Hidden Treasure is the Spiritual life innate in every noble soul that is hankering after the realization of Self. And how beautiful; the illustrious Sāfi poet Rūmī in elucidation of the famous Tradition. 'I (God) was Hidden Treasure, and I desired that I should be known, so I created the universe', sings thus: The Treasure is hidden beneath the house (body); therefore, don't be anxious at the demolishing of the house and do not refrain from it. Really the all-pervading Beauty of God is under the veil of this house, the house of carnal appetite and cravings of the body: You are to purify your individual soul, then you will find that you are the same as He

<sup>15</sup> Cf. also a Quatrain of Omar Khayyām:

Man is the whole creation's summary,  
The precious apple of great wisdom's eye;  
The circle of existence is a ring,  
Where the signet is humanity.

Whinfield's No. 340).

one who desires it ; and when it is sealed, it is read only by him to whom it is sent". It is thus related by the wise that both the sword and pen are the servants of the royal signet. When the king holds and uses them properly under the royal signet, the kingdom is in right order ; and when he does not do so, they are not under his authority.

Every ornament that a person possesses may be timely or untimely, but the ornament of a ring (or a royal signet) must not be at any time without him. Because, it is an ornament of the finger which the moment is put by any one, he becomes an escort to the unanimity of God, exalted be His glory. This ornament is bestowed to him as a generosity (*kirāmatī*) with special reference to his state of condition ; and it is similar to that when a brave warrior shows excellence, and for this reason he is honoured with,—the same generosity is shown to him to distinguish his personality from his other associates. A golden chain (*tauq*) is garlanded, or a golden belt is offered to fasten on the waist for the excellence that he has performed. There are offerings of a ring of different kinds. But for the kings it does not befit without two bezels. One is the precious ruby (*yāqūl*) that shares the brilliance of the Sun, and the King is the representation of those brilliances, never dissolving. Its excellence is that while possessing the splendour, the fire of it does not work on him. It acts over all stones except the diamond (*almās*) ; and its special quality is that it keeps one back from any epidemic disease and from the sufferings of thirst. It is thus related in the Tradition : When the prophet Muḥammad was at Medina, and was aiming for the battle of Khandaq, there was a great pestilence at Medina. The prophet had a diamond with him which was more valuable than two thousand dīnārs.

The other is *Pīroza* (or a kind of blue gem) in consideration of its name, worth and also its beautiful appearance.<sup>16</sup> Its special quality is that it restrains the evil effect of the malignant eye and removes all fear in dream.

The ring with its distinguished characteristics of augury and interpretation of dreams has many pedigrees and much have been described about this. It is an interpreter to the kings about their kingdoms and provinces, and to other persons about their arts and crafts. To any class of people it is an interpreter about the miracles of the great and it brings safety to all persons in general.

<sup>16</sup> *Burhān Qāṭi* writes in regard to this valuable gem : A sight to it improves the lustre of the eye.

*Story* : It is related that Alexander of Greece, before roaming all over the world, used to see many dreams ; and it appeared to him that the world had come under his subjugation. Of his dreams one is as follows : All the world turned a ring and it entered his finger, but it had no bezel. When he asked of this to Aristotle, he replied, "All the world will be your kingdom, but you will not be much profited by this : for by a ring is meant the kingdom and the bezel is its ruler".

*Story* : It is related that Yazjird, the emperor, was one day sitting in a shop of the garden-house, and he had on the finger a ring with *pīroza*. Suddenly an arrow came and fell on the bezel of his ring ; and thus the bezel was struck down and fell on the ground, being separated from the ring. None knew wherefrom the arrow came ; however much they investigated the matter, no trace was available. The emperor became sorrowful and anxious as to what might be the reason of this. When he asked of this to the wise and his intimates, none could give any interpretation of the event. What is apportioned, cannot be described. And after this many days did not pass, when he died, and the kingdom was even lost to his generation.

*Story* : It is related that Muḥammad Amīn during his days of Caliphate was one day sitting in a garden by the side of a *haud* (or a reservoir of water). He wore round his finger a ring with a ruby on it, and was uttering in a pleasant mood :

Nufallaqu hāman min rijālin a'izzatin ;  
Alaynā wahum kānū a'aqqa waḥlama.<sup>17</sup>

(We shall slit off the heads of those men who are dear to us ; because they were much in eagerness in quitting our side and oppressing us).

And with this significance, he was calling for Mamūn, who had opposed him. At the same moment he was enraged at his little girl (or maid-servant) ; and out of anger, he threw at her the ring. And the bezel being separated from the ring, both of them dropped into the reservoir. However much the people went down the reservoir and searched for it, and even the water was emptied out of it, the

<sup>17</sup> This Arabic couplet is from a *Qasida* of *Husain bin Humām Murri*. He is a poet of the Age of *Jāhiliyat* (or ignorance) and he lived to the days of Islam. Forty-one couplets of this *Qasida* are preserved in the *Mufaḍḍaliyat* (cf. editor's note).

bezel<sup>\*</sup> was not found out. (Accordingly) in its place a white stone was set on the ring. Henceforth many days did not pass, when the one-eyed *Tāhir* came over and made war against him ; and at last killed him in the same garden (where the bezel was lost).

This much has been said of the mystery of a ring.

# THE CREATIVE RECONSTRUCTION OF MAN

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Processes by which records of human experiences, knowledge and information had been stored up during the primitive days of man, grew more and more objective and effective with the passage of time. It was not without a pang that primitive man collected even the mournful annals of his suffering and adopted subtle methods for preserving them in his Mythologies. And Mythologies in the long run, became the sources of those educative and aesthetic elements that generally seek to guide and sustain man in his path of progress. But Mythologies are like dreams which communicate ideas and notions that are lavishly blended, garnished and embellished with elements that grow out of wishful thinking of man. The tendency to preserve residues of human experiences for future use is a natural trait of man.

The accumulation of an uncontrollable wealth of informational materials led gradually to the conventional grouping of subjects. This device of classifying materials according to their nature served as a conventional method for preserving them for future use in social groups; it served furthermore, to accelerate the process of accumulation of collected bodies of experienced knowledge and information of man. The number of subjects in course of time grew, and collected materials under each of these became vaster and vaster; but the natural relationship amongst these subjects and their contents was completely neglected under the pressure of the idea of classified subjects which were taken as segregated units of human discipline. Although the conventional classification of subjects grew out of the practical facility which it offered for sifting materials of knowledge and information under different headings it has proved itself to be injurious for its lack of scopes for the co-ordination of the contents from all the different subjects; and it has been a serious defect of the modern process of the development of proper knowledge.

Knowledge develops by co-ordinating itself with further bodies of similar and related materials of knowledge; and wisdom grows out of profound, wide and systematic knowledge formed by the co-ordination of such developed knowledge from widely different fields of human thoughts and endeavours.

Although man has organized an inordinate number of subjects—History, Geography, Literature, Ethics, Philosophy, Aesthetics, Economics, Anthropology, Sociology, Medicine, Engineering, Physics, Chemistry, Geology, Biology, Physiology, Psychology and the like—and has amassed an unwieldy amount of materials in connection with each of these subjects he has not yet been able to utilize these materials fully because of his



inability to turn to all these materials, irrespective of the groups to which they belong, to effect significant coordinations. Narrow specializations, without traversing wide general fields, have been in vogue in the field of modern learning; and materials have been mechanically collected for the pride of their possession, with a view to expanding all these individual subjects with their own contents. It is the lack of the spirit of co-ordination in the fields of intellectual life of man, which has been responsible for the absence of broader and wider units of thoughts and ideas that depend upon elements from widely different subjects for their formation. And in an indirect way, it is also this lack of the spirit of coordination which has deprived man of the opportunity to take advantage of his store of accumulated knowledge and information for effecting useful ideas and ideals that could have brought about his adequate mental development. And it is a fact that in spite of the accumulation of vast stores of knowledge modern man has not yet been able to develop his mind in proportion to his possessions; he is in many ways still primitive in his mentality. His primitive mind is in fact, camouflaged behind the ostentations of his material civilization. And unless he takes care to reconstruct his ownself he will neither be able to perpetuate his civilization nor be in a position to save himself from destruction.

It is not the accumulated store of knowledge and informational matters that is really of any value; it is the willingness of man to coordinate these materials creatively and freely that is important and significant for him and his society. It is not the sum of experiences but their coordination that is invaluable for man. Experiences appear in the life of man as isolated units of happenings; they remain insignificant and practically unmeaning if they are not properly coordinated. But when coordinated they gain their meanings and significance by being integrated into thoughts and ideas. It is the process of coordination which develops knowledge from detached units of experiences; and it is this process of coordination again, which ultimately tends to develop in man not only wisdom but also forethought, intuition and vision by coordinating elements of knowledge, imagination and ideas obtained from various sources of his life. The development of foresight, intuition and vision has endowed man with the power to extend the limits of the field of his adventure and speculation; it has, therefore, given him enough scope for such activities as can in the long run, enrich his life adequately even for the development of god-like traits in him.

Of late the concept of experience has grown to become a highly important and interesting item because of the writings of John Dewey who suggests that experiences only are real to man and that he cannot go beyond his experiences. It is true that experiences generally are the basic sources of human knowledge and that the universe to man is the universe of his experiences. But is it really true that he cannot go beyond his experiences? Can he not with the development of his power of coordination, get indications of the presence of entities he cannot experience with his senses? The mere piling up of slices of knowledge grouped under different subjects is nothing unless these units are properly

coordinated to develop broader concepts containing ideas of wisdom and truth. The power of knowledge and the power to utilize knowledge properly are two entirely different things. Power may come from knowledge but the power to utilize knowledge properly comes from wisdom.

Though free modern man is not altogether free. He is not free from social oppressions and aggressions of various kinds; and nor is he free from the debasing struggle for competition in his society. And in many countries he cannot possibly expect to enjoy complete freedom of thoughts and feelings even in the field of religion. The Rule of Law, it seems, is not perfect in many countries where riots and conflicts of various kinds, amongst groups of people with different shades of ideas and opinions, disturb the harmony of social life. And regarding war it can be asserted that there is hardly any nation that is free from the fears of its horrors and terrors; civilized man is constantly haunted by the shadow of war. Even the fear of war degenerates man for it tells upon his mind to develop a peculiar complex which destroys his initiative for these normal and creative activities which develop the individuality of man.

It is true that civilized man in the modern world has got to work against an avalanche of obstacles and difficulties because of the lack of the spirit of cooperation in his social life, where there is, on the other hand, too much of competition; and as a result his mind is always full of anxieties and uncertainties of various kinds. Man can never achieve anything great unless there is complete serenity in his mind. The troubled mind under the strain of perplexities is like an individual forced to work under compulsion without an initiative.

Man by nature, wants harmony and abhors disorder. Even the basic drive which leads him to come to conflicts with others flows from his unconscious desire for harmony. War indicates the most primitive way of tackling a complex and alien situation for its solution, with a view to establishing order by shaking off undesirable elements in a crude and savage way. It is like amputating an arm for getting rid of a boil that may happen to grow on it. The ultimate goal which man seeks to achieve in his unconscious mind by going to war is not unreasonable in this sense; but as this goal is sought through forces and impositions, war as a procedure is brutal, perverse and suicidal. It damages the conquered directly and degenerates the conqueror indirectly.

The condition of the mind under the pressure of which man decides to go to war, is certainly not normal; abnormal cupidity and unnatural fear are the emotional factors of the mind, which direct man's inclinations in favour of war. Extreme forms of cruelty exercised by belligerent nations, even among civilized people, go to indicate that war is an expression of the spirit of cannibalism in man. Superstitious ideas of bravery and valour generally drive only those primitive races who are rather advanced to take to head-hunting and cannibalism. Primitive races of the lowest order are not Cannibals.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The long road to humanity—S. A. Coblenz—page 92.

Peace as a social blessing can never be obtained automatically only by banishing war; it has got to be constructed and conditions which are suitable for the reign of peace have to be established.

Freedom also signifies freedom from those perplexing thoughts which appear only when economic necessities of life cannot be normally obtained or when they are obtained only after strenuous struggles. Is then modern man free? Is he free even under the conditions of democracy as we know it today?

Democracy is a way of living; and in order to be true it must be based upon altruism. As it indicates an attitude of life regarding others of the group it has got to grow out of love, sympathy and the idea of the spirit of human dignity. It can be developed only through discipline because it is a consideration of the mind of man; neither imitation nor imposition can cause it to appear in its true form.

There is a gross misconception regarding democracy which is popularly supposed to indicate the idea that all individuals are equal, irrespective of their education, culture and mental development. The idea is totally wrong and practically injurious. The equality which democracy demands is an equality of opportunities and chances for all. It does not profess an equality of merits in persons. Individuals in Nature are naturally different; and any concept of equality of unequals is incongruous.

Only an advanced society can develop democracy as a way of living; and only an advanced society can derive its full benefits. Democracy is destined to become dangerous if it is imposed upon social groups that are not adequately advanced from the point of view of human development. The wrong notion that democracy asserts the equality of all men of all phases of life can undoubtedly develop various kinds of detrimental tendencies in societies; these detrimental tendencies can even become social perils because of the generation of the wrong idea of freedom that comes out of the wrong concept of democracy. Democracy after all, does not give wrong-doers the freedom to continue with their nefarious activities. If it extends liberty it does so to effect wholesome developments in individuals. Evils that afflict the modern civilization persist in human society only because man does not know how to utilize his knowledge properly for his own good.

Again, democracy in a society in which *justice* is not the usual practice followed in all its social dealings, is a dangerous thing; it encourages under this condition, the development of those traits and tendencies which are definitely antisocial and fundamentally undemocratic. Democracy under this condition works against its own basic principles; it can then originate and foster some of those social ills which true democracy wants to exterminate. Democracy and Education go together. Education cannot thrive without democracy; and nor can democracy attain its proper form without Education.

Although the presence of unrest in human society goes hand in hand with the lack of freedom in the life of social man some eminent sociologists go to suggest that industrialization is really responsible for the development of this social unrest which finds expression in various forms

of movements and agitations that often stand in the way of the happiness and the real progress of man. Industrialization can never be the cause of this unrest. There is an interesting parallelism between the process through which human language has been developed and the process through which industrial development has been achieved in human society. Both of these processes which were social in nature passed through similar stages of development; and both of them gave man ample leisure and freedom in the long run. If language has been a boon to social man the condition of industrialization should also be of great service to him. Unrest in modern societies is found in a myriade forms; but all these seem generally to break out of the sense of frustration of man. And it is useful to remember that this unrest of the modern civilization has destroyed the peace and calm of the mind of man.

The progressive development of the mind from the earliest stupor to the condition of dynamic powers, qualities and abilities which are responsible for the creation of all the worthy objects and entities of the life of man, including the grandeur of the richness of his mind, is a marvellous process in Nature. It is a fairy tale; but it is not imaginary.

Nature demands that man must reconstruct his ownself. And upon his creative methods and processes of reconstruction will depend the future of his life and destiny. The reconstruction of the life of man does not imply any form of mechanical or conditioned adjustment. It implies on the other hand, the creative growth of such conditions in his life, as can be realized only because man's nature and his characteristics are eminently suitable for this reconstruction. Man's biological endowments and his social contrivances have conspired to produce these characteristics. To be attracted and motivated by ideals, to be anxious to live and die for a cause, to be able to extend the feelings of love to wider fields and phases of his life and to be able to develop insight vision and intuition in connection with his knowledge and experiences are some of his profound characteristics which promise to make him great.

To Royce goes the credit of attracting the attention of Philosophers to one of these basic but highly valuable traits of human life. He has brought the idea of this human characteristic into bold relief by tracing its presence in the mind of man and delineating its role and significance in his society. Royce has called it—"Loyalty" because it is the spirit of willing devotion of man to a cause that has developed this trait in him.<sup>2</sup> It is the vigour of this mental trait in him that has caused him to fight and sacrifice for the cause which he upholds and cherishes. The greatness of man grew out of his willingness to ignore his private self in the interest of his large self and the development of this selflessness in him has ennobled and elevated his life. Perhaps it will in the long run, prove to be the basis of the development of divinity in his life.

The principle of *loyalty* is highly interesting from the point of view of the concept of *coordination* for it seeks basically to build up a kind of unity either with one's ownself or with others; it is a social phenomenon

<sup>2</sup> Vide *Philosophy of Loyalty*—Josiah Royce.

which always works, directly or indirectly, either for unity or for consolidation.

The fixing up of the idea of an inspirational *purpose* of human life, the development of the spirit of *altruism* and the adoption of optimum conditions and adequate methods for effecting an *all-round development* of man are *the three essential factors which can reconstruct man's life and nature* in a worthy manner. It is unfortunate that present-day Education seems to be unmindful of the significance of all these factors. Methods and processes that seek to achieve social control generally depend upon *conventions of social groups* but Education can effect the most worthy form of social control by depending upon *convictions of individuals*.

There are two basic ideas regarding man's life; the first is that happiness is the supreme end of life and the second that unlike the life of the animal the life of man can be reconstructed creatively. The ideal of a definite purpose of life fosters and favours the growth of both happiness and the processes of reconstruction in man. And this purpose becomes a force when it is associated with social implications. Man has still to perform the creative task of constructing his ownself. And there is no doubt that he is eminently fit for this work. The conviction that man will not only endure but will also prevail is the greatest hope for mankind.

(1) PURPOSE: Ideas regarding the ultimate purpose of human life have always worked as dynamic forces for the determination of the nature of reconstruction of man's life in all the different phases of his existence. The rise and fall of nations, the prevalence of happiness and discontent in the individual and social life of man, the development of the spirits of cooperation and conflict in human life have all appeared by depending upon the nature of the accepted concept of the purpose of human life. It is the sense of purpose which supplies the spirit of motivation for moulding man's life and character. And this sense of purpose becomes dynamic only when it is accepted by the social mind as a supremely valuable and worthy concept for the elevation of the life of man. Only lovable ideals, with faith in their values, can conspire to make man happy. And nothing in man is more sustaining than his faith.

Human civilization grew not out of accumulated wealth of possessions; it appeared only when the emotional acceptance of a spiritually lofty purpose of life could work as a moving force in his social life.

It is the nature of objects and entities in which man takes his profound interest that determines the type of his progressive development; and ideals that grow out of real and practical interests of life are the best ones for their dynamic values. But ideals that are too abstract and too remote from life for realization may not serve any useful purpose; they may, on the other hand, develop even perversion under certain conditions. Clarity of the concepts of ideals and their attainability are the essential factors which only can make them exceedingly valuable in human life.

The determination of an ideal and the development of a practical interest in this ideal are entirely different things; but both of them

require creative activities of man. Moving interests in ideals are created just as ideals themselves are created in the life of man.

Gifts of Science can make animals extremely happy and contented; they cannot, however, give man all that he desires for his happiness. Human mind is unique; unlike the mind of the animal it requires a world of mental activities and coordinations for its satisfaction and the generation of happiness. It is the elements of love, inspiration, imagination, faith, belief and the like in the mind of man, which truly determine man's happiness. These mental entities are more important than his material possessions and creature comforts for the development of happiness in his life. But all human ideals are naturally associated with these mental elements. And it is the presence of these precious elements in ideals that has made them abundantly significant in the life of man. Ideals in individual lives are desirable but in social lives they are indispensable. Social groups can never be properly consolidated without ideals; and the wider becomes the acceptance of such ideals by individuals the greater becomes the integration of groups.

Ideals that grow out of the sense of purpose of life and are in keeping with it are really notable and valuable for their lasting effects; they become effective mainly through the development of ambition in the mind of man. People in ancient Greece at a particular stage of their development accepted the purpose of establishing a creative life with the highest pitch of human performance regarding bodily and mental perfections along with the development of their feeling for beauty in general, as the highest aim of life. This sense of purpose generated a new form of ambition in their minds; and life, to Greeks, gained a new meaning and fresh significance. It was this new sense of purpose which could not only make Greece great but could also inspire other races that came in contact with the creations of the Greek mind.

Modern man understands that his civilization is destined to come to grief if it is not freed from organized hatred and armed conflicts and if he himself fails to secure a more worthy purpose of life. Although the diagnosis of his own social malady is correct and convincing man has not yet been adequately serious in following practical methods for avoiding the perilous condition which seems to endanger his existence.

The establishment of the idea of a worthy purpose of life is the most effective preparation for the transformation of human life and society for making them progressively creative. The worthier becomes the concept of the purpose of the life of man the nobler becomes the style of his living. A human life without a purpose is like an individual running amuck without an aim. What should then be the nature of the most lofty purpose of human life?

Man had to suffer extreme forms of anguish and travail during the period of his march from savagery to civilization. He still he moans human sufferings; but the conditions which cause man to suffer are his own creation. If instead of waging wars he fights against diseases, oppressions and poverty, and against war itself he is sure to be able to mitigate his suffering to a great extent. Abuses and evil practices that

generally honey-comb, a modern society should be obliterated with the aid of congenial and creative activities of man. To wean man from impulsive activities and to develop in him the attitude to perform only what is salubrious for the body and the mind of man should be the chief objective of man's practical Education. We know that new ideas give fresh meanings to life specially when these ideas fructify into ideals.

(2) ALTRUISM: Altruism in man has changed the character of his life and the nature of his Society. Directly and indirectly, it has been responsible not only for the consolidation and systematic organization of his society but is responsible also for the development of those human traits and possessions that require social media for their initial growth. And it is through these social gifts that man has been able to make enormous progress regarding his power and all forms of mental, moral and spiritual developments. It is through the gradual development of the spirit of altruism in his life that man can ultimately attain divinity. The conscious development of altruism should, therefore, be the most essential item in the plan for the reconstruction of man. Altruism belongs to the real essence of human civilization; and out of it has grown various traits of man, of which the sense of justice is the most pragmatic social virtue. A notable characteristic of this sense of justice is that it ennobles the mind of man and floods it with a sort of spiritual feeling. This is how the sense of justice in man has been responsible, to a great extent, for the growth of human culture. The real truth is that altruism and the sense of justice are so naturally coordinated in the life of man that the development of one follows the development of the other.

There is nothing artificial about altruism in the life of man. It is a natural trait evolved under the pressure of the vital urge of coordination for its biological utility. It has evolved in life like the trait of individuality. Conditions of helplessness at the time of birth of higher animals become more and more pronounced and periods of such helplessness more and more extensive as we go up the ladder of evolution. Such conditions of helplessness seem to be contrivances for the development of altruism. In the case of man we know that the human baby can never survive without the spirit of altruism of parents and other members of the community.

Only a society inspired by the spirit of altruism can endure and can make its continuous progress. Human society is destined not only to degenerate but also to bring about its own destruction if it fails to develop altruism in the minds of individuals. There is a popular belief that Education can do everything for man and his society and that it goes to create in man a strong determination to end war and to establish peace in his social life. The notion is absolutely wrong. Experience has shown that many nations having wide and extensive education are extremely belligerent in their attitudes. The establishment of democracy, the prevalence of religious feelings and fervours, the attainment of high degrees of economic, scientific, technical and industrial developments in social groups do not fulfil conditions that would foster peace by avoiding



ware. It is the development of altruism in man which can generate the strong inclination to establish peace and lead his progress in the right direction. Just as the development of individuality is the product of an all-round development of *the individual life of man* the development of altruism is the product of an adequate development of *the social life of man*. Solidarity and cooperation which get their nutriments from the spirit of altruism of man, are the two extremely precious traits in the landscape of human society. It is the spirit of altruism which works as the feeling of consideration for others, that is instrumental in ennobling the life of man.

False notions regarding the concept of democracy have led to the development of various fads and foibles even in those societies where democracy has been theoretically accepted as the pattern of social life. In order to be true, democracy must be based upon humanism; it must be motivated by the spirit of altruism.

Altruism obviously is a special form of love; and love we know plays a dynamic role in life for it acts as the chief motivator of Nature for the creation and development of those biologically necessary objects, traits and attitudes that encourage the continuation and elaboration of life. Love in the life of man has become a uniquely subtle and active agent for effecting various changes for ennobling his life and nature. Most of the tender, noble and dignified traits of man owe their origin to his mental condition set up by the spirit of love in him. Apart from romantic and conjugal love there are countless other forms in which love manifests itself in the life of man. Attachment, affection, sympathy, solidarity, regard, admiration, adoration, devotion, respect, reverence and so on are some of the forms in which the spirit of love expresses itself in human society.

Thinking processes that grow out of love in man have a strong inclination to go beyond the limits of reality for creating new worlds by depending upon fancy, imagination and vision. It is the spirit of love in man that has directed him to take to such speculative thoughts as have not only led him to enrich his mental faculties but also to develop spiritualism in his life. Man has become spiritual because of the presence of the adequate spirit of love in him. Love has helped the development of the ideas of spiritual and symbolical entities in the life of man.

All forms of love in their social, intellectual and spiritual manifestations, as in the cases of leaders' love for their fellows, artists' love for their creations and saints' love for God, are like nutriments which nourish the mind of man. Love in the life of man is akin to happiness; it is so very natural in him that its presence seems to be absolutely necessary for the upkeep of his mental health.

The development of the type of forgetfulness which is generally associated with deep concentration born out of profound attachment and the growth of the trait of selflessness in man make him eminently fit for superior activities that can ennoble his life. But although the traits of forgetfulness and selflessness indispensably require social conditions for their development both of them undoubtedly owe their origin to the



feeling of love in man. The spirit of love acts like a catalytic agent for modifying, organizing and accelerating all those processes and activities that elevate the life of man.

Love in its sexual form also, is a great thing in human life. Although based upon a basic biological urge, sex in the life of civilized man has been made to assume a distinctly new shape. Sex feeling in the life of man and sex feeling in the animal are of entirely different nature. In man it is a glorious entity for it has a deep-rooted tendency to coordinate itself subtly with everything man loves and adores; and in an indirect way it is the basis of all his concepts of love and beauty. The fundamental fact is that the feeling of sex in man is a contrivance of Nature for effecting countless varieties of mental coordinations from which emanate all forms of creativeness of man.

It is the subjectivity of the social mind of man that has spiritualized sex and has given it a special status by coordinating it with his fond imaginations and tender feelings. Our Art, Literature and Music could, therefore, get their inspirations from the sublimated forms of the sexual urge. Human society has rescued sex from its basic level and elevated it to an exalted position; it has devised various social contrivances of legends and mythologies, symbols and rituals, tenets and conventions and the like to help the formation of a sober, healthy and sentimental attitude of man regarding sex so that he may consolidate his society by avoiding social tensions and conflicts. The system of monogamy and the practice of utilizing strictly disciplinary processes and restrictions in the field of sexual life of man are the creations of human culture; they certainly have their ennobling effects, upon the mind of man. The idea of Sanctity, therefore, in the field of conjugal love is supremely useful for its social and intellectual values. Individuals under the inspirational influence of sublime form of perfect love are known to have developed great powers for accomplishing great achievements in life.

Man's attitude towards sex is certainly related to his civilization; the disappearance of restrictions, with reckless freedom, in the field of sex has always brought about ruin and downfall in nations.

The captivating force of love impells man to hope for getting his desired objects. And as hope with its intense form of expectation acts as a drive in the field of evolution love by generating hope can goad man to move methodically and speedily towards his biological goal of divinity.

The appearance of the sense of frustration in modern man is largely due to the lack of the spirit of altruism in his life. And as conditions in advanced societies do not favour the natural growth of altruism man in the interest of his own progress must try to develop it through his social life. Love is a manifestation of the urge of coordination of life. The function of both love and this basic urge is to establish unifying relations; fundamentally they also work somewhat similarly.

Man has a future only if he can contrive to establish the spirit of altruism as an enduring actuality in his mind. The conscious development of altruism in man will open a new dimension in the field of human relations and international understanding.

The whole machinery of human civilization will be in vain if man does not comprehend the importance of the development of the spirit of humanism and cooperation in his life. He must be fully conscious of the idea that the rising tide of armed conflicts of nations may in future develop conditions that may mean the end of man. Civilization is a moving process; it cannot come to a standstill. Either it will move forward, or it will retrace its path backwards. And human society will assume a new appearance if it is properly motivated by the spirit of humanism.

The family is the most basic social group where members start with the fundamentals of Education and learn to develop all social traits and human relations in the most natural way. Attachment, affection, adoration, reverence, sympathy, charity and countless other forms of love, which constitute the basis of altruism and ethical sense of life grow spontaneously in the minds of youngsters and other members of the family. And as the family is the nursery where these social feelings of attachment germinate and grow it is not unreasonable to suggest that it is the most suitable place for the development of altruism of man. Social festivals, specially when they are limited to members of a family, are supremely useful for their educative and cultural values; they help the development of some vitally important social traits of the life of man, the most significant of which is the trait of altruism. But unfortunately such festivals are rapidly disappearing from our advanced social groups. What is more the family as a system is breaking under the strain of modern conditions of our civilization; and there is definitely no suitable place which can be its worthy substitute for the natural development of useful social traits. A social group, after all, is a family writ large.

The family under the guidance of parents constituted the starting points of all forms of social units—educational, moral, religious, economic, productive, cultural and the like. And civilization grew out of conditions of the family life of man; it grew naturally for a long time by always depending upon some traits that were indispensable for man but that had naturally developed in the social medium of the family. There are reasons to apprehend that human civilization will change for the worse, for want of opportunities for the development of altruism, if the family system disappears completely. Civilized man has become greatly egoistic; he lacks, to a great extent, the spirits of compassion and tender feeling for his fellows. And man without love soon becomes a veritable part of the machine which he himself constructs.

(3) DEVELOPMENT: The urge to grow is natural in all organisms; the tendency to grow is also natural in man who has been adopting various methods ever since the appearance of his conscious desire for effecting his own welfare and development. The real development of man consists of his individual as well as his social developments. Modern Education has accepted the idea of the development of individuality as the supreme aim of individual development; and modern civilization has accepted the idea of the establishment of democracy in society as the supreme goal of social development. But both of these

ideals become worthless unless the development of individuality is secured by depending upon individual inclinations and the development of democracy through the development of altruism in social groups. Democracy, which is not established upon altruism and humanism, is not solidly built upon a sound structure. It is unnatural and mechanical under this condition and is, therefore, a source of various kinds of serious disorders.

As the real and all-round development of man consists of the developments of both the phases of his life—individual and social—it should be effected jointly through the activities of education for the development of the individual and through the activities of the administrative and social organizations of the state for the development of the social conditions for democracy. Individuality in individual life and democracy in social life are similar because both of them mean to extend freedom in their own spheres for proper growth. It is only through the development of both of these phases of human life that man can develop himself properly and can make his civilization progressive in nature. Man without conscious efforts to grow is destined to fall a victim to such savage obsessions and crude zeitgeists as will ultimately make his civilization grotesque and his mind insensate. And he is then inclined to become perverse enough to take to those activities that are detrimental to the interest of his self and society. And the idea that man verily is the creator of his own future is then none too insignificant for him. It is the progressive and all-round development of man that can secure and sustain the mental hygiene of man and can help him to develop wisdom and happiness in his life. Politics of the future will have to take interest in the idea of the development of man as its basic duty and to create such conditions as will give individuals equal chances for the enrichment of their lives and the progress of their society as its practical goal. Ideals and activities for their realization in Politics should be similar to those of consolidated social groups. Politics is a social Science; it grew out of social needs. And as such political activities should not be directed for the achievements of power and supremacy but for achieving the development and progress of individuals. An emphasis on the importance of this ideal will raise the status of Politics in the field of human culture and make way for the progressive development of human happiness and civilization.

Human life is not a mistake; nor is it fortuitous in its natural development. Although it tends to develop in a particular way it can be guided and directed creatively. Germs in fact, of various possibilities lie subtly dormant in man. And most of these possibilities may be realized with the aid of methodical and creative contrivances of man. Life is a mission to those who seek to reconstruct it. Man's life, surely, is a gift of Nature but it requires wisdom to make it good; it is the wisdom of man that can make common things uncommon by making them sublime and attractive.

The structure of the Society of man is perhaps more complex than that of the body or the mind he possesses. Democracy is a great concept; but it can lead a society either to mediocracy or to an even lower level if it is practised in a society where individuals are without

proper education and culture, and specially if they lack the spirit of altruism. It is the element of altruism in man that counts; Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Goethe, Emerson, Carlyle, Santayana and others who were not democrats could think, feel and work for common man because of the presence of the spirit of altruism in their lives.

The sacrifice of justice and fairplay in a democratic society is destined to create catastrophic conditions by the development of the false notion that even wrong-doers can, to a great extent, go with impunity under its control. Justice is the most precious Social virtue; all societies even when they are solidly consolidated, disintegrate into chaotic conditions if justice which naturally includes the senses of honesty and morality is not strictly followed in such social groups. Although free the life of man in a truly democratic society is always highly disciplined regarding his sexual life and senses of justice and morality. Discipline is the soul of democracy; and moral forces are the strongest forces in a disciplined society. Sense of justice always acts as a moral vigour for the integrative coordination and continuation of social groups. It is true that man can be assured of a continuously progressive life only if his concepts of morality are allowed to reign supreme in his society. Democracy is not really an end in itself; it is a means to an end in the sense that the condition of life it advocates serves effectively to encourage the development of the individual in society. Freedom, after all, is the source of all human bliss.

Both Education and Politics should turn to Sociology for guidance; initially both of them were organized for social welfare. Both of them should therefore, work together to achieve an all-round development of man.

A free society should create conditions and contrivances for the natural development of all valuable human traits, qualities and capacities, both individual and social, namely love and altruism, knowledge and wisdom, faith and confidence, imagination and vision, individuality and service, selflessness and forgetfulness, solidarity and sympathy, compassion and cooperation—for offering free scopes for the complete development of man. There is a strong unconscious hankering in man, for the realization of the condition of complete manhood and as such processes that seek to achieve his all-round development are the processes that also make him supremely happy.

Man is great because of his potentialities; in him lie the germs of high possibilities which can be realized through his conscious and creative processes of reconstruction. Man, at present, cannot even imagine the extent to which he can develop himself in the long run. All suggestions and insinuations, therefore, regarding the nature of his advanced condition in remote future will certainly, appear to be extravagant and chimerical. The most effective method for reconstructing the life of man, as has already been suggested, consists of the creation of an inspirational purpose, the development of the spirit of altruism and the achievement of an all-round development in life. And the importance of the process of coordination in this connection, can never be underestimated. It is

the process of coordination through which all these three conditions of purpose, altruism and all-round development can be established for effecting the reconstruction of man. The real reconstruction of the life of man will resuscitate the spirit of his eagerness to utilize all his powers, capacities and abilities to work for the welfare of man and his society.

The greatness of a nation depends neither solely upon its material wealth nor upon its accumulated piles of knowledge. Material wealth alone cannot make a nation great; it can, on the other hand, work as a source of mischief if it is associated only with undue care for comfort and luxury, and not with any higher purpose of life. Uncommon hankering for material comfort and luxury is fatal to human civilization. Stores of accumulated knowledge alone cannot make a nation great either. A proper Organization, or rather a coordination of knowledge for the development of the spirit of wisdom is necessary if knowledge is to be utilized for making a nation great. The correct index of human civilization should be neither the advanced state of man's scientific knowledge nor his technical skill but the advanced condition of his own life. Aesthetic, moral and religious senses are all directly related to intelligence; all of them contribute to enrich the wealth of man's inner life. Both wealth and knowledge are necessary for greatness; but both of them must be motivated by the spirit of altruism and its derivatives which sometimes may serve as excellent ideals of life. True culture seeks neither an extreme form of material comfort nor an excessive pattern of luxury as its essential requirement; it indicates the condition of the mind, which has general attractions for truth, beauty and goodness.

The decadence of a civilization starts when individuals in general direct all their thoughts to be limited only to common concerns of life regarding food, clothing, amusement and the like, and not at all to higher forms of thoughts and actions that are socially valuable and as such are sources of impersonal joy and satisfaction. The establishment of Utopias of the external world can neither make man happy nor put him on the right path for his real and progressive development. It is through the social development of the minds of individuals that a nation can attain the mellowness of the cultural maturity of man, which can ensure the establishment of the Utopia of the mental world. Man must be inspired by the vision of the possibilities of building up a majestic civilization.

Of the emotions and ideas that have inspired and influenced man profoundly enough to secure lasting effects for shaping his nature and attitude mentions may be made of the influences of the beauty and the sublime and the effect of the conscious and unconscious utilization of the principle of Pragmatism in his life. The influence of the beautiful upon human life is entirely different from the influence of the sublime upon it; the beautiful and the sublime frame different mental attitudes by generating different feelings in the mental life of man.

Ancient Greeks were moved and inspired by *the beautiful* and the civilization which they built up was motivated by the concept of beauty.

Ancient Hindus, however, got their inspiration under the influence of *the sublime* and the civilization which they therefore, created was motivated by the visionary idea of the sublime. Supremely majestic mountains, enormously extensive forests containing all the beauties and bounties of Nature and a clear but everchangingly colourful sky which became strewn with jewels of stars at night were some of the conditions which developed the feeling of the sublime in the minds of the forest sages of ancient India. The Sages, it seems, comprehended the uniquely healthy nature of the influence of the sublime; they, therefore, made certain contrivances for bringing man under its influence for the development of his Education. Their selection of places of quiet sylvan surroundings for contemplation and education, and their concept of *Brahma* which was a concept of the entire wholeness of the universe, clearly indicate that they were after the influence of the sublime for the transformation of the life of man.

The spirit of pragmatism played a tremendously significant role in the life of man. The spirit was never wholly absent in human thought; and in a form it served as a primemover in certain patterns of wishful thinking of primitive man. The spirit of the typical form of Pragmatism was present in the thinking processes of ancient thinkers and Philosophers. Pragmatism is not a branch of Philosophy; it is really a way of thinking. It is a peculiar way of forming coordinations.

Wishful thinking in primitive man developed a peculiar form of dignity in his life. His life was not without hopes, however imaginative they might be. At a higher stage when he was deprived of these because of the assertion of Science regarding their emptiness he felt hopelessly worried and isolated. The concept of Pragmatism is an outcome of his serious attempt to evade the idea of his insignificance and to restore hope and confidence in his mind and dignity in his strenuous life.

Truth after all, is an idea; it is generally an opinion because we can never reach the really final truth. And in human life although an entity is often made true only through actions and efforts it is not possible to accept the general idea that it is always utility which determines truth and that what is not useful is not true. What is true however, is that utility really determines the *worthwhileness* of an action or an object. It may not be possible to verify a particular faith by Science, but if it promises to develop cultural, social and mental qualities of man it must be taken as *biologically valuable*. It is worthwhile then, to own such a faith in life; it is utility which makes a faith *worthwhile*. But worthwhileness in human life often develops the characteristics of truth. It is only in this sense that the assertion of Pragmatism is correct.

If human faith is important to the extent of being biologically significant the doctrine of Pragmatism is extremely valuable for man. And there are reasons to believe that Pragmatism received indirect aids both from the concepts of Charles Darwin's evolution and John Stuart Mill's utilitarianism. Directly or indirectly it is the consideration of use, utility or worthwhileness, which engages man in all the pursuits

of his life. And because of its selective and survival values utility, or rather worthwhileness, plays a unique role in the life of the living; it helps the determination of the line of march of evolution. The spirit of Pragmatism which stresses the importance of worthwhileness in life is therefore, as old as life itself.

The idea that the biological development of man causes him to move towards divinity seems to be true to facts. Man's dreams of the concepts of Utopia, Heaven, Superman and the like indicate that in his unconscious mind man has a basic inclination to move towards a particular form of goal; he seeks to develop the condition of divinity in his life. But apart from this ultimate goal man wants to achieve certain things in his individual life. And these he wants to achieve through the fulfilment and satisfaction of certain basic cravings of his life. For him to get these is to become happy.

Happiness which is the goal of the individual life of man is not a vague term. It requires a world of objects and entities for the appearance of happiness in man's life but four basic requirements—*love, possessions, an all-round development* and the establishment of *relations* are indispensable for the growth of happiness in the life of man. The notion therefore, that man can never be truly happy in spite of all his earnest efforts is an idea that is still-born. Conditions that make man happy can certainly be created by him.

*Love* in various forms has helped the development of the individual and the social life of man. It has furthermore, helped the development of selflessness and forgetfulness which are the foundations of spiritualism in his life. Man cannot live by bread alone; he must have objects and entities which he loves. The most basic fact regarding Religion is that it is an ideal; it is an ideal which comprises a scheme of Education for man. But its supreme endeavour is to coordinate the spirit of wholeness in the mind of the individual with the aid of imaginative and spiritual interpretations of life and Nature; and its social function is to bind individuals together to form coordinated social groups.

The use of symbols in Religion signifies that as a true art it seeks both to conceal and to treasure its contents and aims. Man cannot do without Religion; and as it represents a natural activity of man, like any other Art, it should be analysed and appraised from the point of view of human culture. The recognition of Comparative Religion as a branch of Cultural Anthropology along with its analytical Studies will reveal the true nature of the mental life of man regarding his own concept of happiness and will promote the spirit of mutual understanding of diverse nations and races. It is only through such studies of Comparative Religion that man can hope to move towards humanism which should be the Religion of future man.

The strong incentive to get hold of various kinds of *possessions*—material, mental and spiritual—seems to be a great craving of the mind of man. Man has become great because of his possessions of the knowledge and skill of different subjects like Art, Philosophy, Religion, Science and Technology, in addition to the possessions of his material wealth.



The extension of the empire of man will include his conquests of the mental world.

Man's hankering for *an all-round development* in his life is propound. It is this drive for development which has made him great in life and Nature. In the mind of man looms the eternal question—what is the best of human life? Perhaps man has not yet been able to answer the question properly. But out of the complications of the answers have grown a mighty store of intellectual materials in the field of Philosophy.

The urge to establish countless forms of *relations*—physical, mental and social—, which flows from the basic urge of coordination, is supreme in the life of man. All his constructions, devices and creations of the physical and the mental worlds, including his intellectual and social ideas, concepts and doctrines, are undoubtedly expressions of this basic urge of life. The peculiar structure of the mind of man makes him feel that his experiences of the material world are not at all sufficient for his adventures. He finds pleasure in determining extra-sensory objects and entities.

Man's concept of happiness and his ideas regarding his love, possessions, all-round development and establishment of relations show that all of them are conditioned by human society, and are as such associated with social implications. And the process of coordination constitutes the best natural method for the development of all these essential entities in the life of man for his happiness. Our ways of life and thought under modern conditions seem to induce mental disorder. This is particularly because Science and Technology cannot supply everything that man needs for his mental health and happiness. Conditions of brutal competition and diminished form of security in his civilized life have deprived him of his liberty to take to those mental activities he cherishes in his heart of hearts.

The feeling of true happiness flows out of the condition of the perfect form of physical and mental harmony. It is the supreme craving of man to achieve harmony in his life ; and it is not for nothing therefore, that he hungers for happiness. Happiness is harmony ; it is a typical form of coordination in the life of man. The three essential conditions that man requires in his society for the realization of his happiness and the fulfilment of his life are *freedom, security* and the dignity of the human person. All progressive societies, therefore, should aim at establishing these conditions in the social life of man with the aid of all educational and governmental agencies.

The social urge in the Organic world, is stronger and more fundamental than the sexual urge. Many animals and birds do not breed when they are far away from their normal societies; they cease to breed in captivity. In the life of man social considerations are so very normal and natural that those who cannot develop certain traits that are necessary for social living are bound to suffer from various forms of mental illness. Man's sexual urge is only a manifestation of his more fundamental social urge. It is the basic social force, and not the sexual urge, that is responsible for the formation of various kinds of wrong mental attitudes and aberrations in the case of man. A complete libera-



tion therefore, of the psycho-analytic theory from its basic concept of pan-sexuality together with the growth of an emphasis upon the ideas of the universality and the utility of the social forces in life will in future, help the formation of a better technique for curing certain forms of mental disorders and for keeping the health of the mind of man-sound. The shifting of the emphasis from the idea of the all-pervading nature of sex to the idea of perpetual influences of social forces will surely enrich our ideas regarding the nature of the contents of the unconscious mind of man.

Man's life is replete with social implications; even his individual traits are properly developed and incubated under social conditions. Society is the natural medium in which man can develop his natural stature; he can develop his individuality only in his social milieu. Individuality and sociability are complementary; they are so very subtly coordinated that the development of one leads to the development of the other. Yet it will not be superfluous to suggest that the conscious development of both individuality and sociability should be the supreme aim of Education. One is an indication of the development of individual life and the other an indication of the development of social life of man. The chief importance of sociability in human life arises out of its basic inclination to develop altruism which is indispensable for the real progress of man. Education as a social force must coordinate with all other creative forces of human society. As a process it is the one that brings the individual more and more into the possession of his ownself in his Society. Jung is correct in suggesting that varieties of mental diseases appear in individuals when they fail to take advantage of social feelings, associations and activities. Although a separate entity the individual life of man is a broken part of his society.

Man as we know him is a product of his society. All his cravings and inclinations are naturally conditioned and coloured by social considerations. And all the significant concepts of his life, including the supremely vital ones like happiness, fulfilment, realization, complete living and the end or purpose of life gain their real and profound meanings only when they are formed in their social settings; they are meaningful only in the context of human society. And the fundamental requisite of man's happiness is the integration of his society.

Man truly lives by love, hope and faith. But even then, he cannot gain his all-round development and true happiness if the society in which he lives does not contain the spirits of justice, altruism and cooperation as its basic traits.

It is human society which has stimulated the rise and growth of all creative activities, material, mental, social and spiritual, of man. And the impact of social forces upon him is also responsible for the generation of conditions that led to the origin and development of all such subjects as Art, Literature, Philosophy, Religion, Science and Technology in human Society. The nature of the processes, inclinations and goals of human thoughts is to a great extent, determined by the nature of

man's Society.<sup>3</sup> And no wonder diverse patterns of social conditions are responsible not only for the appearance of different patterns of human ideals and religions but also for the creation of different systems of Philosophy. All serious endeavours of man to create worthy and useful objects and entites make him profoundly serene and supremely happy in his heart of hearts. The climax of the creative activities of man in his social life will be reached only when he will be in a position to create the Great Society of man by coordinating all the countries of the world to form an Organizational Unit. It is this Great Society which will ultimately establish the natural commonwealth of man. And not until the accomplishment of this commonwealth will freedom and security appear naively in the life of man and his Society. Man can build up his commonwealth only if he is convinced of the idea of the oneness of man.

Man can make his society affluent and can plant in his life just those beliefs, attitudes and values that are commensurate with the highest form of social living only if he is unvexed by the fear of war. War is waste; it is the greatest enemy of man. The spirit of despondence that is now widely spread in human society owes its origin to the fear of war. Frustration in the mind of man is a natural outcome of war and certain forms of armed conflicts. And this frustration has often made modern man antisocial and abnormal in his behaviour.

Man cannot go beyond his society; possessed of an imaginative mind he can soar high but he is somehow linked always to his society. His intellectual thoughts and activities have directly or indirectly, grown out of his social ideas; his ethical and spiritual ideas and ideals have also come out of his social problems. All Social ideas and activities of man ultimately assume spiritual and symbolical garbs. This is because man cannot remain satisfied with the things that he can seize only with his senses; he feels the urge to spiritualize all his ideas; ideals and rituals that he loves and adores. Human mind tends to transcend the limits of all considerations of the material world. Agencies that work to build and sustain human society are social and spiritual forces. It is these forces which also guide the destiny of man's society and civilization.

For the conscious development of any trait, quality or inclination in a natural way man in future will find it convenient to draw upon the principle of coordination. The theory of *vital coordination* will prove itself to be the most fundamental and pragmatic concept in the possession of man. And apart from the hereditary inclinations of man the influence of ideas and the impact of social forces that beat upon his life are the most important factors that mould the life of man. Though highly influential they all are invisible; they all act as dynamic forces.

Force or energy is in a sense, the ultimate reality of the world because nothing but the movement of energy remains ultimately in matter, if we continue to break it into its component parts. All various units which constitute atoms are in fact, units of electric charges in motion. And if atoms are made up of non-material energy under the pressure of another non-material entity—motion, it is reasonable to suggest

<sup>3</sup> Vide Karl Mannheim's *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge* and Max Scheler's *Problems of Sociology of Knowledge*—for information regarding certain aspects of the Sociology of human thoughts.

that matter, in our modern concept, has lost its materiality. The idea of some philosophers to the effect that the material world exists only in appearance then, seems also to be authentic.

The goal of the utmost material possession is a poor ideal for human life. Conquerors after reaching their limits of conquests by subjugating vast regions of territories and becoming masters of untold wealth and riches are known to have totally lost their interest and zeal for further acquisition. Nothing but despair fills the minds of these individuals who at the end, seem to be burdened with the idea of the frailties of human lives. The goal that cannot open out new avenues for new forms of activities cannot satisfy man. It is the constitutional structure of the mind of man which determines the nature of activities that are pleasing to him. Man's joy lies not in arriving at a particular goal but in his struggle to reach it. Activities only in connection with certain processes of coordination can really be supremely satisfying to him.

Human society is not an artificial creation; it grew out of man's nature. The germ of the society is a natural content of the individual mind of man. And man's love for his society and its activities is inborn in his nature. He can really be happy therefore, if he can get scopes and chances for such activities as are natural expressions of his love for his society. The significance of sacrifice in social life becomes abundantly clear to us when we grasp this idea. All activities bereft of social ideas, ideals and considerations sooner or later, terminate, miserably in despair. Marvellous achievements of human thoughts and endeavours on the other hand, have been achieved when such activities have been motivated, directly or indirectly, by elements of social value. Thoughts and activities concerning human welfare are invaluable for human culture for they bid fair not only to ameliorate social conditions but serve also to elevate the mental condition of individuals engaged in such pursuits. And as these pursuits can present limitless scopes for such human speculations and activities as can naturally make man progressive in his social and individual life they embody the best ideal of human life. Let us call this ideal the *Social Ideal* of man.

The social ideal is specially valuable for it affords an unlimited scope for human development; and this is because social pursuits do not suffer from the disadvantage of coming to the end of their tethers at any time. An ideal which can continue to be an ideal for ever is the best ideal for the life of man.

The lack of a properly lofty and inspiring ideal which can stand supreme in the life of man is responsible for the appearance of all the major ills in human society; it is also fundamentally responsible for the generation of all discontent and unhappiness of man. Only the social ideal can fill the heart of man with love, hope and faith and the mind with the motivation for making life richer and fuller for ensuring the conditions suitable for complete living and perfect self-realization in his life. An ideal is an inspiration; and it is the social ideal which will inspire man to take the path that can lead him to divinity and the highest form of human development.

Society is divine; it resembles God in many of its characteristics. Human society like God is super-personal in character and invisible in form. And like God again, it is a solid reality in the life of man.

# LET DEATH AS A LOVER TAKE ME

TREVOR GOODGER-HILL

Let death as a lover take me  
if he can  
for rigid as a florid puritan  
I resist all filling. Let him  
my lover mutter  
magic incantations of pleasure  
for the body  
when it halts, once and final all.  
Until succumbed, I carry life's myth  
hesitant  
and waiting a flower in my cunt.

## Reviews and Notices of Books

**Jatigathane Khadya** (in Bengali)—Dr. Harogopal Biswas, M.Sc., D.Phil.  
Pp. 58. Price 50P.

It is after sincere search for a good book on dietetics that I come across Dr. Harogopal Biswas' '*Jatigathane Khadya*' (food in the making of nation).

Having worked as Labour and Welfare Officer for many years in several industrial undertakings in West Bengal I have had the opportunity of coming in contact with many people and have, with regret, formed this opinion that most of our working-class people, besides many of our intellectuals, if I am not wrong, have no, or very scanty, idea about the imperatives of "food essentials" and "Vitamins in food" for health and disease. The need for such a book as Dr. Biswas' can never be enough, acknowledged at this critical juncture. I must also thank the *Government of West Bengal* for its timely publication.

A close associate of Sir P. C. Ray, Dr. Biswas has very admirably been able to indicate the problems and difficulties connected with our food habits in this Book : He treats of dietary in so adroit a manner that it attracts our attention to it at once ; the chapters speaking of some cause and analysis of certain diseases have been simply and very realistically dealt with. The categorical divisions of Vitamins, Proteins, Fats and Carbohydrates, etc. and the alternate phenomena of their want and presence in human body, would obviously affect particularly them that attach real rather than apparent importance to good physique.

In my opinion, the Book will serve a great purpose to each and every one, whatever profession he belongs to, of us thinking of health and happiness essential in human life to step forward. Science tells us that "Vitality" comes from Vitamin foods. Vitality is the other word of life. It may as well be said of Dr. Biswas, an eminent dietitian, that he has enormously helped us know how to keep the body and soul together in a better way than is normally possible for a layman to do, by incorporating many invaluable data regarding our daily requirements of food in this Book which, a precious gift from him indeed, I should like everyone to read by way of religious book every day. "The man is, what he eats." Hence the necessity of acquiring some systematized knowledge of the utility and value of the food we take, or, rather, we should take.

P. N. Ghoshal.

## Ourselfes

### DR. S. P. CHATTERJEE'S VISIT TO SOVIET UNION

Prof. S. P. Chatterjee, Head of the Department of Geography, University of Calcutta has been invited to visit the U.S.S.R. The invitation was received through the University Grants Commission, who wanted to bear the cost of the visitor's international travel while his expenses in the Soviet Union would be borne by the Soviet authorities. Dr. Chatterjee intends to go to Prague in the first instance to deliver his presidential address before the Commission on Applied Geography and then desires to proceed to Warshaw and to deliver a course of lectures there as guest of the Polish Academy of Sciences. He will stay in the Soviet Union from the last week of September to the end of the first week of November, 1965.

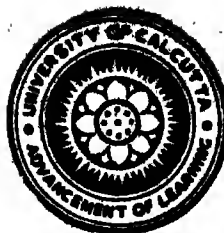
Professor Chatterjee has been allowed by the University to accept the study tour abroad.

### UNIVERSITY INVITATIONS

The following invitations have been received by the University from the undernoted organisations for participation in the Congress/Conference noted against each :

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. Central Bureau of Investigation, Ministry of Home Affairs. | Seminar on Juvenile Delinquency Role of the Police, New Delhi, from 25.11.65 to 27.11.65. |
| 2. Indian Philosophical Congress.                             | 39th Session New Delhi from 26.12.65 to 29 12 65.   |
| 3. Indian Institute of Chemical Engineers.                    | 18th Annual General Meeting, Jadavpur, December 1965.                                     |
| 1. Indian Society Theoretical and Applied Mechanics.          | 10th Congress, Madras, 20.12.65 to 24.12.65.  |
| 5. Dept. of Atomic Energy, Govt. of India.                    | Symposium on Cosmic Rays, Bombay, 13.12.65 to 17 12.65.                                   |
| 6. Indian History Congress                                    | 27th Session, Allahabad, 29 12.65 to 31.12.65.  |
| 7. Kendriya Sanskrit Vidya-peetha.                            | Seminar on "Method of Sanskrit Teaching" Tirupati, December.                              |
| 8. Anatomical Society of India.                               | XIVth Annual Conference,  |

9. Indian Association of Special Libraries and Information Centres. 6th Conference, Trivandrum, 27.12.65 to 31.12.65.
10. Akhil Bharatiya Sahitya Sammelan. Amravati, November-December.
11. Association of Physiologists and Pharmacologists of India. Annual Meetings, Lucknow, 27.12.65 to 29.12.65.
12. Institute of Fuel Research. Symposium on "Problems of Energy Supply in India during the 4th Five Year Plan."
13. Indian Mathematical Society. 31st Conference, Jaipur, December.
14. Institute of Indian Foundrymen. Seminar on Moulding Technology, Powai, December.
15. Indian Political Science Conference. 27th Session, Mysore, December.



## Notifications

### UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification No. C/586/9 (Aff.)

It is hereby notified for general information that in extension of the affiliation already granted, the Bethune College has been affiliated in Alternative English to the Pre-University Arts and Science, Pre-Medical and B.A. standards with effect from the commencement of the session 1965-66, i.e. with permission to present candidates in the above mentioned subjects at the Pre-University Arts and Science and Pre-Medical examinations in 1966, B.A. Part I Examination in 1967 and B.A. Part II Examination in 1968, and not earlier.

Senate House,  
Calcutta,  
The 3rd September, 1965.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI  
*Registrar.*

### UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification. No. C/560/84 (Aff.)

It is hereby notified for general information that in extension of the affiliation already granted, the Dinabandhu Institution, Howrah, has been affiliated in all compulsory subjects and in Advanced Accountancy, Auditing, Income Tax and Costing to the B.Com. Honours standard with effect from the commencement of the session 1965-66, i.e. with permission to present candidates in the above mentioned subjects at the B.Com. Part I examination in 1967 and B.Com. Part II Examination in 1968 and not earlier.

Senate House,  
Calcutta,  
The 4th September, 1965.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI  
*Registrar.*

### UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification No. C/613/46 (Aff.)

It is hereby notified for general information that in extension of the affiliation already granted, the Scottish Church College, Calcutta, has been affiliated in Political Science to the B.A. Honours standard and in Botany to the B.A. and B.Sc. Honours standards with effect from the commencement of the session 1965-66, i.e., with permission to present candidates in the above-mentioned subjects at the B.A. and B.Sc. Part I Examinations in 1967 and B.A. and B.Sc. Part II Examinations 1968 and not earlier.

Senate House,  
Calcutta,  
The 10th September, 1965.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI  
*Registrar.*

### CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. CSR/I/St. 65

It is notified for general information that the Chancellor has been pleased to assent to the following Statutes fixing the rates of examination fee of the B.A., B.Sc. and B.Com. Examinations under the Revised Three-Year Degree Course Regulations :—

“The examination fee of the following examinations under the revised Three-Year Degree Course Regulations be fixed as stated against each :—



B.A. Part I	..	Rs. 25
B.A. Part II	..	Rs. 30
B.Sc. Part I	..	Rs. 25
B.Sc. Part II	..	Rs. 30
B.Com. Part I	..	Rs. 25
B.Com. Part II	..	Rs. 30

and an additional fee of Rs. 5 for each part in case of students offering Honours. The fee for B.Com. Special Honours Examination be fixed at Rs. 15 for each part."

The above Statutes were accepted by the Senate on 6. 3., 65 as recommended by the Syndicate on 8. 1., 65.

Senate House,  
The 7th September, 1965.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
*Registrar.*

#### CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. CSR/9/65

It is notified for general information that the following changes in Chapter XXXVII-E of the Regulations relating to the Diploma in Journalism were adopted by the Academic Council on 13. 3., 65 and accepted by the Senate on 5.6.65.,

"(1) That the following new section viz., Sec. 4A be inserted after section 4 of Chapter XXXVII-E of the Regulations relating to the Diploma Examination in Journalism :—

4A. If a student after completion of a regular course of study for the examination under Section 3 above does not register himself as a candidate for or does not present himself at or fails to pass the examination immediately succeeding such completion he may appear at any of the two following examinations without fresh attendance at lectures on payment of the prescribed fee on each occasion and on production of a certificate from the Secretary, Standing Committee for Journalism or from a member of the Senate testifying to his good character during the intervening period. No such candidate will be allowed to appear at any subsequent examination unless he prosecutes a fresh course of study for one year in accordance with the Regulations.,

(2) That the last sentence of Section 5 of the Regulations be deleted."

The above changes would take effect from the examination of 1966.

Senate House,  
The 14th September, 1965

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI  
*Registrar,*

#### CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. CSR/10/65

It is notified for general information that the following changes in the syllabus for the 3-year B.Sc. course in Botany were adopted by the Academic council on 13.3.65 and accepted by the Senate on 5.6.65 :—

That the following topic, viz., Rhinia, Asteroxylem and Psilophyten under the Section Paleobotany in Paper II (Theoretical) of the Botany Honours course and before Fossils (p. 71 of the Revised Regulations) be inserted.

That the words "Nitrogen fixation and Nitrofication" be inserted after "Mechanism of Photosynthesis" and before "Synthesis of Protein and Fat" under Paper II, Section V (Botany Pass).

That the words "Nitrogen Metabolism including nitrogen fixation and nitrification. Metabolism of carbohydrate-fats and organic acids" be inserted after "pigments" and before "Translocation and storage of food" under Paper V (Honours)".

The above changes would take effect from the Part I Examination of 1967 and Part II Examination of 1968.

Senate House,  
Tee 11th September, 1965.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI  
*Registrar,*

#### CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. CSR/11/65

It is notified for general information that the following Transitory Regulations relating to the D.T.R.P. examination were accepted by the Academic Council on 11.9.65 :

"Notwithstanding anything contained in Chapter LII-A of the Regulations, candidates who have studied the Diploma Course in Town and Regional Planning under the Old Regulations may be permitted to appear at the D.T.R.P. Examination under the Old Regulations which shall be held for them up to the examination to be held in 1967."

The above Transitory Regulations would take immediate effect.

Senate House,  
The 13th September, 1965.

J. C. MUKHERJEE  
*Asst. Registrar*

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. CSR/12/6.

It is notified for general information that the following changes in the Regulations relating to the M.D., M.S., and M.O. Examinations were adopted by the Academic Council on 1.8.64 and accepted by the Senate on 19.9.64 :—

"That the following new paragraph be inserted at the end of Section 6 of Chapters XLVII (p. 666), XLVIII (p. 668) and XLIV (p. 670) of the Regulations relating to the M.D., M.S. and M.O. Examinations :—

"In the matter of commendation of the thesis, the opinion of the majority of members of the Board of Adjudicators or Examiners shall prevail."

The above changes would take effect from the examinations of 1964.

Senate House,  
The 13th September, 1965.

J. C. MUKHERJEE  
*Asst. Registrar*

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. CSR/13/65.

It is notified for general information that the following Transitory Regulations relating to admission of students, who were registered for the 2-year Degree Course Examinations but could not either pass the same or appear thereby to the 3-year Degree Examinations (Pass Course) in both Parts I and II in the same year were accepted by the Academic Council on 11.9.65 :

"Notwithstanding anything contained anywhere in the Regulations for the 2-year Degree Course Examinations as also in the Regulations for 3-year Degree Course Examinations and also the Ordinances governing the cases of Non-collegiate and external students, it is hereby provided —

That the students who appeared at the B.A. B.Sc. or B.Com. (2-year courses) Examinations as external or Non-collegiate candidates in 1965 or in previous years and failed to pass the same or those who registered their names for the said examinations but did not appear, may be allowed to appear at both the Part I and Part II Examinations simultaneously in Pass Course only of 3-year Degree Courses in 1966 as Non-collegiate students provided they fulfil the usual conditions laid down for the purpose. The students offering Science subjects for which a practical course is necessary under the Regulations, must produce a certificate from the Principal of a college affiliated to this University or from some other authority approved by the Syndicate, to the effect that they have taken such a course of practical training during the session immediately preceding the examination.

If such students register their names for both the parts of the examination but fail to appear at or to pass the Part I Examination in a subject or subjects (a group of subjects or groups of subjects), they will be deemed to have failed at their examination as a whole irrespective of their result at the Part I Examination, and they will have to appear at both Parts I and II of the examination in the next succeeding year.

But if such students appear at and pass the Part I Examination—no matter whether they fail to appear at or to pass the Part II Examination—they will be entitled to receive a certificate as provided in the Revised Regulations for the 3-year Degree Course Examinations. These candidates may appear at the Part II Examination only in the next succeeding year.

The examination of the candidates will be conducted according to the provisions of the Revised Regulations for the Three-Year Degree Course Examinations, and, in order to pass the examination the candidates will have to obtain the pass marks according to the Revised Regulations for the 3-year Degree Course Examinations.

Those candidates who appeared at the 2-year Degree Examinations with Honours in a subject but failed to pass the same or who registered their names with Honours but could not appear at the examination in 1965 may get the above privilege of appearing at the examinations if they appear in the Pass Course.

The above Regulations would take immediate effect.

Senate House,  
The 13th September, 1965.

J. C. MUKHERJEE  
*Assistant Registrar*

## CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. CSR/14/65

It is notified for general information that the following changes in Chapters XLIV and XLV of the Regulations relating to the First and Final M.B.B.S. Examinations were accepted by the Academic Council on 11th September, 1965 :—

"That the following sentence be added after the first sentence of Sec. 2 of the Regulations for the First M.B.B.S. Examination after the first sentence of para 2 of Sec. 2 of the Final M.B.B.S. Regulations (pages 589 and 601 respectively of the University Regulations) :—

'Every candidate sent up for the examination by an affiliated college shall produce a certificate (a) of good conduct, (b) of diligent study, (c) of having satisfactorily passed the college periodical examinations and other tests and (d) of probability of passing the examination.'

The above changes would take immediate effect.

Senate House,  
The 15th September, 1965.

J. C. MUKHERJEE,  
*Assistant Registrar.*

## CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. CSR/15/65

It is notified for general information that the following change in Chapters LVIII of the Regulations relating to the P.-G. Diploma in Home Science were accepted by the Academic Council on 11.9.65.

"That Sections 2(a) and (b) of Chapter LVIII of the Regulations relating to the P.-G. Diploma in Home Science be replaced by the following : (page 341 of Appendix F of the Regulations).

2. Any woman candidate may be admitted to the examination provided that after passing the B.A. or B.Sc. or any other equivalent Examination she has prosecuted for not less than one academical year regular course of study in the subjects offered by her, in one or more colleges affiliated to the University for this purpose, and has, in addition, undergone a course of practical training as indicated in Section 9 below."

The above changes would take immediate effect.

Senate House,  
The 13th September, 1965.

J. C. MUKHERJEE,  
*Assistant Registrar.*

## CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. CSR/16/65

It is notified for general information that the following Transitory Regulations regarding the old 3-year Degree Course Examinations were accepted by the Academic Council on 11.9.65 :

"Notwithstanding anything contained to the contrary in the Old Regulations for the Three-Year Degree Course Examinations as also the Transitory Regulations as given in the Notification No. CSR/24/64, dated 29.9.64, it is hereby provided that—

1. If a candidate (Pass and Honours) under the old 3-year Degree Course Regulations appear at the Part I Examination and fails to secure qualifying or pass marks as the case may be in one subject only, compulsory, elective or subsidiary or having secured qualifying or pass marks in other subjects, fails to appear in one subject only, compulsory, elective, or subsidiary, he will have option to appear at Part I Examination in that subject in the same year in which he appears at Part II Examination.

2. If such a candidate fails to appear at or to secure qualifying or pass marks in the Part I Examination in that subject his results at the Part II Examination will not be taken into consideration and he will be allowed two more chances to repeat the Part I Examination in that subject and the Part II Examination in the immediately succeeding year.

3. If such a candidate secures qualifying or pass marks in the Part I Examination only but fails to pass the Examination as a whole he will be allowed two more chances to appear at the Part II Examination only to pass the Examination.

The provisions of the above Regulations will also apply in the cases of students who appeared at the Part I Examination in one subject along with the Part II Examination in 1965."

The above Transitory Regulations would take immediate effect.

Senate House,  
The 15th September, 1965.

J. C. MUKHERJEE,  
*Assistant Registrar.*

## UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification. No. C/628/138 (Aff.)

It is hereby notified for general information that in extension of the affiliation already granted, the Bajkul Milani Mahavidyalaya has been affiliated in English, Bengali, Physics, Chemistry and Mathematics to the P. U. Science standard with effect from the commencement of the session 1965-66 i.e. with permission to present candidates in the above mentioned subjects at the Pre-University Examination in 1966 and not earlier.

Senate House,  
Calcutta  
The 15th September, 1965

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
*Registrar.*

## UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification. No. C/657/143 (Aff.)

It is hereby notified for general information that in extension of the affiliation already granted, the Prabhu Jagatbandhu College has been affiliated in English, Bengali, Physics, Chemistry and Mathematics to the P. U. Science standard and in Mathematics to the P. U. Arts standard with effect from the commencement of the session 1965-66 i.e. with permission to present candidates in the above mentioned subjects at the Pre-University Examinations in 1966.

Senate House,  
Calcutta,  
The 15th September, 1965

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
*Registrar.*

## UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification No. C/635/139 (Aff.)

It is hereby notified for general information that in extension of the affiliation already granted, the Vivekananda Satabarsiki Mahavidyalaya, Manikpara, Midnapur, has been affiliated in Commercial Geography to the P. U. Arts standard and in Sanskrit to the P. U. Arts and B.A. Pass standards with effect from the commencement of the session 1965-66 i.e. with permission to present candidates in the above mentioned subjects at the Pre-University examination in 1966, B.A. Part I Examination in 1967 and B.A. Part II Examination in 1968 and not earlier.

Senate House,  
Calcutta.  
The 15th September, 1965

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
*Registrar.*

## UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification. No. C/710/130 (Aff.)

It is hereby notified for general information that in extension of the affiliation already granted, the Belda College has been affiliated in Commercial Geography to the Pre-University Arts standard with effect from the commencement of the session 1965-66 i.e. with permission to present candidates in the above mentioned subject at the Pre-University Examination in 1966 and not earlier.

Senate House,  
Calcutta.  
The 21st September, 1965

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
*Registrar.*

## UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification No. C/729/59 (Aff.)

It is hereby notified for general information that in extension of the affiliation already granted, the Sarajini Naidu College for Women has been affiliated in Political Science to the B.A. Hons. Standard and in Mathematics to the B.A. and B.Sc. Hons. standards with effect from the commencement of the session 1965-66 i.e. with permission to present candidates in the above mentioned subjects at the B.A. and B.Sc. Part I Examinations in 1967 and B.A. and B.Sc. Part II Examinations in 1968 and not earlier.

Senate House,  
Calcutta  
The 20th September, 1965

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
*Registrar.*

## UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification No. C/675/161 (Aff.)

It is hereby notified for general information that the Pingla Thana Mahavidyalaya has been affiliated in English, Bengali, Civics, History, Logic and Commercial Geography to the Pre-University Arts standard and in English, Bengali, Economics, History, Political Science and Philosophy to the B.A. Pass standard with effect from commencement of the session 1965-66, i.e. with permission to present candidates in the abovementioned subjects at the Pre-University Examination in 1966, B.A. Part I Examination in 1967 and B.A. Part II Examination in 1968 and not earlier.

Senate House,  
Calcutta,

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
*Registrar.*

## UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification No. C/737/162 (Aff.)

It is hereby notified for general information that in extension of the affiliation already granted, the Bon Hooghly College of Commerce has been affiliated in all compulsory subjects including Advanced Accountancy and Auditing as elective subjects to the B. Com Pass standard with effect from the commencement of the session 1965-66 i.e. with permission to present candidates in the above mentioned subjects at the B. Com. Part I Examination in 1967 and B. Com. Part II Examination in 1968 and not earlier.

Senate House,  
Calcutta.  
The 21st September, 1965

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
*Registrar.*

## UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification No. C/721/19 (Aff.)

It is hereby notified for general information that in extension of the affiliation already granted, the Dum Dum Motijheel College has been affiliated in English, Bengali, Physics, Chemistry and Biology to the Pre-Medical standard with effect from the commencement of the session 1965-66 i.e. with permission to present candidates in the above mentioned subjects at the Pre-Medical examination in 1966, and not earlier.

Senate House,  
Calcutta,  
The 22nd September, 1965

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
*Registrar.*

## CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

## Correction Slip

Please read 'thereat' with a comma thereafter, in place of the word 'thereby' mentioned in the beginning of line 4 of the Notification No. CSR/13/65 dated 13.9.65, circulated to all Colleges a few days ago.

Senate House,  
Calcutta,  
The 18th September, 1965

J. C. MUKHERJEE,  
*Asst. Registrar.*

## CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. CSR/8/65

It is notified for general information that the Vice-Chancellor, in exercise of the power conferred on him by Section 10(4) of the Calcutta University Act, 1951, has been pleased to approve of the following changes in Chapter LIII-B of the Regulations relating to the Master of Engineering (Public Health) and the changes will take effect from the examination of 1966 :

"1. That the existing Section 6 of the Regulations relating to M. E. (P.H.) examination appearing under Chapter LIII-B (p. 875) be replaced by the following :

The Examination shall consist of the following :

	Maximum Marks :
1. (a) Sanitary Microbiology ..	50
(b) Communicable Diseases ..	50
2. (a) Public Health Practice ..	50
(b) Statistics ..	50
3. (a) Sanitary Chemistry ..	50
(b) Biology ..	50
4. (a) Water Supply ..	50
(b) Sewerage ..	50
5. Water Purification ..	100
6. Waste Water Disposal ..	100
7. (a) General Sanitation ..	50
(b) Industrial Hygiene ..	50
8. Design of Public Health Engineering Works ..	200
9. Viva-Voce ..	200
10. Sessional ..	300
	1400

2. That the existing Section 9 of the said Regulations (p. 876) be replaced by the following :

The limits of the subjects for the course of studies may be as follows :

1. (a) Sanitary Microbiology-Microbes : Laboratory methods in the study of microbes : Transmission of microbial diseases through food, water and air : Bacteriology of air and water-standards : Elements of Immunology ; Common parasitic infections : Entomology. 50 marks

(b) Communicable Diseases—Mode of transmission of common communicable diseases ; their distribution and methods of control : Principles of Epidemiology : Epidemiology of gastro-intestinal diseases—tuberculosis, plague, malaria and filaria, etc. 50 marks.

2. (a) Public Health Practice—Philosophy of Public Health—changing concepts—Preventive and Social Medicine—team work in Public Health : History of Public Health Administration ; Organisation and Administration of Public Health at different levels—international, National, State and Local : Integrated health care in rural areas Health Centres—Community Development and National Extension Service : Programme Personal Health Service : Principles and practice of Health Education : Public Health and Social Security Laws. 50 marks

(b) Statistics—Fundamental procedures for the Collection, tabulation and presentation of data ; Vital Statistics ; Rates and Ratios ; Statistical Parameters ; Correlation ; Design of experiments ; Probabilities and Physical measurements : Statistic in Hydrology : Population estimates. 50 marks

3. Sanitary Chemistry and Biology—General Chemistry ; Principles of Chemistry and Biology applied to Sanitary Engineering Practice ; Chemical and Microscopical analysis of water and sewage : Collection of Samples ; Interpretation of results ; Biochemistry of Sewage treatment ; Algae—its presence and control : Biology of fresh and polluted water ; Limnology. 50+50

4. Water supply and Sewerage—Water Consumption : Variations in demand : Study of rainfall ; Stream flow : Ground Water ; Reservoirs Dams. Reservoir intakes ; Development of ground water sources ; Design and construction of river intakes : Collection of waste water ; Estimation of storm flows : Hydraulic elements of sewers ; Design of sewerage system ; Sewer layings ; Maintenance of sewerage system ; Water and Sewage Pumping stations. Types and choice of pumps. 50+50

5. Water Purification—Water quality requirement : Principles of administration : Coagulation and Filtration : Aeration : Control of Algae ; Softening : Taste and odour control and disinfection : Removal of iron manganese, fluorides, etc. Design Criteria and maintenance of the treatment plants : Water Plant Laboratory, Laboratory control in plant operations. 100

6. Waste Water Disposal—Principles of Modern Sewage treatment designs ; Unit Operation in waste treatment such as screening, grit removal, sedimentation, biological stabilisation, utilisation of sludge and sludge gas ; Agricultural use of sewage ; Sewage outfalls ; Disposal at sea in rivers on land : Effect on the receiving water ; Self-purification of streams ; River Pollution : Special problems of industrial wastes : Abatement of river pollution. 100

7. (a) General Sanitation—Sanitation of dwelling houses : Ventilation and air-conditioning : Illumination : Principles of village and town planning ; Collection and disposal of refuse design of hospitals, health centres, schools and food handling establishments : Disinfection and disinfection : Control of insects enemies with particular reference to mosquitoes and flies : Rural sanitation : Latrines—Plumbing. 50

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The above changes are, however, subject to the approval by the Senate.

Senate House,  
Calcutta,  
The 30th August, 1965

J. C. MUKHRRJEE,  
Asst. Registrar

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**TWICE DAILY  
after meals..**

# The Season's greatest restorative

for that extra sparkle in your health



Two spoonful of *Mritasanjibani* mixed with four spoonful of *Mahadraksharista* (6 years old); start this course now and see the amazing difference it makes to your health. Matured for 6 years to increase its potency, this *Mahadraksharista* directly acts to fortify your lungs and puts an end to cough, cold and bronchial troubles. *Mritasanjibani* improves your digestion and helps develop seat of the body. Together they increase your weight and strength and make you fit for work and enjoyment.

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# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

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OCTOBER, 1965

[No. 1

## THE GREEK DECADENCE

DR. P. S. SASTRI

*Nagpur University*

The idea of decadence presumes, rightly or wrongly, that there has been or is a degeneration or regress in the historical process. This decay is relative to a period of effulgence and glory, and seems to connote an abrupt change intervening between great periods of creative imagination and intellectual awakening. But the evolution of human institutions tells a different tale ; for the process of evolution is, on the one hand, continuous, and on the other it is an endeavour for better patterns. To take an example, the Church of St. Sophia at Constantinople sprang into existence in 530 A.D. in which year the Athenian schools of philosophy were closed for ever by Emperor Justinian who built it. This Church is described as " the most perfect work of art that has yet been known in organic beauty of design and splendour of ornament." Here we find the first prime of Christian architecture closely following the heels of the alleged decadence of Pagan culture. The principle based on the continuity of the historic process interprets a decadent age in a quite favourable and sympathetic light. We can, therefore, presume tentatively that decadence is an age that bears a deep contrast to the classical period, containing within itself, at the same time, the seeds of a future development.

The classical period, like a mood of intoxication, exhibits a mental or spiritual tension and conflict, and the accompanying emotional and imaginative excitement. When this mood appears to be on the decline, there begins the relaxation of the spiritual tension. This

relaxation makes the individual reflect upon himself and examine himself critically. And the age succeeding to the classical period is an age of introspection, an age of reflection, an age of ideas ; in a word, it is an age of intense intellectual curiosity.

The philosophy of Plato, the intense spiritual tragedy of Euripides, the comic spirit of Aristophanes and Menander, and the pastoralism of Theocritus came in the age of decadence. The various schools of action known as stoicism, cynicism, cyrenaicism, and epicureanism arose speaking of duty and of the nature and duties of man. These schools were the offsprings of the mood of reflection in an age of disillusionment ; and these creeds are based on the belief that life can be made liveable if only we have sense, courage, resignation, and devotion to duty. Marcus Aurelius, the stoic philosopher-king of the decadence, sums up this faith in the words : " Even in a palace life may be led well." Greek decadence also bequeathed the love of humanity. A strange, but significant, echo is to be found once again in Marcus Aurelius, who, with a fervour, says : " The poet says, ' dear city Cecrops ' ; wilt thou not say, ' dear city of God ' ?" And Cicero, ' the man charged with humanity,' the decadent philosopher, wrote that classic treatise *On Duty*. This sense of humanity is a powerful impulse in the Decadence. And in the later comedy of Greece, we come across the frequent utterance :

" I am human, and I count all that is human my own."

This human approach closed the age of heroes and of hero-worship. We no longer see the mythical and semidivine heroes indulging in miracles, and dominating the poetic imagination. This love of humanity brings with it a deep sense of realism, a rich vein of commonsense. This compels people not to seek satisfaction for their ills in an airy dogma, but in a realization of the tragic core of human existence. Such a realization can make one either a tragic poet of a rare depth of feeling or thought, or a profound thinker ; and a third alternative lies in the poetry of escape.

Classical Athens bequeathed rare and valuable literary treasures and splendid achievements, raised the standards of duty and the civic consciousness, and finally humanised law and kindled high ideals. There was an exuberant optimism with an undercurrent of unconscious hypocrisy, for it lacked a critical self examination and a mind that can think out its problems to the logical end. The funeral oration of Pericles itself is self-condemnatory, since the ideals it embodies are such that it is hard to realize them. This classical period, the age of action and achievement, was succeeded by the

age of criticism ; and the people of the new age began examining critically and criticising bitterly the conduct of their fathers and forefathers. The best of traditions was inherited by Plato and Euripides, and both as critics and sceptics rebelled against it. And it is only when the best tradition is attacked, an age learns to examine itself and to reflect upon itself. These two great men accepted the ' Athenian ideals of free thought, free speech, democracy, virtue and patriotism.' But they attacked their country because she was false to these ideals.

In this age we no longer hear that the very name of democracy is beautiful. The angry outburst of Cleon, " It has been proved again and again that a democracy cannot govern an empire," is quite significant. The Athenian Alcibiades spoke at Sparta : " Of course all sensible men know what democracy is, and I, better than most, from personal experience ; but there is nothing new to be said about acknowledged insanity." This is a faithful picture of Athens during the supremacy of Cleon, during the age of Plato and Euripides. Plato and Euripides, the great admirers and friends of the democratic Athens, were forced to be sceptical regarding the future. In the " Ion " of Euripides, Athens is a city " full of terror " where men " who are good and might show wisdom are silent and never come forward." The cruel treatment meted out to the Melian envoy by Athens, made the thinking Athenian highly reflective, for this revealed the triumph of naked sin and ghastly crime. This inward fall of the Athenians is given to us by Euripides in his " Trojan Women," and by Plato in his account of the oligarchic young man.

It was a time, says Thucydides, when ' men tried to surpass all the record of previous times in the ingenuity of their enterprises and the enormity of their revenges.' This was the new era set in motion by the Peloponnesian War, which rudely shook the Athenian complacency and democracy. The era of degradation and embitterment in Greek public life commenced. Cleon warns his countrymen not to be misled ' by the three most deadly enemies of empire, pity and charm of words and the generosity of strength.' The first two deadly enemies are the philosophers trained by Plato, and the poets nourished by Euripides. This distrust of poetry and philosophy is in itself a mark of the Decadence, in so far as it reveals the attitude of a section of the public.

The official prophets of Delphi declared at the beginning of the war that Apollo had assured the Spartans that if they fought well they would conquer and that He, the God, would be fighting for



them. Euripides as a pious Athenian attacks Delphi ; and it is not merely Delphi that will fall according to him, but the whole structure of Greek religion and mythology. And it is in this light that he turns his crusade against the Gods of ancient Greece. In "Hippolytus," he banishes "the gods" and derives sin from something that is in human nature, for the hope of moral improvement can be realised only when Aphrodite or Artemis cease to be external powers. In "Andromache," Apollo fails to punish the blasphemer at the time of his offence ; but the God waits for no reason till he comes a second time ; and then he has come to make amends, but a villanous set of conspirators make Apollos' enemy their victim. This impotence of the Athenian gods has degraded even the Athenians themselves.

At the callous behaviour of the Athenian king, Theseus, the seven mothers in the "Suppliant women" grow wild ; whereupon Aethra, the king's mother, asks him whether the wrong is to exist unchecked. 'Thou shalt not suffer it, thou being my child ! Thou hast seen men scorn thy city, call her wild of counsel, mad ; thou hast seen the fire of morn Flash from her eyes in answer to their scorn. Come toil on toil ; it is this that makes her grand ; Peril on peril ! And common states, that stand, in caution, twilight cities, dimly wise—ye know them, for no light is in their eyes. Go forth, my son, and help. My fears are fled. Women in sorrow call thee, and men dead.' Here we have Athens as the champion of Hellenism, true piety, free thought, and enlightenment. And Plato was remarking in his Academy—"Then no Hellene should be owned by them as a slave ; that is a rule which they will observe and advise the other Hellenes to observe" (469 c.). Theseus recovers the dead bodies which are ghastly and which can be touched by none but slaves. He does not want to restore the bodies to the mothers for that would increase their bitter sorrow. His sympathy for the suffering demands that the bodies be burnt in peace and only the decent ashes be given to them. He himself takes up the dead bodies, washes their wounds, and 'shows love.' A spectator asks : "How dreadful ! was he not ashamed ?" The answer was an emphatic 'No'—"Why should men be repelled by another's sufferings ?" From revulsion he passes into a desire to help. This is to be the character of the ideal Athenian, for the Athenian is to overcome the corruption, embitterment, and egotism that have been eating him away. What he requires is character ; and character demands the development of Conscience, of the Soul. In other words, a sound educational planning is necessary

and Plato undertook to do it in his *Republic* and *Laws*. This education aims at making the individual conform to the Law.

The Theban herald in the "Suppliant Women" asks: "Who is the monarch of this land?" Theseus corrects him—"There is no monarch (tyrannos) here. This is a free city; and when I say a free city, I mean one in which the whole people by turns take part in the sovereignty and the rich have no privilege as against the poor" (399-408). These are the sentiments spontaneously emanating from the "Lovers" of the beautiful city. "How can your Greeks stand up to me in battle?" asked Xerxes, "When they are all free with no Master to compel them?" "Free as they are," answered the Spartan, "they have one Master over them called the Law, whom they fear more than thy servants fear thee. And he commands them never to turn tail in battle." These were the sentiments of Greece once; and Plato, Euripides and Aristophanes were dejected to notice the disappearance of the very ideals. And they were striving in their works and lives to realize these very ideals. But this is an impossibility in the age of feverish egotistic excitement.

Of this Decadence, Plato and Euripides are the representative voices. Their lip-service to religion, ridicule of the traditional gods, rejection of the divine will, criticism of the Athenian democracy, make them stand in profound contrast to the classical Athens. They loved Athens tenderly and passionately; and if Athens is false to her ideals they cannot afford to love her still. But their hatred is mingled with their love. Such an outlook is visible in the "Medea" and "Hecuba" of Euripides; and it is also in Plato who, while condemning the Athens of his day, hymns the ideal of Pan-Hellenism.

Plato was preoccupied with the problem of Education in his *Republic*, the problem of building up the character of the individual. It is with this end in view that he framed a syllabus of studies; and his Academy constitutes the foundation for our universities and university education. The age of Decadence was responsible for the organisation of university teaching at Athens and Alexandria, and for drafting a syllabus which is closer to that of Plato.

Another remarkable contribution of the Decadence is the development and perfection of the artistic form; and this is one thing we owe to Plato, whose "peculiar contribution was the artistic dialogue, a work of art, written with that apparatus for persuading, charming, or even dazzling the hearer." Aristotle observes that 'no one would teach geometry that way.' (Rhet. 3-1-6). Yet the conversations in the dialogues of Plato represent the actual speeches

of the philosophers, whom he knew intimately and whom he was able to parody in a subtle way. They are true to life and they aim at giving us the facts, not conclusions or theories. Most of them are inconclusive with the result that many a scholar began speculating on the unwritten doctrine taught by Plato in his Academy. Plato's treatises on philosophy thus become valuable to us primarily as a species of *belles lettres*, as great works of art. And it is the charm of this artistic form that helped in the preservation of these dialogues.

Plato's care for exact form has resulted in another remarkable thing. The quotations made from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* by the writers of the fourth and third centuries differ greatly from our text of Homer. Even Aristotle seems to have had a text of Homer different from that of ours ; and the earliest manuscripts too prove this. But it is strange to observe that the numerous quotations from Homer that we find in Plato, are closer to our present text. From this it is clear that every Athenian in the fourth and third centuries had his own version of Homer's texts. And it appears that Plato reconstructed and re-edited Homer. He "constructed his Homer text so well, with so much attention to detail and such sense of poetic style, that when his books were sent over to the Alexandrian library his text was used as a basis by the great Alexandrian scholars, or at last exercised, in conjunction with the immense respect in which Plato was otherwise held, a great influence upon them." And thus we arrive at the definitive text of Homer.

This anxiety for artistic form leaves Plato undogmatic, while in the subsequent thinkers we find a separation between the philosophers and public life. In Plato proper we have usually the discussion of a problem, the exchange of views, a deep understanding of the difficulties, and pregnant suggestions. He does not insist on the results achieved, but on the process, on a deep and penetrating study and understanding of the great problems of human life. It is this intellectual process that we find in Plato and in Euripides ; and feeling is kept subservient to it. It is from this great tradition that we derive our conception of the "Humanities," "Humane letters."

Another remarkable factor is the rise and growth of literary criticism, a criticism which has not only made people appreciate literature, but influenced the poets themselves. This criticism commences with Plato himself. And in the decadent England of the seventeenth century, Henry Birkhead founded a chair for Poetry at Oxford with the ostensible purpose of giving "distinction to any theme, however trivial, by adorning it with a multitude of farfetched

metaphors, similes and allusions." Championing thus a losing cause, he and his friends were able to bring forth a volume of dull poems. And it is from this chair that later on there emanated the best anthology, the *Golden Treasury* of songs and lyrics. And some of the best and greatest literary criticism in English sprang from the celebrated occupants of the chair.

Out of the varying moods of life and death and love, there emerges a new poetry altogether, a poetry that was destined to have a lasting carer. It is the poetry of Nature, 'of joy in the widest commonalty spread,' of pure lyrical pastoralism. This is and the fruitful phase of the Decadence, centring round Theocritus (316-260 B.C.). The *Bucolics* of Theocritus represent the scenes from the countryside, while his *Mimes* draw the material from the towns. In the first *Bucloic idyll* Thyrsis sings to a goatherd how Daphnis, having defied the power of Aphrodite, dies instead of yielding to a passion inspired by the Goddess :

“ Thyrsis : Sweet are the whispers of you pine that makes  
 Low music o'er the spring, and Goatherd, sweet  
 Thy piping ; second thou to Pan alone.

Goatherd : Shepherd, thy lay is as the noise of streams  
 Falling and falling ay from you tall crag.

Thyrsis : Pray, by the Nymphs, pray, Goatherd, seat thee here  
 Against this hill-slope in the tamarisk shade,  
 And pipe me somewhat, while I guard thy goats.

Goatherd : I durst not, Shepherd, O I durst not pipe  
 At noontide ; fearing Pan, who at that hour  
 Rests from the toil of hunting, Harsh is he ;  
 Wrath at his nostrils ay sits sentinels.  
 But, Thyrsis, thou Canst sing of Daphnis' woes ;  
 High is thy name for woodland minstrelsy ;  
 Then rest we in the shadow of the elm.....

Then he goes on telling him that he will offer him a variety of things, including a cup ; and the figures on the cup are described admirably well.

“ Ivy reaches up and climbs  
 About its lip, gilt here and there with sprays  
 Of woodbine, that enwreathed about it flaunts  
 Her saffron fruitage. Framed therein appears

A damsel ('tis a miracle of art)  
 In robe and snood : and suitors at her side  
 With locks fair-flowing, on her right and left,  
 Battle with words, that fail to reach her heart.  
 She, laughing, glances now on this, flings now  
 Her chance regards on that : they, all for love  
 Wearied and eye-swoln, find their labour lost."

This admirable description is picturesque and in point of detail and beauty it forms the very essence of the Renaissance painters, and of their followers in England during the nineteenth century. Then he continues this picture very vividly :

Carven elsewhere an ancient fisher stands  
 On the rough rocks : thereto the old man with pains  
 Drags his great casting—net, as one that toils  
 Full stoutly : every fibre of his frame  
 Seems fishing ; so about the grey—beard's neck  
 (In might a youngster yet) the sinews swell.  
 Hard by that wave-beat sire a vineyard bends  
 Beneath its graceful load of burnished grapes ;  
 A boy sits on the rude fence watching them.  
 Near him two foxes ; down the rows of grapes  
 One ranging steals the ripest ; one assails  
 With wiles the poor lad's scrip, to leave him soon  
 Stranded and supperless. He plaits meanwhile  
 With ears of corn a right fine cricket—trap,  
 And fits it on a rush : for vines, for scrip,  
 Little he cares, enamoured of his toy.... "

This picturesqueness has a beauty all its own. It emphasises the naive delight of the artist in his own sensations and reflections, unmindful of the storm and stress raging around him continuously. Thyrsis agrees to sing the story of Daphnis

" Begin, sweet Maids, begin the woodland song.  
 The voice of Thyrsis. Aetna's Thyrsis I.  
 Where were ye, Nymphs, oh where, while Daphnis pined ?  
 In fair Peneus' or in Pindus' glens ?  
 For great Anapus' stream was not your haunt,  
 Nor Aetna's cliff, nor Acis' sacred rill.

Begin, sweet Maids, begin the woodland song.  
 O'er him the wolves, the jackals howled O'er him ;  
 The lion in the oak-copse mourned his death.  
 Begin, sweet Maids, begin the woodland song.

The kine and oxen stood around his feet,  
The heifers and the calves wailed all for him.

Begin, sweet Maids, begin the woodland song.  
First from the mountain Hermes came, and said,  
'Daphnis, who frets thee? Lad, whom lov'st thou so?'

Begin, sweet Maids, begin the woodland song.  
Came herdsmen, shepherds came, and goatherds came;  
All asked what ailed the lad. Priapus came  
And said, 'why pine, poor Daphnis? while the maid  
Foots it round every pool and every grove,  
O lack-love and perverse, in quest of thee.'

Begin, sweet Maids, begin the woodland song.

Theocritus gives us enchanting pictures of sicilian pastoral life. One catches echoes of Theocritus in Milton's *Lycidas*, Shelley's *Adonais*, and Arnold's *Thyris* and *Scholar Gipsy*. So did Virgil imitate him. The poem as a whole deserves very close study if only for the magnificent borrowings of the English pastoral elegiac poets.

In the seventh Bucolic idyll we have the "Harvest Feast." The scene of action is in the island of Cos, and the poet speaks in the first person under the name of Simichidas. Other poets are introduced under the assumed names of Sicelidas and Lycidas. He praises Philetas, the great poet of Cos, and criticises "the fledgelings of the Muse, who cackle against the Chian bard and find their labour lost." The scene at midday during harvest is described with the sure touch of a rare genius:

.....there we lay

Half-buried in a couch of fragrant reed  
And fresh-cut vine-leaves, who so glad as we?  
A wealth of elm and poplar shook o'erhead:  
Hard by a sacred, spring flowed gurgling on  
From the Nymphs' grot, and in the sombre boughs  
The sweet cicada chirped laboriously.  
Hid in the thick thorn—bushes far away  
The treefrog's note was heard; the crested lark  
Sang with the goldfinch; turtles made their moan,  
And o'er the fountain hung the gilded bee.  
All of rich summer smacked, of autumn all:  
Pears at our feet, and apples at our side  
Rolled in luxuriance; branches on the ground  
Sprawled, overweighed with damsons; while we brushed  
From the Cask's head the crust of four long years.

Say, ye who dwell upon Parnassian peaks,  
 Nymphs of Castlia, did old Chiron eer  
 Set before Heracles a cup so brave  
 In Pholus' cavern....., ?"

This delight in Nature and in the sensations of the beauty of Nature, does not have that mystic touch of the Nature poets of the nineteenth century England. Yet in sheer delight it is unsurpassable.

In the eleventh Bucolic Polyphemus is in love with the sea-nymph Galatea, and finds solace in song. In the sixth he is cured of his passion, and tells us how he repulses the overtures made to him by Galatea now. Homer's monster is evidently civilized only to become an Alexandrian simpleton.

The Mimes of Theocritus are lifelike through and through. Of the Mimes, we have only three idylls. In the fourteenth idyll Aeschines narrates his quarrel with his sweetheart, and is advised to go to Egypt and enlist in the army of Ptolemy Philadelphus. In the fifteenth idyll, Gorgo and Praxinoe go to the festival of Adonis. The image of Adonis was decorated with all magnificence by queen Arsinoe, Ptolemy's wife. A hymn, by a celebrated performer, was to be recited over the image. Gorgo comes by appointment to Praxinoe's house to fetch her. The dialogue begins here and is full of realism. They get ready, push through the streets and arrive at the door. Then

"Gorgo : Praxinoe, comes this way. Do but look at that work, how delicate it is !—how exquisite ! Why, they might wear it in heaven.

Prax : Heavenly patroness of needle women, what hands were hired to do that work ? Who designed those beautiful patterns ? They seem to stand up and move about, as if they were living things, and not needle-work. Well, man is a wonderful creature ! And look, how charming he lies there on his silver couch, with just a soft down on his cheeks, that beloved Adonis—Adonis, whom one loves even though he is dead ?"

Here we are in our own familiar world of men and things, a world that is prosaic and yet interesting. The Argive woman's daughter, the first-rate singer, goes through her airs and graces, and sings the Adonis hymn. After this the incorrigible Gorgo concludes the poem with the words—

" Praxinoe, certainly women are wonderful things. That lucky woman to know all that ! and luckier still to have such a splendid voice ! And now we must see about getting home. My husband has not had his dinner. That man is all vinegar, and nothing else ; and if you keep him waiting for his dinner, he's dangerous to go near. Adieu, precious Adonis, and may you find us all well when you come next year !"

There is an utter simplicity in these lines ; and yet it is born out of a complex environment, expressing the yearnings of a delicate and advanced stage of social evolution.

The third mime is the second idyll, where Simaetha, deserted by Delphis, tells the story of her love to the moon. She narrates her tragic tale of love in a romantic background. It is a windless moonlit night, and she is with her servant Thestylis.

" Hushed are the voices of the winds and seas ;  
But O not hushed the voice of my despair.  
He burns my being up, who left me here  
No wife, no maiden, in my misery."

She is endeavouring with the aid of sympathetic magic to bring back her unfaithful lover. And as Thestylis leaves the place, she bursts forth—

" Now, all alone, I'll Weep a love whence sprung  
When born ? Who wrought my sorrow ? Anaxo came,  
Her basket in her hand, to Artemis' grove.  
Bound for the festival, troops of forest beasts  
Stood round, and in the midst a lioness.

Bethink thee, mistress Moon, whence came my love.  
Theucharidas' slave, my Thracian nurse now dead  
Then my near neighbour, prayed me and implored  
To see the pageant ; I, the poor doomed thing,  
Went with her, trailing a fine silken train,  
And gathering round me Clearista's nobe.

Bethink thee, mistress Moon, Whence came my love.  
Now, the mid-highway reached by Lycon's farm,  
Delphis and Eudamippus passed me by.  
With beards as lustrous as the woodbine's gold  
And breasts more sheeny than thyself, O Moon,  
Fresh from the wrestler's glorious toil they came.

Bethink thee, mistress Moon, whence came my Love."

Then she goes on recounting how ' some strange fever wasted her ' for ten nights and days, and how the maid at last brought the



lover to her roof. And there he told her—

“ Now be my thanks recorded, first to love,  
 Next to thee, maiden, who didst pluck me out,  
 A half-burned helpless creature, from the flames,  
 And badst me hither. It is Love that lights  
 A fire more fierce than his of Lipara,  
 (Bethink thee, mistress Moon, whence came my love)  
 Scares, mischief-mad, the maiden from her bower,  
 The bride from her warm couch.’ He spake : and I  
 A willing listener, sat, my hand in his.  
 Till yesterday he found no fault with me,  
 Nor I with him.... ”

From Philista’s mother she comes to know of her lover’s new loves. She decides to use spells, and at last bids farewell to the Moon :

“ Lady, farewell : turn oceanward thy steeds :  
 As I have purposed, so shall I fulfil.  
 Farewell, thou bright-faced Moon ! Ye stars, farewell,  
 That wait upon the car of noiseless Night.”

These idylls present the various aspects of the beauty of Nature in close association with the feelings and emotions of man. The Decadence has definitely brought man and nature into one partnership. The feeling for Nature is uppermost. As Prof. Bowra puts it : “ Theocritus’ world is of the purest fancy, but such is its beauty that it is always alive and real. The shepherds are not Yokels but poets, their songs the record of an impossibly delightful life. This is a world of pure art, where everything is harmonised by the imagination and fitted into a complete and entrancing unity ” (223).

His themes are love and death. He handles them in all their freshness. “ The settings are chosen by a man who loved nature, and the whispering pine-tree, the caves with clustering vines, the shady halting place by the roadside, are chosen with faultless tact and taste ” (*ibid*). Avoiding the facile repetitions of the epic and the conventional aids of the drama, he draws his effects through the use of significant and choice words, and through the portrayal of a life of lyrical joy and sorrow. Emotions, therefore, necessarily play a prominent role in close association with the blue sky, the silent sea, the shady trees, and the twining vines.

Beside the Bucolics and Mimes, Theocritus has three hymns praising Hienon II of Syracuse (16), Ptolemy Philadelphus (17), and Dioscuri (22). In one he gives the story of Hylas and the Nymphs (13) exhibiting a rare skill in word-painting. In another (14) he

gives the story of the youthful Heracles. Of these, 22 and 24 are dramatic. In 17 he describes the incestuous marriage of Ptolemy with his sister Arsinoe," to please whom he wrote the idyll 15. With delicate fancy, in 16, he describes his poems as "graces." It is Decadence that has given us the return to Nature, the attachment to and the experience of the human sources of enjoyment. To this great movement we owe the passion for "the beauties of Nature," an expression which occurs in the age of Theocritus. And an epigram of this period reads : "In the house is rest, in the country the charm of Nature." In the third century A.D. a Greek thinker enunciates unambiguously the doctrine of the beauty of material things. Even Ptolemy was bewitched by the starry night :

" I, rapt in scrutiny as Night unbars  
The thick and mazy glories of the stars,  
Though earth an Earth; no more am linked to her,  
But sit in Jove's own hall, a banqueteer."

This new school of the poetry of Nature had a rich and varied development. The school set up in particular by Theocritus gained in intensity and richness with the poems of Moschus, Bion, and the anonymous author of the "Lament for Bion." They bequeathed exuberant imagery and unrestrained emotions, touched with a deep lyrical melancholy.

In this decadence which was highly reflective and critical, there was an omnivorous curiosity that gave rise to works on History by Herodotus, Thucydides, and Polybius. Herodotus was called "the picker-up of unconsidered trifles". Such was the intense state of curiosity. This period gave rise to works on Poetry and Rhetoric by Aristotle, Demetrius, Longinus and others ; to orators like Demosthenes ; and to Philosophers like Aristotle. Assuredly this is by no means a dull and barren period. Judged by any canons of enlightenment, it is a great and enlightened age.

Yet Decadence misses one essential thing, and that is the true poetical drama. The poetical drama requires a period of great spiritual tension, "a period when the creative excitement of some single impulse is shared by at least a large section of the public, making them able and willing to sympathise in the constructive effort of the poet and to live up to the tension of his mind" (314). The Greek Decadence seems to be quite unlike the usual periods of Decadence, in being spread over a wide area for a longer time. Coming as it does in the fourth century B.C., it seems to embrace the history of Europe till the beginning of the sixth century A.D. Some have

gone to the extent of saying that that decadence continues in some way or other till this day ; and in this light the eighteenth century England seems to represent a mighty struggle or endeavour to overcome the decadence. Whatever may be the case with the latter periods of decadence, the early Greek Decadence was not confined to a decade or two, but was spread over six centuries. This is due to the fact that the unity of Greece was broken up after the fourth century B.C., and the Greeks did not realize once again a glorious period. To add to this, the Greek seats of learning and culture were no longer on the mainland. They were in Sicily, Alexandria, Syria, and other places. This diffusion results in the absence of coordination and consolidation of the ideas that sprang into existence. To this was added the rise and growth of Christianity which for a long time curbed the idea of nationalism. And it is in the light of these varied forces, we notice that the Greek Decadence occupied a longer time. And naturally a complete decay threatened Greek thought and culture, with the result that a new mysticism cropped up in the hands of the Neo-Platonists.

Coming to another phase of the decadence we find a general morbidity pregnant with a great and fruitful development. Here the poets did not have the power of invention and imagination necessary for the composition of an epic or a tragedy. They took to a form which is simpler and which satisfied their scholastic and poetic appetites. This was the epigram, which once flourished in the seventh century B.C. and was almost forgotten in the Classical age. The beginning of the decadence coincides with the revival of the epigram. The epigram of the decadence is spontaneous and perfectly natural. There is no straining after-effect. There is no note of falsity here. For the epigram is the concise expression of a single emotion deeply felt. It thus becomes lyrical, charged with wit ; and it is based, as a result, on a keen and penetrating observation and study of the universe around.

The story of the epigram commences with Plato himself ; and here the note is elegiac ; Plato records in his epigrams ' some exquisite or pathetic moment', and offers us the pure essence of poetry. There is one lovely epigram of his rendered by Shelley :

“ Thou wert the morning star among the living,  
Ere thy fair light had fled ;—  
Now, having died, thou art as Hesperus, giving  
New splendour to the dead.”

This appears to be flippant as based on a certain fancy, but the feeling behind is undeniable. Again, in another he writes :

“ My star, you watch the stars. Were I yon skies,  
To see you with a thousand starry eyes.”

Here we have the yearning of the soul for something that cannot be grasped. And this we usually associate with Romanticism : During this phase, the centre of Greek life and thought shifted to Alexandria and Sicily and consequently the epigram and other forms of literature came to have a varied and fruitful history. Then arose in the centre of decadence itself a new Romanticism which was busy with the ordinary feelings of the ordinary citizens. A great eclecticism sweeps the decadence that has spread over a variety of lands. To this movement we owe some of our best and greatest subjects of poetry, the inception of libraries and librarians, regular and full-fledged universities.

Callimachus (310-240 B.C.) was the chief personality of this movement. He wrote and acted as a literary dictator. He aimed at startling people and amusing them with his neatness and wit. ‘ His epigrams are often graceful and even touching’, for here he brings his simplicity and delicate affection, along with an atmosphere of supernatural tension. A serene pathetic touch overpowers his poems and gives them their lasting value. Thus—

“ For Crethis’ store of tales and pleasant chat  
Oft sigh the Samian maidens, missing that  
Which cheered their tasks ; but she, beyond their call,  
Sleeps here the sleep that must be slept by all.”

This Callimachus was the librarian of the Alexandrian library, and on the death of his friend, he writes :

“ They told me, Heraclitus, they told me you were dead ;  
They brought me bitter news to hear and bitter tears to shed.  
I wept as I remembered how often you and I  
Had tired the sun with talking and sent him down the sky.  
And now that thou art lying, my dear old Carian guest,  
A handful of grey ashes, long, long ago at rest,  
Still are thy pleasant voices, thy nightingales awake,  
For Death, he taketh all away, but them he cannot take.”

We do not hear of libraries and librarians in Classical Athens ; and much less can we expect to hear of librarians as poets. And yet Callimachus was one. His deep sorrow at the death of his friend is something touching. It is one that comes closer to us by virtue of the theme, a theme which is uppermost in the age of decadence.

The sense of friendship, of home, and of love, these are the vital characteristics of this decadent literature when the centre of thought was diffused and diversified.

To this period belongs Leonidas of Tarentum (274 B.C.) whose epigrams are inspired by love, death and the primary affections, and are the expressions of a deep feeling. An illustration or two from Leonidas will reveal the gentle touch, the elegant way of taking things at ease.

*The well Head*

“ Pause not here to drink thy fill  
Where the sheep have stirred the rill,  
And the pool lies warm and still—  
Cross yon ridge a little way,  
Where the grazing heifers stray,  
And the stone—pine branches sway  
O'er a creviced rock below ;  
Thence the bubbling waters flow  
Cooler than the northern snow.”

This small poem is interesting enough. It is impossible to deny the poetic quality, though it is equally impossible to estimate the poetic worth. But it is one that groups together a variety of pictures and images. There is another poem of his, “on a yacht”, where the yacht itself speaks :

“ They say that I am small and frail,  
And cannot live in stormy seas ;  
It may be so ; yet every sail  
Makes shipwreck in the swelling breeze.  
Not strength nor size can then hold fast ;  
But fortune's favour, Heaven's decree :  
Let others trust in oar and mast ;  
But may the gods take care of me.”

Here we have the beginnings of subtle humour, a humour which is apparently intended to conceal the want of the poetic imagination. But it is a humour enlivened by a deep feeling all the same.

This leads us to the element of humour which embarked upon its great career with these decadents. Plato's epigram ‘ By an old Beauty ’ is interesting :

“ Lais, now old, that erst all-tempting lass,  
To goddess Venus consecrates her glass ;  
For she herself hath now no use of one,  
No dimpled cheek hath she to gaze upon :

She cannot see her springtide damask grace,  
Nor dare she look upon her winter face."

In such epigrams it is difficult to mark off the serious from the humorous, for we have a mild transition. A good many humorous epigrams are on the doctors, and some interesting ones reveal the subtlety and piquancy of observation. Almost all the professions were observed from the study rooms of these poets. Here is a very interesting epigram 'on a great Doctor':

"Here lies great Oreibasius, now dead,  
Who many a victory over death hath won.  
Fate feared him so, she often left the thread  
of life half-spun."

In passing we may also note another quite good epigram 'on a Lecturer':

"Seven pupils he hath who list to his lore,  
For the benches are three and the walls are four."

Each poet began studying the universe from his own point of view, and the epigram is the result of that study. And it is a study stimulated by a self-criticism, and directed by a not too facile complacency. In poignancy they cannot be surpassed and yet they point to the futility of life and of life's vanities, to something depressing at the core of human existence.

The revival of the epigram is associated with many other things characteristic of the Greek Decadence. Among these we can include the poetry of love, the poetry of the home, the poetry of the common man. The Alexandrian age revived the pre-classical poetry of love given by Sappho. In the first century B.C. we read the epigram:

"Ah suffering soul, now thou burnest in the fire, and now thou revivest, and fetchest breath again; why weepest thou? When thou didst feed pitiless love in thy bosom, knewest thou not that he was being fed for thy wore? Knewest thou not? Know now his repayment, a fair foster hire. Take it, fire and cold snow together. Thou wouldst have it so; bear the pain; thou sufferest the wages of thy work, scorched with his burning honey."

Here is the first awakening of the romantic spirit in man. Here we have for the first time the poetry of the home, 'with wonderful charm and freshness', and with a touching pathos that is truly great. Heliodorous, the Christian Bishop of the fourth century A.D., was

the author of the first prose love-romance, and over the heroine, Clorinda, he gives us the first novel of the family and the society.

Meleager of the first century B. C. comes from Syria bringing an oriental warmth and colour to his theme.

"O Love that flew so lightly to my heart,  
Why are thy wings so feeble to depart."

He takes passion to be violent and destructive, and writes like one "who sacrifices everything to love and judges everything in relation to it".

"Like the calm sea beguiling with those blue eyes of hers  
Asclepias tempteth all men to be love's mariners."

His poems to Heliodore combine the tragic emotion with that of love :

"Say Heliodore and Heliodore, and still say Heliodore,  
And let the music of her name mix with the wine you pour.  
And wreath me with the wreath she wore, that holds the scent  
of myrrh,  
For all that it be yesterday's in memory of her.  
The rose that loveth lovers, the rose lets fall a tear  
Because my arms are empty, because she is not here."

This attitude is alien to the classical tradition and marks a definite deviation from that path. He looks back and cannot move ahead without the past haunting him in and out of season. A sad wistfulness, as of Wordsworth for his Lucy, breathes through him when he mourns for his beloved. Again—

"Tears for thee, Heliodore, and bitter tears to shed,  
If all that love has left to give can reach thee with the dead ;  
Here at thy grave I offer, that tear-drenched grave of thine,  
Libation of my longing before affection's shrine,  
Forlorn I mourn thee, dearest, in the land where shadows dwell,  
Forlorn, and grudge the tribute death could have spared so well.  
Where is the flower I cherished ? Plucked by the god of doom ;  
Plucked, and his dust has tarnished the scarce unbudled bloom.  
I may but pray thee, mother earth, who givest all thy best,  
Clasp her I mourn for ever close to thy gentle breast."

And so in the heart of the decadence we capture the essence of Romanticism in the shape of a weird and wistful melancholy, yearning for certain impalpable but highly significant human values. There is morbidity, but it is one that is canalised to the service of a nobler element in human life.

Children too have endeared themselves greatly ; and Crinagoras (first century B.C.) has a beautiful epitaph on a child ; and the sound of the word ' child ' awakens in him rich romantic associations :

" Full oft of old the islands changed their name,  
And took new titles from some heir of fame ;  
Then dread not ye the wrath of gods above,  
But change your own and be the ' isles of Love'.  
For Love's own name and ' shape the infant bore,  
Whom late we buried on your sandy shore.  
Break softly there, thou never-weary wave,  
And earth, lie lightly on his little grave."

The very name of child revives the image of Love, and a new mysticism over childhood steps in, in all its tenderness and freshness. In strange contrast to this feeling for childhood, we find their attitude to the enemies to be one of satirical and pungent humour. And Ammianus of the second century A.D. writes an epitaph on his enemy :

" Light lie the earth, Nearchus, on thy clay,  
That so the dogs may easier find their pray."

The element of sympathy is not yet universalised. But it is pregnant with such a development. Damascius of the sixth century A.D. could write a beautiful epitaph on a slave girl thus :

" O Zosima, your soul was ever free  
And now your body too hath liberty."

Death is both the leveller and the liberator. There is a good deal of preoccupation with death, because of the zest for life and the values of life. A friend asks the departed soul not to forget him, even if he were to taste the waters of forgetfulness :

" This stone, beloved Sabinus, on thy grave  
Memorial small of our great love shall be  
I still shall seek thee lost ; from Lethe's wave  
Oh !, drink not thou forgetfulness of me." (Anon)

And another considers death to be the last arrears to be paid for life, much in the same way as Browning does ; and he is sad at the premature payment extorted :

" I had but sipped the cup of life a little child, when Death,  
For good or ill, I know not which, deprived me of breath.  
Oh greedy Death ! Why so unkind ? Why bear a child away ?  
Why make me pay so soon the debt which all alike must pay."  
(Anon)



Such were the simple and pregnant ideas of the decadence that till this day we are unable to overcome the reflections on Death and Life. As a way out there arose the need to make the best of human life. One such was the path of simplicity backed by self-abnegation.

Greek Decadence has therefore this further characteristic feature. It is contained in the precept of Marcus Aurelius—‘simplify yourself’. This simplicity existed along with elaboration, but it was an elaboration of simplicity. The human mind was struggling to arrive at the inner life of things, at the fundamentals. This process is bound to result in the partial discarding of the great intellectual heritage. This is certainly a decay. But at the same time it reveals the power of the naked soul. This power is “a recurring need to get away from society, and to dispense with the swimming belts of popular habits and duties, public opinion and the aid of books and friends”. A sense of failure may grip the popular imagination to the belief that the institutions are made for man. But it is a conviction, a conviction arising in a decadence, and profoundly affecting the growth of humanity. The centre of interest shifts to the life of man. Here Plutarch (45 A.D. to 125 A.D.) ranks supreme for he knew the art of narration so well that he has given us lively sketches of men in action and defeat. On the other extreme stands the man of action shouldering the heavy responsibility of an Empire, and yet giving us his stoic “Meditations”, suppressing passion and personality. And yet the decadence did not give up its artistic endeavours. We have the epic idyll entitled *Hero and Leander*, by Musaeus (550 A.D.). It is a poem of sensual joy, but it breathes a wild tenderness and a fierce grandeur, since it is written in a strange and beautiful way. An attempt was made to vivify the ancient tale, and though Musaeus fails in his aim, his poem is valuable and significant to us in so far as he inspired Marlowe’s poem of the same name. Musaeus fails because he looks to a past that is never to come back. In this longing we notice the failure to understand human history and the laws governing the institutions. As a result all the literary revivals of this age are bound to have an air of artificiality and of unwanted graces. To this decadence we also owe the literary romance. Apollonius of Rhodes (295-215 B.C.) has given us “*Argonautica*”, in which poem it is true that beauty and inspiration have given place to prettiness and erudition. And yet he creates the poetry of romantic love in the garb of a mysterious and thrilling narrative. Recognising the beauty of little things, he displays a rich observation and reveals a delicate charm in his des-

criptions. Philostratus (170-250 A.D.) wrote his life of *Apollonius of Tyana*, as if it is a romance of the popular adventure variety. But Longus (c 250 A.D.) wrote his *Daphnis and Chloe* with a deep love of nature and a genuine sensibility. His characters move among animals and catch their simplicity and here we find pastoralism coming to the aid of Romance. At the same time authors were busy to divert their philosophical and scientific resources to the aid of literature. Lucan (120-200 A.D.), a close student of Plato and literature, diverted his talents towards Parody. His characters converse in quotations from the poets, and he parodies a good many professions. His "True History" parodies the writers on travels, and has the spirit of *Gulliver's Travels*, without the bitterness of Swift. Yet Lucan is alive to the futility of human life; and he is very sympathetic towards the poor and the unsuccessful. And during the period, moreover, we have a curious revival of the epic. Quintus of Smyrna (c 400 A.D.) wrote in fourteen books his "Posthomerica" to bridge the interval between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The value of the work lies in its approach to Nature and in the feeling for the beauty of the external universe. Nonnus (c 420 A.D.) wrote "Dionysiaca" in forty-eight books narrating the amorous exploits of Diomysus in a dull, sonorous and rhetorical style. All these literary adventures are the consequences of a deep sense of failure and of resignation. And the poetry of the age gives us the feeling that the poets were not happy in and with the universe around. There is a deep ennui, and they were restless. Some sort of morbidity enveloped them all. One poet says :

"For sixty years I bore an evil lot :

No child I had—and would my sire had not." (Anon)

This is too poignant but deep enough to be overlooked as a 'pose' or affectation. And Paulus Silentarius of the sixth century A.D. has a significant stanza where he says :

"My name and country were.....no matter what !

Noble my race....who cares though it were not ?

The fame I won in life....is all forgot !

Now here I lie and no one cares a jot."

The vastness of the world, the insignificance of man, and the futility of human life have popularised stoicism and cynicism to such great lengths that one poet has the nerve to say at the moment of his death :

"Mine haven's found ; Fortune and Hope adieu ;

Mock others now, for I have done with you." (Anon)

Palladas (360-430 A.D.) was one of the foremost elegiac poets of the fourth century, who has no hope to offer, no goodwill to convey. "He saw that all was vanity, that man is born in tears and dies in tears, that all his speech is the prelude to an eternal silence. But the thought of this made him angry, and he lashed the world with blistering words." And it is this passionate indignation that made him a poet in an age of complacency.

From this analysis of the various aspects of decadence, we can arrive at the nature of this strange period that has stirred the minds of many. In the Classical period there is "a solidarity of faith and spirit", while the decadence has tentative convictions that arise in the minds of the thinking people soon after an age of high tension of life passes away. Decadence, therefore, always refers to and implies a preceding age of great achievement. But the great period cannot last for ever, and decay is bound to set in. Even then the traditions of the age of achievement have their voice and influence in the heart of decadence. In this influence the great cultural heritage acquires new interpretations. And when the true meaning is forgotten, the naked fact assumes a rich imaginative colouring. "In a decadence words and ideas and forms of art are all dragged off by different minds according to their needs and fancies, the unity of thought and feeling having broken up; and are applied and elaborated narrowly, practically, intensely, becoming mottoes and creeds and scholastic theories, but for that very reason being worked out, sometimes corruptly, or with frigidity, sometimes again with a certain many-coloured novelty and audacity, the audacity of the specialist" (317). The old language, the old ideas, and the old beauty, thus come to acquire a strange richness of content and form. In the very formation, the new beauty, and the new ideas and words acquire new and wonderful powers.

This formation of new syntheses is based on a certain misunderstanding of the tradition; and the misunderstanding makes the individual particularistic, and his ideas and feelings tentative. A certain uncertainty dominates them and their poetic moods alternate and swing to extremes. Thus the natural twins—pleasure and pain, Life and Death—dominate their themes. Such a state brings about anarchy, from which the poets generally seek an escape. And in this escape some give us the world of romance, some offer a rich pasturage to the senses, some delight in the human values, some ~~portise~~ the domestic and social ties, and some glorify the element of beauty in the universe around. All these centre round the

reflective and critical bent of mind, making the individual more and more human, and enabling man to realise the supreme values of human life in the midst of the tragic core of life. And these developments that began in the decadence have transformed literature to such an extent that the entire subsequent history of literature is permanently fixed ; for the decadence tells us of the fascination of the tragic beauty of life which has a veil over it and which many cannot penetrate :

“ And whatever far-off state there be,  
Dearer than Life to mortality,  
The hand of the Dark hath hold thereof  
And mist is under and mist above,  
And so we are sick for life and cling  
On earth to this nameless and shining thing.  
For other life is a fountain sealed,  
And the deeps below us are unrevealed,  
And we drift on legends for ever !” (*Hippolytus*, 191-7)

# SOME ASPECTS OF DYNAMICS OF INDIAN DEMOCRACY

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## INTRODUCTION

The Preamble of the Constitution of India defines the ideal philosophy of Indian democracy and its key concepts are laid down as liberty, equality, justice and fraternity. Democracy in its genuine moral connotation postulates a concern for the common man—for the man on the street and in the farm, for the driver of the bullock-cart and for other suppressed and neglected sections.<sup>1</sup> Gandhi stressed this humanitarian side of democracy. Certainly a democratic form of government in the large states of the twentieth century cannot hope to be the government “by” the people in the literal sense of the term. It has, however, to be rooted in the basic consensus and general aspirations of the large sections of population. A democracy to be real must be characterized by three features : (i) use of the rational technics of discussion, negotiation, persuasion, debates and argumentation in place of coercion, intimidation, threats, and violence ; (ii) a belief in and action according to the Kantian concept that man is an end, and not a means, consequently necessitating the grant of the opportunity for the free exercise of political choice to all citizens and thereby adhering to the philosophy of universal good ; (iii) resort to certain institutional procedures for the realization of individual liberty, for example, remedies for the enforcement of fundamental rights. Judicial independence, judicial review of legislative and administrative measures, free elections etc. are some of the other prime institutional prerequisites for democracy. The acceptance of rational persuasion in place of forceful intimidation, as noted above, does postulate a belief in a jural order because the sanctity of law is considered greater than the

<sup>1</sup> There are three roots of democratic theory as evolved in the west. (i) Judaism and Christianity have contributed the notions of justice and the moral autonomy of the individual. In the seventeenth century Puritanism further emphasized the concept of the moral individual and his conscience. (ii) The Roman lawyers stressed the notion of jural order in the world. Their theories of *jus civil*, *jus gentium* and *jus naturale* have contributed to the growth of the sanctity of the juridical systems. The concept of natural law by pleading for restrictions on the positive law of the sovereign, always worked towards limiting the coercive authority of the state. (iii) The rise of science by demolishing the dogmatic and superstitious foundations of social inequalities and hierarchical privileges has contributed to the growth of humanism and has rendered possible the construction of institutional devices for providing equality of opportunity.

seductions of might. The desire for the enshrinement of rights of the individual follows from a tacit acceptance of the moral and spiritual personality of the human being.

Democracy in India was deliberately decided upon by the Constituent Assembly in the context of an illiterate population and underdeveloped economy. But in the last eighteen years the country has won great tributes from foreign visitors. Certainly one cannot deny the achievements of India after independence in the following fields—(i) rehabilitation of refugees, from Panjab and Bengal, (ii) settlement of some important disputes with Pakistan, (iii) integration of the so-called native or former princely states, (iv) some increase in the national income and per capita income, (v) constitutional abolition of untouchability and (vi) advance in the social and legal position of women and other downtrodden sections.

But there are a number of unsolved grave problems. We have to discuss the problems of Indian democracy in the context of mounting threats to territorial security in different Afro-Asian countries. The disturbing situation in Africa and the threats in Vietnam are indeed grave. The Chinese Communists have taken by violence nearly 12,000 square miles of Indian territory and thus have torn to pieces the idealism of Panchasila although some leftist groups in the country have refused to recognize the fact of the Chinese having committed aggression. But no party can be allowed to barter away the independence of the country under the protection of democratic rights. The first and most dominant concern should be political security and freedom of the country.

Another threatening situation is the one posed by increasing violence. Indiscipline and rowdiness are on the march.<sup>1</sup> We find a situation when "pressure from the street" is increasing and necessarily as a counter-pressure, sometimes, in the name of law and order there is brutal suppression and ruthless violence. It is utterly ridiculous that when on the international scene the ethics of Buddhism and Gandhism are being preached and the spiritual superiority of the ancient culture of the country is advertised, both the lawless citizens and the government have to be so free with the use of the gun on the home front. This makes our profession of Gandhism and Buddhism look hypocritical.

But let me not be misunderstood. I am not a prophet of gloom and destruction. I am an optimist. I have faith in the historic heritage of the country and I am hopeful that there will be a recovery of our forgotten moral ideals. Ideals are neither the rationalizations of the *status quo*

<sup>1</sup> It is very hazardous to make generalizations regarding national character. There does not seem to be any statistical corroboration for the generalization that the Indian masses are by nature tolerant and moderate in action.

nor are they the hypocritical devices of the apologists of an exploitationist society for hiding the contradictions of the social process. They are the guiding forces of the nation and the people. The democratic idealism is bound to appeal to the sentiments and aspirations of the people. There are unmistakable rational and noble elements in a man's character and nature and it is wise to reinforce them and make them the basis of a strengthened democracy. Our masses may not understand the philosophy of Locke and Burke but they can very well appreciate the teachings of Kabir regarding social equality. Hence democratic idealism and technics have to be slowly made the possession of the general run of the people.

In India today we are talking of political and economic change, social change, planned social change and instigated social change. It is a good and laudable ideal. But the question is who is to bring this change about. Election statistics point out that for the last fifteen years both at the centre and the states the ruling party is governing on the basis of less than fifty per cent. of electoral votes. Does it have the mandate to impose social change on the population on the basis of this slender basis in voting support? Is it *democratic* to impose socio-economic change, howsoever well-intentioned, on the basis of this marginal support? Democracy postulates that for the implementation of fundamental socio-economic and political change there should be a specific mandate from the electorate. Whether it is nationalization of means of production or communization of land or conversion of an informal *bataidari* into a legalized system of registration of the title-rights of the sub-tenants or large-scale female emancipation, my main thesis is that if we swear by democracy, then these items of change have to be implemented on the basis of a specific popular mandate for them. These changes are good and are calculated to bring about a system of society and economy which is an antidote to and a bulwark against social revolution. But the point at issue is that they have to be brought about by a process which can be considered democratic in institutional form.

#### SOME SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF INDIAN DEMOCRACY

Both at the theoretical and practical levels, different types of views and experiences are available regarding the party system. We cannot recommend the authoritarian totalitarian party system for India because it cuts the very base of constitutionalism. The two party system of England and America has incorporated some of the traditions of liberal humanism of those countries and has worked successfully. France with her Latin volatile temper has developed a multi-party system. Both the two-party

and the multi-party systems are responses to the peculiar social, economic and political forces of those countries.<sup>1</sup>

Political and economic development cannot be had merely for the asking. It will be useless to be moan why do we not have a two-party system of the Anglo-American type. We have to see what forces are uppermost in our political and economic set-up and formulate our decisions and policies accordingly.

In India what we have today is virtually a one-party government both at the centre and the states with the same Congress party's dominance.<sup>2</sup> There are three or four other parties but they do not have the strength to form their own governments. In India thus we are experimenting with the democracy based on virtual one party rule. Hence a situation is developing almost similar to the one obtaining in totalitarian countries. Even after over eighteen years of independence and about sixteen years of the introduction of the new Constitution there is no chance of the emergence of an effective stable opposition which can offer an alternative government. Being saddled in power for over a decade and half the Congress has lost its old idealism and it has taken recourse to various types of technics for keeping itself installed in power.<sup>3</sup> The old Gandhian dream of a Loka Sewak Sangh has been thrown to the winds and power, both political and economic, is concentrated in a small group. The National Development Council, the Planning Commission and the Union Cabinet have almost formed a "new oligarchy". This "new oligarchy" to a certain extent, flourishes on cooperation with capitalists who are taking advantage of the protected market to amass huge profits. The close alliance between the ruling elite and plutocratic elements may constitute a grave threat to democracy.

Democratic government proceeds on the assumption that there are some fundamental goals and values on which it is possible to agree. All political parties have to agree upon the maintenance of the democratic structure. Hence whatsoever changes are desired, have to be decided by methods of 'animated but moderate' discussions. In this country social and economic changes are extremely urgent. The cake of custom has to be cut. Hence a democrat cannot advocate the cause of any party

1 James Bryce, *Modern Democracies*, 2 vols.

2 There are no visible chances of the rightist parties coming to power in the near future. Leftism has slightly better prospects. The experiment of the first Communist government in Kerala failed but leftism of Kerala is a serious anti-democratic force to be reckoned with.

3 The decline of the idealism of the Indian National Congress is a grave weakness of Indian democracy. During the days of freedom struggle the Congress was the symbol of a united front and it could work with a missionary zeal. After Gandhi's death the process of decline of the Congress has been accelerated and now it is only a political party like others.



that either sanctifies the *status quo* or seeks to sabotage social legislation by quoting out-dated scriptures.

The great danger to Indian democracy from the baneful monster of casteism has been recognized from all quarters. Caste has been in one sense legislated away but, nevertheless, this devil of caste has become a veritable monster and all the areas and sectors of our existence are threatened with this grievous and powerful devil. But to kill this monster a positive approach is needed. We should concentrate our energies upon the building of a society that will enshrine, in practice, the values enunciated in the Preamble of the Indian Constitution. Buddha preached against caste arrogance. Nanak and Kabir were opponents of orthodox casteism and Swami Dayananda taught against determination of a man's status by his birth. Mahatma Gandhi carried on a crusade against casteism in the name of the suppressed strata. But casteism cannot die by merely preaching against it. It is true that the rise of science and rationalism have demolished the superstitious, magical and theological sanctions of casteism. But it has raised its head again under a political garb. This aspect of casteism can die down only if a more expansive and a dynamic economy is created. A mobile economy will necessarily generate a mobile society. Meanwhile no encouragement is to be given to any party that seeks to exploit the caste sentiments.

There is no doubt that the influence of caste as a social factor is declining in the old sense of the term. If by caste we mean the typologies laid down in the *shastras*, then certainly due to the influence of modern knowledge the intellectual foundations inculcated in the *smritis* which were the bases of the caste system are declining. The rise of civil servants and government officials from the ranks of the backward and scheduled castes is also an antidote to the power of Brahmanical ecclesiasticism. It is also expected that the maturation of democracy will act as a great antithesis to the conjunction of caste superiority and political power. Throughout India members of the backward and scheduled castes have obtained important positions as "followers" in the party hierarchy. Soon they will also come up as leaders. The eminence of people like Ambedkar and Kamraj shows the signs on the wall. The rise of the backward and scheduled castes symbolizes not only the political awakening of these sections but it is also a sign that the traditional role of money as a political factor will be challenged since these sections mostly belong to the economically suppressed groups. Furthermore, the more these groups are able to amass political power, the more they will be able to control some avenues of economic power also and this will mean a

further decline in the role of wealth of the hitherto affluent sections as a source of power.

For the success of a democratic political system it is essential to experience a sense of identity—consciousness with the inhabitants of the country. Are there such common symbols which can evoke similar responses of loyalty or attachment from Indian citizens? We praise Buddha as the embodiment of pity, mobility and compassion. We are proud of Gandhi as the great architect of Indian freedom. But have Indian citizens the capacity to renounce those of their activities and speeches as are calculated to be offensive to the ideals of Buddha and Gandhi? Mere slogans and sermonisings won't do. Patriotism and nationalism are feelings which require efforts for being retained at high pitch. It is difficult to experience a sense of kinship with millions and millions of Indians. They are abstract, impersonal and remote categories. The attachment to the local home, local heroes and regional languages appears natural and concrete. The great drawback in India's historical evolution has been that whenever external invasions have taken place, there have been present some disgruntled groups in the country who have welcomed them. From the times of the Persian and the Greek invasions to that of the English and the French and to the Chinese aggressions on our soil, there have been groups in this country whose emotional attachment to the soil has been very thin. Hence, if democracy and constitutionalism have to succeed in India, it is essential that a spirit of deep national integration is there.<sup>1</sup> If there are no bonds of attachment, if to serve temporary selfish interests, we can resort to violence and fraud, then it appears that there are no fundamental common unifying bonds. Democracy cannot function in such a chaotic situation when localism is taking the place of nationalism. The growth of corrosive and fissiparous regionalist tendencies tends to jeopardize the independence of the country itself. Casteism, communalism, provincialism, and linguism are eating into the vitals of the country and at times it appears that a situation like the one after the death of Asoka in 226 B.C., may crop up again. The difficulty is that nationalism cannot be fostered merely by inculcation of the sentimental ethics of loyalty to the nation. Furthermore, if certain groups and areas try to monopolize all the economic and administrative advantages for themselves in the name of the nation and preach to the others the significance of emotional integration, the situation becomes alarmingly vicious. Hence a sentiment of sharing and substantive justice to all inhabitants and groups has to be deliberately and actively fostered. The

<sup>1</sup> India has been free after great sufferings. To nurture and protect this freedom it is essential to focus emotional loyalty upon it and to view as an entity that has the greatest worth and value from the political standpoint.

determined cultivation of some common goals and values is a prime necessity. Only in that context can democracy succeed. Hence if we want to make democracy a success and wish it not to degenerate into factionalism, a universal consensus is essential on the recognition of the values of a single unifying national bond. Any talk of a "multi-national state" or any statement that the Bengalees or the Tamilians are sub-nations is sheer sedition. A political science student should not engage in any propaganda for the D.M.K.<sup>1</sup> No compromise with India's national integrity or political independence is to be tolerated in any form.<sup>2</sup> Hence those political parties which do not owe loyalty and fidelity to the nation should never be allowed the protection of the fundamental rights because they may misuse the constitutional rights and remedies to sabotage the democratic set up.

#### BUREAUCRACY AND ADMINISTRATIVE LAW

From the top civil servants to the vast number of inhabitants of a country one can distinguish five layers of political authority—(a) civil servants, (b) the ministry and the cabinet, (c) the legislature (or the legal sovereign in Dicey's terminology), (d) the electorate (or the political sovereign in Dicey's terminology) and (e) the amorphous body of all the citizens and inhabitants of the country who sustain the body politic by paying taxes or by obeying its commands or by observing its rules and regulation.

The civil servants can be responsible in a formal sense only to their departmental ministers and through them to the prime or the chief minister as the case may be. Only this immediate and formal responsibility can be institutionalized. If the civil servants are made directly responsible to the legislature then only confusion will result. Being permanent servants their tenure of service is not dependent on the confidence of the legislature, hence they cannot be made responsible to the legislature in the same sense as ministers can be.

Apart from the responsibility to the ministers, the civil servants are to be guided and controlled by the Constitution and the other Acts, rules and regulations of the services or bearing upon the services. They are bound, in law, to abide by the Constitution, Acts, rules and regulations. An infringement of the canons of these above-mentioned legal frameworks will make them liable to proceedings being drawn against them.

<sup>1</sup> To the best of my knowledge the D.M.K. leaders do not claim that the people of the south are a separate nation or a sub-nation but if any party makes such a propaganda, the engines of law must be utilised to check such subvertive propaganda.

<sup>2</sup> I have great reverence for the character and erudition of Karl Marx but I am not prepared to permit any party to barter the country's frontiers and territories in the name of proletarian internationalism or working class solidarity.

But apart from responsibility to the minister and to the legal codes, I do not think the civil servants can be made responsible, in any formal or institutionalized way, to the legislature or the electorate. It is true that in some countries the system of recall of civil servants operates. But this apparently democratic measure may act as a perpetual threat and thus hinder the discharge of their functions by the public servants in an enthusiastic manner.

In a parliamentary system of government the civil servants are responsible to the legislature through their ministers. But in a presidential form of government they are only responsible to the President and, of course, through the President to the people. But since the president is elected for a fixed term and within that period there is no way to get rid of him, except of course, by the extraordinary and rarely to be used method of impeachment which is, more or less, for treason and criminal offences and not for the unwisdom of political policies, hence, there cannot be that sense of enforceable responsibility to the legislature in a presidential system that can be had in a parliamentary system.

Sometimes a different connotation may be put on the word responsibility. Since the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, the democratization of the electoral structure has been proceeding in several countries. The growth of the political power of the people demanded in its turn a widening of the base wherefrom the civil servants were to be recruited. A democratic political system would be inconsistent with the maintenance of feudal, aristocratic, patrimonial, plutocratic, credal and communal vested interests in the matter of recruitment of and promotion to the ranks of civil servants. Hence responsible civil service, in a broad sense, requires the recruitment of civil servants from the vast masses of the people. In India special reservations of seats have been made for people of the scheduled tribes and castes and other weaker sections of society in order to enable them to have at least some share in government jobs. But I would be inclined to use the words representative bureaucracy in place of responsible bureaucracy to indicate the widening of the social structure wherefrom the civil servants are being recruited. The enlargement of the socio-economic base of recruitment has got more to do with making the civil servant representative of the people than in making them responsible to the people.

Several students of the civil service have called attention to the growth of formalization, routine and attachment to precedents in the officers.<sup>1</sup> An excess of red tapism is another vice of professionalism. Sometimes

<sup>1</sup> Max Weber, "Bureaucracy," *Essays in Sociology*.

it is said that the civil servants are more concerned with the pursuit of their career and thus obtaining personal advancements than with the promotion of public good. Some of the Gandhian critics of Indian public administration refer to the lack of a sense of missionary dedication in the civil servants. In a welfare state, the civil servants have to have a mind which is flexible and resilient. They have to understand the economics of development and growth and hence have to cultivate an attitude that is susceptible to the appreciation of innovations and is not orthodox and dogmatic in its approach. The values of social justice and welfare have to be implemented. The action of the bureaucracy often results in delay since it works on the basis of routines and precedents while speedy decisions are necessary in a developing economy. In the garb of anonymity they do not have to introduce depersonalization and mechanization in the functional operation of the civil service. It is also imperative that the civil servants develop a sense of responsiveness to the ideals, aspirations, needs and demands of the populace. They are not the official interpreters of the popular will but certainly they do have to recognize the existence of a powerful will of the people in a democratic set up. The civil servants have to take note of the will of the sovereign people. Hence without there being any constitutional requirement of the *responsibility* of the civil servants to the people, the need of *responsiveness* of the civil servants to the fundamental will and demands of the people cannot be ruled out. One formal aspect of this broad phase of responsiveness will be to develop harmonious public relations. In their dealings with the public the civil servants have to recognize that the people are, in a sense, the consumers of their goods. At these they may only have to give them some information but at other times they may have to justify to them the broad policies of the government. In such dealings the assumption of an arrogant and superior role is inconsistent with the political ethics of democracy. The Indian bureaucracy has still to imbibe the ethics of paying deference to the humble citizen. The administration of the country is suffering from grave defects because the old bureaucratic ethic of domineering and snobbery still continues. Hence administrators from the top to the bottom have to be re-educated to become the servants of the people.

Administrative adjudication has come to stay and administrative tribunals are growing in India. But it is essential that their processes be judicialized to the maximum extent. Fair, impartial, unbiased and disinterested hearing implies the observance of objective procedures. Of course, they cannot apply the rules of evidence in all their rigor as a court does. These quasi-judicial tribunals have certainly to economize the

consumption of time. Hence they can apply not all but only the important judicial processes.

The preservation of the rights of the citizen is a prime concern of the judiciary. Hence the High Courts and the Supreme Court should review the decisions of administrative and semi-judicial bodies not only on grounds of errors of law but also of facts. I am not pleading for a trial *de novo* by the higher court nor for a complete investigation of all facts. But if the courts are convinced, during the process of their proceedings, of injustice having been done against a party then they should not hesitate to quash the proceedings of an administrative tribunal on the sole ground that they (the courts) are not concerned with questions of fact.

The grant of remedies like the prerogative or extra-ordinary writs (except for the writ of *habeas corpus*) is, more or less, a matter of discretion of the judiciary. In consonance with the demands of the positive state with its multiplicity of functions, the areas of interference of the civil servants in the lives and activities of citizens are multiplying. It is possible that in the name of the exercise of discretion, the civil servants may act arbitrarily. To control arbitrary and unbridled exercise of power by the administrators it is essential that judicial remedies be made, more or less, mandatory. If the courts are convinced that the fundamental rights and other essential rights of citizens have been trampled upon they must exercise their remedies more effectively.

To safeguard the rights of citizens it is also essential to enforce and execute the decisions of the courts against recalcitrant executive authorities. What will be the sanctity of judicial decisions if these decisions cannot be enforced? Hence the rules of contempt have to be made more stringent and those individuals and agencies who are reluctant to obey the decisions of the courts should be made to pay the necessary penalty.

Today the country is embarking on huge projects of planning. To a certain extent there is direct operation of economic enterprise by the state. Furthermore the state has assumed large powers of regulation. To implement the philosophy of social welfare for the backward and weaker section new social security agencies and insurance commissions are being established. Thus a vast structure of departments, corporations, public companies (on a private company pattern), agencies, boards, authorities and administrations are cropping up. There is no question of any abstract liking or otherwise for any of these agencies because they are there to stay and are fast multiplying and proliferating. Thus the state leviathan is becoming ever more portentous.

Hence a danger-point in Indian democracy is the growth of "pedanticocracy" as John Stuart Mill would have termed it. Administrative

agencies are fast multiplying. The proliferation of administrative agencies constitutes a danger to the rights of the citizen. On one side there are the Preamble, the fundamental rights and the directive principles of the Indian constitution. On the other, are the large-scale encroachments on the fundamental rights by the administrative machines. There are charges of exercise of excess of power, the transformation of administrative discretion into arbitrariness, and the perversion of the administrative process by unfounded encroachments on the citizen's rights by an expanding bureaucracy. The question of arbitrary encroachments on some one else's jurisdiction reminds me of the tussle in the Uttara Pradesh, between the judiciary as the spokesman of fundamental rights and the legislature proud of its sovereign privileges. Incidentally I may repeat that this sovereign legislature is basing its authority on polling less than fifty per cent. of the electoral votes at the general elections. Hence it is essential to preserve the fundamental rights of the citizen and the remedies for their enforcement have to be respected.

In this connexion, I may suggest the adoption of something like the French Council of State. The French administrative law and administrative courts have gone beyond the stage when Dicey contrasted the British pattern of rule of law to the French system of special courts where cases concerning the conflicts between citizens and administrators while working in their official capacity are decided. It is true that the Indian Constitution has provided for the correction of the errors of administrative authorities through the issue of various types of writs, orders and directions. But there are two serious limitations to the issue of writs. First, they are discretionary remedies. The courts may grant or may not grant writs. The citizen does not have a mandatory right to them. Secondly, the writs are granted only when there are errors of law. The courts usually do not enter the domain of errors of facts. Hence the writs are not very easily available and efficacious for the enforcement of remedies against the violation of rights. It is essential, therefore, to have some system of regular courts which may be headed by High Court judges and which will provide wider relief to the citizens. We may not have administrators as judges of these courts as is the pattern in France but only judges who have the legal training and professional competence of High Court judges. These courts may also go into the question of facts.

The fundamental rights guaranteed to the citizens in part three of the Constitution demand special protection. Articles 14 and 19 require to be protected. We may not agree with the exaggerations of Lord Hewart in his fulminations against bureaucratic adjudication and encroachment by the British government departments in the judicial field. But it has



to be urgently stressed that the citizen has to be saved from the abuse of power, the assumption of excess of power and the transformation of discretion into arbitrariness at the hands of the executive. In such a situation the protection provided to the citizen by the system of the French Council of State attracts our attention. At times the remedies at common law prove time-consuming and costly. Hence the French Council of State with its cheap, efficacious remedies demands a scrutiny as to whether it could be tried in this country. Of course, the prerogative writs issued by the High Courts and the Supreme Court must be there. I will not advocate an administrative court at the cost of taking away the powers of judicial review of administrative decisions of the High Courts and the Supreme Court but as a supplement to them, a system of administrative courts may also be set up.

#### PLANNING AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA

Today there is no need of a philosophical discussion regarding the necessity of planning. It is now generally agreed that a planned economy alone can rescue India from the vicious circle of poverty and unemployment. It alone can harness the saving potential hidden in the chronic underemployment of the villagers. There is no question today of economic isolation. Even in the remote sections now there is a growing awareness of advanced living standards and the consumers are feeling new wants.

Planning implies (a) the acceleration of the tempo of economic growth and (b) the proliferation of the range of economic activities. These amount, in practice, to the multiplication of the action of the state. This extension of administration once more transforms economics into political economy.

Planning even when democratically conceived and implemented does lead to bureaucratization. There, certainly, is truth in the strictures of the Austrian School of Economics that planning is the invitation to bureaucratic tyranny. Planning leads to bureaucratization in two ways. (i) It transforms economic action, a sector hitherto in private control, to the control of state servants. Thus production, distribution, banking, imports and exports, exchange etc. are subjected sometimes to state regulation and at times, to direct state control and management. (ii) It transforms private individuals earning their living through individual bargaining into salaried employees of the state. This means that occasional resistance to the will of the government which has been the great bulwark of democracy is neutralized and as state servants individuals would not dare thwart the will of the state Leviathan.



Planning in India has affected administration at three levels : (i) It has partially injured the cause of state autonomy, (ii) It is detrimental to the growth of individual initiative and participant citizenship and (iii) it is sometimes linking economic administration in India to the whims of foreign legislatures and Aid-India consortiums and clubs.

The Planning Commission, a non-statutory body, unknown to the Constitution, created by an executive order is wielding enormous power today. It was conceived as a staff agency meant for advice and research. But the association of the top Cabinet members has lent to it an unjustified glamour and it has been prone to force its way into policy-making. But policy-making is a political process and it should be the privilege of the ruling party alone.

It is true that many economic problems have been solved on paper. But I am not concerned with the charts and figures which the lecturers and students of economics and the officials may produce. Our administrators are the victims of an economic fallacy. Their attention is fixed far more on expenditure targets than on physical targets. If so many lacs and crores, as stipulated in the budget, have been spent the administrators are overjoyed. But the people are concerned with physical targets. They want to see concrete physical entities and they would not be satisfied merely with inflated expenditure figures. In spite of three five-year plans, the grim spectacle of almost barbaric poverty, hunger and want are threatening our very existence. The charter to existence of a union finance minister in this country, in a sense, consists in his success in getting foreign loans. It is not flattering to find that a country where paddy has been growing since the Rigvedic times is getting even rice from Florida. The danger of inflation is further accelerated by the instability of prices. The country has been saddled with foreign loans up to the amount of fifty to sixty crores of rupees.

It is true that planning, so far, has failed to satisfy the aspirations of Indian people. I do not want to minimize the significance of the various steel plants that have been set up and the dams and other works that have been completed. But in terms of agricultural productivity it is a matter of great frustration that the spectre of famine, hunger and food scarcity are still haunting the Indian masses. Even the greatest advocates of planning have recognised that there have been grave inadequacies in the implementation of the plans. I have no quarrel with the formulation of the philosophy and targets of the plan but I fail to notice the contemplated change in the Indian countryside. For the failure in the execution of the plans, blames have been assigned to the political parties and sometimes the opposition leaders have been dubbed as culprits. But the ad-

ministrative machine is also to blame. In spite of the testimonials afforded to the top administration in India by experts like Appleby it is a fact that the middle management in our country has to a certain extent failed in its jobs and sometimes considerations of personal gratification and job promotions have been regarded superior to the considerations of public service.

It is true that the process of leading a static economy to a dynamic phase has resulted in strains and imbalances and some regions complain of being neglected in favour of others. There has been also a tremendous growth of inflation which is an ominous portent indeed. It is a fact that there has been considerable performance lag and the targets fixed in plan objectives have not been fully realized. Several factors have been responsible for this, not the least being the legacy of the morphology of arrested economic development for centuries.

There is too much talk in our country about people's participation in the political process and the creation of *janashakti*. But the fact is that the plans have failed to evoke that genuine enthusiasm from the side of the people that was expected. The people's mind and heart are not attuned to the plans. They do not consider it as their plan. At the time of the formulation of the Second Plan there was much talk of a plan from below. But this cry was not heard at the time of the third plan. The reason, perhaps, is that the ruling party is getting bureaucratic and more sure of itself. But it cannot be denied that people's association with the plan is essential. Unfortunately, the plan is a party issue in our country and the units of political parties are busy more in criticizing the failures of the plans than in making it a positive success. But what the opposition parties have failed to do, has to be done by voluntary associations and agencies. If the members of the ruling party sing hymns in praise of the plans it does not have much psychological and moral effect. The polls have demonstrated that both in the second and in the third General Elections the Congress has obtained the majority of seats in the legislatures only through the divisions among other opposition parties. It got only the plurality and not the majority of electoral votes. Hence the implication is definite that the Congress does not have adequate psychological and moral hold on the mind of the electorate that participated in the elections. Therefore, its appeals do not have the required effect. Hence those voluntary associations and agencies which are convinced of the value of the plan should also take this matter up. Periodic mass meetings will perhaps be more effective for soliciting people's support than an organised machinery like advisory boards or citizens' councils consisting of people's representatives at different levels.

The problem of financing the plans is also immensely significant. I am opposed to the stranglehold of foreign borrowings that act as a noose round the necks of present and future generations. If it is really true that the national income and the per capita income of the country have increased then the problem of raising some revenue through additional taxes should not be so alarming as it appears today. Different types of economic stimulants have to be used to promote planning. Without committing ourselves to any one theory of development, like that of Marx, Schumpeter, or any one else, economic growth has to be fostered and promoted.

I will suggest that the evaluation of the achievements of the plans should be done by impartial agencies. The planning Commission has its Committee on Plan Projects. It has also set up its Program Evaluation Organization which is concerned mainly with the assessment of the community Development programs. But I will also suggest the evaluation of the programs by independent agencies of social sciences experts. The staff of the Universities can serve as part of this personnel of Evaluation Unit.

I will make the following suggestions regarding the administrative dimensions of planning :

(i) I am not opposed to state capitalism in essential industries. The industries vital to the safety of the country have to be set up and run even if they result in the creation of a bureaucracy.

(ii) The state may run some farms for the enhancement of food production.

(iii) In consumer goods and luxury goods the state should not enter the field of production but be content only with regulation.

(iv) Certain structural changes should be made in the Planning Commission. Such an important body should be placed on statutory foundations. Its work should be to act (a) as a research and staff agency and (b) it should advise on methods of coordination between the ministries of finance, agriculture, industries and commerce, oil, etc. The Planning Commission should not seek to obtain for itself policy-making powers. Neither must it become the agency for detailed approval of plans.

(v) The planning agency should be decentralized to the extent possible.

(vi) Steps have to be taken to guarantee the federal character of Indian polity. What happens today is that while the Planning Commission and the National Development Council have comprehensive control over policy and finance the state governments are responsible for the execution of the plans. This leads, hence, to difficulties in the location

of responsibility for the failure of plans and is a potent source for corruption. Adequate allocation of responsibilities is, hence, desirable.

We have also to take care of the moral values of our democracy. India is a poor country and the poverty of the masses of the countryside is simply appalling. Hence our plans have to be oriented to the Gandhian concept of simplicity. It will not serve the purpose if we only preach sermons. Gandhiji whom even the planners acknowledge as the patriarch and prophet of the nation was a devotee of simplicity, austerity and the reconciliation of the worldly and spiritual norms. It is not in the fitness of things that we should go on making endless foreign borrowings and raise big buildings which look ridiculously incongruent in the context of the poverty of the masses.<sup>1</sup> It is essential to remind ourselves of Gandhiji's famous essay "If I were a Governor." Our standards of life and administrative amenities have to be patterned on the calculation of our own strength and resources.

#### COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Community development project is a method and technic to improve the psychological and material foundations of rural countryside. During the later phases of British imperialism the corrosive ravages of capitalist exploitation led to the utter decline of the rural countryside and the Community Development programmes are an attempt to rehabilitate the Indian villages. These programmes go beyond what is popularly called economics of growth. They contemplate a long-range psychological transformation through the adoption of wise methods of investment. They aim not only at the increase of the output per acre but they want to instil in the villagers an urgent sense for the betterment of their material standards. In this sense they plan an organised attack on what the Montagu-Chelmsford Report characterized as the 'pathetic contentment' of the Indians.

It is rightly said that the Community Development Programmes aim to bring about a psychological transformation in the Indian countryside by inducing new attitudes among villagers. But sometimes this may be an illusory attempt. Attitudes are not built in a vacuum. They are the reflex of some objective situations. If agricultural productivity can be intensified and if the poor peasants will have an ensured supply of the required amount of cereals, they will automatically experience a sense of exhilaration and thrill.

<sup>1</sup> It is a matter of regret that in the quest of modernization, the Gandhian ideal of simplicity is being renounced. Palatial buildings are being raised and big salaries are being paid to the top management cadres. Thereby a tendency is growing to overawe the common man rather than to serve him.

Some economists have blamed the fatalistic apathy of the Indian population as a factor for the economic underdevelopment of the country. I do not concur with this view. The imperialistic foreign rulers might have cherished this myth for rationalizing the economic prostration of the country but it does not suit Indian economists to repeat this unsubstantiated notion. My own experience is that the Indian labourers, with the very meagre subsistence that they get, are capable of putting forth a quantum of energy for production that is sometimes surprising. A labourer who is working nearly seventy hours per week cannot be accused of fatalism. Hence our social scientists should find out the technological and social factors for the backwardness of the Indian population and not seek refuge in the myth of Indian fatalism.

On paper the achievements of the Community Development Schemes may be great but the plain truth is that the Indian peasantry is not substantially happier and more prosperous than it was during the British days.

I will make the following suggestions regarding the administrative aspects of Community Development programmes :

(i) One has to proceed slowly and not attempt the impossible task of bringing 'milk and honey' to the nearly six lacs of villages of India within ten or fifteen years. One's ambition may be praiseworthy but one should not be unrealistic and should not hold out false promises. Hence the idea of concentration on multiple fields should be given up.

(ii) For development work people with missionary zeal who have the mentality of servant (*sevak*) and not rulers (*shashaka*) should be recruited. It is not desirable to create a new caste of arrogant government employees at field levels.

(iii) The leadership of the Block Advisory Committee should be strengthened.

(iv) One has to bring about some liaison between the democratic decentralization schemes working through the Panchayats and Panchayat Samitis and the centralizing trends working through the B.D.O.'s? The Balwant Roy Mehta Committee recommended that village panchayats and Panchayat Samitis should become instruments for implementing the Community Development programmes. In theory this appears democratic but the problem is to prevent the mukhiya and others from becoming rich contractors at the expense of the public.

#### SOME ASPECTS OF EMERGENCY ECONOMIC ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA

We are passing through the greatest trial in our history since independence. India is exposed to the depredations of a ruthless, barbaric,

armed totalitarian country which combines the technics of implementing mass murders with the old virulence and violence of the Mongols. The Mao-Chou combination is the most menacing devil protentous in its threat to the whole of Asian freedom. For meeting this challenge effectively we have to plan the total mobilisation of our human and material resources. This is a problem of formidable dimensions but it has to be solved for the very existence of India as an independent political entity.

We have been busy with the implementation of our plans and the objectives have been to augment the productivity of the agrarian, industrial and power sectors so that the national income would be increased and thereby the standards of living of the people raised. This objective has now to be slightly changed. The aim is not, for at least several years, to be more augmentation of national income but also the production of war materials. But the change in objective will certainly not imply that the goal of agricultural and industrial productivity has to be lost sight of. To maintain the strength of our armed front also, agricultural and industrial productivity is essential. The soldiers require food, woollen garments and lots of other things and services. Locomotives, jeeps and trucks and aeroplanes have to be built. Medical researches have to go on at an accelerated speed to cope with cases of casualty. Effective co-ordination is essential between the National Defence Council and the National Productivity Council.

The accentuation of agricultural productivity is certainly a dominant objective. The targets of several fields have been raised. For example, the new figure for soil conservation is 16 million acres in place of 11 million, for minor irrigation it has been raised from 12 to 19 million acres. In the field of dry farming a very high target has been fixed, from 20 to 50 million acres.<sup>1</sup> It is imperative that all available sources of agricultural production be fully utilized and newer sources be created. In so far as the administrative machinery is concerned, the Community Development Blocks and the newly introduced Panchayati Raj institutions in several states can be of help. They have to contact the people, explain to them the urgency of the national defence and planning effort and thereby boost production measures.

The labour front is immensely significant for stepping up industrial production. The Marxian concept of class struggle has to be replaced by a new dedication of all sections of society to the vast work of national defence. The Union Labour Ministry has set up an Emergency Production Committee and this will be in charge of implementing the Industrial

<sup>1</sup> These figures refer to the year 1962.

**Trade Resolution** in relation to production. It will also recommend measures for stepping up industrial productivity and suggest measures for economising the production costs. The Union Ministry of Labour has initiated a program of the training of 60,000 skilled craftsmen. A National Labour Corps is also being organized, the personnel of which will be available for defence works and this will contain mobile units.

I may suggest the setting up of a body like Man-power Mobilization Board. This board will have accurate population statistics with the statewise breakdown. If seven lac persons are needed for the territorial army and ten lac persons for the Home Guards, where are these people to be found and how can they be recruited to their posts,—this Board will be in charge of such problems.

To hold the price line is extremely essential for keeping the economy going and for retaining the confidence of the consumers. Blackmarketing and charging excess profits have to be seriously dealt with. It may be that sometimes rationing and controls may have to be introduced. All these will involve administrative changes. It is possible that a new department or a new division in the central finance department or a new division in the finance departments at the state level may be set up to cope with the new situation.<sup>1</sup>

The tax-collection machinery has to be improved and the realisations have to be brought upto date. This may involve improvement of staffing, and also provision for the training of the old and the new staff. It is possible that new taxes will be levied and hence the administrative machinery has to be still further perfected.

It is expected that the budget figures will increase manifold. The old categorial budget with its heavy details will not serve the purpose now. Hence it may be essential to adopt the "performance budget" as recommended by the First Hoover Commission in America at least for the national administration.

#### RURAL LEADERSHIP AND MASS COMMUNICATION

Interaction is a basic concept in the modern social sciences. Hence the old dichotomy of individual and society has now to be replaced because the individual *qua* himself is only a theoretical abstraction. He is a crystallization of multiple social element in a process of reciprocal action and interaction. Nor is the society an inert mass of desperate individuals but is in flux on account of incessant relationships. The 'masses' are not one monolithic colossus. They consist of a vast number

At some places such departments have been set up.



of individuals amongst whom ceaseless processes of interactions are going on. Hence we have to stress the categories of interactions and inter-communications in any social research.

Due to the industrial and scientific revolutions of the last two centuries the masses even of the so-called immobile East are in a ferment and are gaining stature. They have also been exposed to all kinds of newer ideas and revolutionary ideologies due to the impact of the media of communication. If we apply the concepts of sociology of knowledge we can say that the roots of concepts like justice, liberty and social and economic equality, that are pulsating the people of the East lie in a new environmental situation that is being slowly created for the Oriental intellectuals and masses.

A realistic sociological and economic approach is essential to grasp the multiple problems of the villages. A mere idealization of the villages as they are may be congruous with our romantic longings but it is clear beyond doubt that the most of the villages today are, more or less, lifeless from Western standards. The benefits of the schemes of Community Development are monopolized by the upper sections and the clever people. But the mute millions for whom Gandhi stood are still in miserable condition.

There are two approaches to the solution of the problems of Indian villages. One is the Gandhian philosophy and technic of Constructive Programme. In recent years the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Commission has seriously taken up some items of Gandhian economics for rural reconstruction. The community development schemes also partake of some elements of Gandhian philosophy. The second is a more radical scientific and technological approach. It would think in terms of industrialization and mechanization. I have no objection to the philosophy of industrialization and mechanization as such. But I have doubts whether we can muster the requisite amount of capital and resources for this stupendous process. A very large number of our population is living on the brink of semi-starvation. At such a critical period to think that there will be capital formation by tightening of the belts is a sheer delusion. It is not a question of resistance to socio-economic change. I am certainly not opposed to the sociology of change. I am all for desired changes. But I think that large-scale industrialization and mechanization is not immediately possible in the present state of our meagre resources. Hence for a long time to come one has to think in terms of a balanced growth whereby the benefits both of industrialization and agrarian reconstruction may be available for us. This will mean that a combination of industrial economics and Gandhian-Sarvodaya economics is needed. India lives



in villages. Nearly 75% of the Indian population is scattered in the more than 5 lacs of India's villages. In spite of the trend towards urbanization, the urban population, quantitatively speaking, is rather very small. In the United States 70% of the population live in 60 big cities. But although there has been a serious decline of the rural population in U.S.A., the quantum of agricultural production there, compared to the agrarian countries of the East, is, thanks to mechanization, unbelievably large. But since India does not have the requisite resources, for a long time to come, one has to think in terms of the combination of modern industrial economics and the Gandhian-Sarvodaya economics.

Leadership is based on some kind of real or assumed but accepted superiority. Leadership implies the capacity to lead others. This involves the capacity to influence the will of others. Sometimes in democratic politics only this *influencing* aspect of leadership is present. But in non-democratic politics the aspects of domination over others and manipulating their will become uppermost. In democratic countries the aspect of mutual give-and-take is also present. There the leader is far more accessible to the followers and makes efforts to accommodate the ideas of the followers to his own program. But in totalitarian politics the element of formal positive command and constraint based on the control of the media of communication and physical violence is much too apparent. Thus there is a fundamental disparity between the technics for leadership employed in the democratic and totalitarian politics. Nevertheless, so much is common at the conceptual level that both the democratic and totalitarian leaders attempt to influence the will of others; although it is also true that in the totalitarian politics the element of influencing is heightened to become transformed into the exercise of power based on force and even including physical violence.

If we were to apply Max Weber's typology of leadership we can say that the *purohita* and the upper castes in village India have been the representatives of *traditional* leadership. In modern India we have had several great examples of *charismatic* leaders. Dayananda, Vivekananda, Tilak and Gandhi are examples of charismatic leaders basing their authority on moral personality, self-abnegation, *tapasya* and God-realization. The civil service in its comprehensive sense including the official hierarchy from the top administrative and managerial heads to the ministerial staff represents *rational* or *legal* leadership since it derives its authority from a regular system of institutionalized legal norms. This system of rational-legal leadership is a new growth in India. The Mughal nobility was partly hereditary. But the East India Company introduced the modern element of a bureaucracy based on the holding of office as a life tenure.

The new rural leadership that is to be fostered by the schemes of community development and democratic decentralization is bound to be of the rational-legal type since by the very process of *creating a leadership* the other two categories—the traditional and the charismatic—are barred. A charismatic leader is a stupendous figure. He asserts himself by the sheer weight and vehemence of his personality. He appears at critical times on the scene of history. He cannot be made to order. The small-scale work that is contemplated for a rural leader at the level of villages is much too pedestrian a task for a charismatic leader. The traditional type of leadership is a historical growth and its roots lie in traditions, customs and beliefs. Hence the leadership that is to be created for works of village reconstruction can be regarded as belonging to the rational-legal ideal type in Weber's terminology. Fostering of leadership qualities in a chosen group of people is a deliberate process involving the use of reason and will. Hence it is clear that the new leadership that is contemplated to emerge is definitely of the rational type. It is possible that some individuals belonging to groups that had been enjoying traditional leadership may get themselves drafted for this new type of leadership also. But it is not always bound to be so, since newer forces are also working that would bring to the front sections not belonging to the group of old traditional leadership.

It is true that in the villages a struggle for leadership is going on. The traditional leadership of the brahmin has been shaken. The super-temporal world is not taken very seriously by the Indian youth today. The abolition of the *zemindari* has also shaken the leadership of the feudal elements but still the big owners of landed estates have advantageous position and can still control the laborers to a certain extent. The educated sections are fast fleeing from the villages and thus the natural leadership which the intellectual section could have provided is not available. The new programs of national extension and community development have not yet succeeded in providing the requisite incentive for the growth of a functional leadership in the villages.

The word mass signifies a more or less loosely organised and consequently heterogeneous cluster of human beings. The difficulties of transport had rendered possible the existence of the masses. But the increasing use of the modern devices of transportation and mass media of communication are slowly making even this disorganized mass somewhat more organized. But there is the danger that the dissemination of the symbols of the ruling groups rendered possible today by the mass media of communication may lead to the growth of uniformity amongst a population that has been so far leading, more or less, a regional or local existence. But

this uniformity though it may, to some extent, serve the interests of the ruling group is not desirable from the standpoint of the fostering of the free organic life of the Indian nation.

Hitherto the life of the Indian masses has been influenced by traditional opinion-leaders. These, mostly, have been of the type of the *purohita*, the astrologer, the old men of the village and the *ojha* (the exerciser of ghosts). But now opinion-leaders are changing. Those villagers who earn some money in the towns, have begun playing the roles of opinion-leaders. They also serve as sources for communicating information from the towns to the villages. But the danger is also there that sometimes those opinion-leaders living on the margins of the villages and towns may act as socially deviant forces since they sometimes act as sources for inciting litigation. In the olden times the religious preachers (*kathavachakas*) used to act as disseminators of knowledge and they also had important roles to play as opinion-leaders. In modern times Gandhi and Vinoba have revived that old practice at a much bigger level in the shape of their *prarthana-sabhas*.

We have to build up an operational machinery for effective communication of new ideas through rural leaders. Among the new leaders we want initiative, intelligence, education, say up to the Matriculation standard and above all a sense of dedication to the cause of village reconstruction on democratic patterns.

#### CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS

The Preamble of the Indian Constitution stresses the realization of liberty, equality, fraternity and socio-economic justice. The chapter III of the Indian Constitution seeks to crystallize the individualistic approach to democracy with the dominant emphasis on personal freedom, rule of law, equality and civil rights. In Chapter IV of the Indian Constitution in the shape of Directive Principles of State Policy an attempt has been made to highlight the element of a just socio-economic order which enshrines the absence of exploitation, the elimination of monopoly, the effectuation of a higher standard of living and an over-all realization of prosperity by all sections of the population. The concepts of welfare state, socialistic pattern of society and democratic socialism are formulations of the basic economic aspirations of the Indian people. Through the three Five-Year Plans an attempt has been made towards the accentuation of agricultural and industrial productivity, the growth of community life, expansion of educational opportunities and betterment of the conditions of the hitherto suppressed sections, etc. Through the

Panchayati Raj schemes, it is hoped that a revitalized grass roots democracy may be built up.

But democracy in India has been faced with severe strains inspite of three successful general elections. Despite foreign aid, the task of industrializing a big country has led to immense rise in prices which tends to shatter the middle classes and to create an atmosphere of general economic insecurity and deep frustration. Another serious portent is the expansionist and hegemonist design of communist China which believes in the manufacture and import of revolutions through resort to arms. The unholy alliance between Rawalpindi and Peking is a malicious move against India and it has seriously dislocated India's national energies. At the administrative level also, there have been charges of corruption. Sometimes disruptionist forces of a regionalist character also begin to rise.

But one does not have to despair. Our strength lies in our cultural traditions of amity, tolerance, reciprocity and compassion. From the time of the Vedic seers to Lord Buddha and Mahavira and the great saints like Tulsidas and Vivekananda our moral teachers have inculcated the virtues of tolerance and let live which is a fundamental element of democratic ethics. Mahatma Gandhi demonstrated the efficacy of non-violence as a technic of mass action against an alien regime. It is pleasant to contemplate that the Gandhian legacy is still with us and has not absolutely withered away.

A new Westernized elite is also growing in this country which sincerely believes in the values of liberty, equality and justice and the maintenance of the democratic institutional structure. This elite may act as a counterpoise to the rise of militarism.

Our greatest need is peace. If we can have peace, we can build up the stable economic foundations of a democratic order. More than the internal dangers of social oligarchy, very low per capita income and illiteracy, I am specially worried about external threats. But if our enemies can be kept under leash, I am sure we shall be able to advance on the democratic path. We are making a big experiment in democratic socialism and it is well to remember that freedom is a whole and a threat to democracy in any part of the world constitutes a threat to the freedom of man.

The concrete technics for the realization of welfare as the goal of the democratic aspirations of the people of India will depend on the successful actualization of the following program :—

(i) The interests of the masses of toiling humanity of peasant and workers are to be given the uppermost priority. This means the growing

expansion of the public sector, increasing control over private sector, land to the landless, and increasing restrictions on inheritance. The control of prices is essential if the faith of the people in the economy is not to be shaken.

(ii) Free and compulsory education to all children till the age of 14 has to be imparted. Technical and university education has to be cheapened.

(iii) The 'Panchayati Raj' schemes have to be implemented vigorously and efforts for the realization of a casteless and classless society are to be made. The scheme of "Democratic Decentralization" as being implemented in Andhra, Rajasthan and Kerala and other places should be extended to other areas and increasing efforts have to be made for the success of community development experiments.

(iv) Trade unions should have the power of free bargaining. Except in essential industries which constitute the life-blood of the nation, it is inadvisable for the state to attempt to control the activities of trade unions. The wage structure has to be regulated in accordance with the price index and the criteria of a civilized standard of living.

(v) Political parties should maintain their integrity and acceptance of large funds from companies is to be considered a calculated damage to public welfare because it strengthens the powers of the economic magnates.

(vi) In the context of rampant linguism, regionalism and provincialism in the country additional stress has to be laid on national and emotional integration.

(vii) Increasing opportunities for making available constitutional remedies for the enforcement of Fundamental Rights and adequate implementation of the Directive Principles of State Policy, are to be considered categorical juristic imperatives for modern Indian society and state.

(viii) Another suggestion that I would like to make is to bring about greater rationality between the structure of the administrative units—the sevenfold vertical hierarchy of (i) the union, (ii) the states, (iii) the divisions, (iv) the districts, (v) the sub-divisions and blocks and (vi) the thanas and village panchayats and (vii) villages—and the units for parliamentary, legislative and local self-governmental elections.

# ALBERT SCHWEITZER : HIS PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE (A HOMAGE)

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## I

It was 1905. A thirty-year-old brilliant young man of Strasburg was highly perturbed on hearing the dire distress of millions of primitive men in the 'Dark Continent'. He was very much shocked to learn that people there died in thousands for want of proper medical care and aid. He felt a kind of inward conflict. He resolved to dedicate himself to the cause of suffering humanity. He gave up his teaching work in the University and began to study medicine, for he wanted to become a physician, a 'jungle doctor', in far-off Africa to give succour to the suffering millions there. The young man who took this momentous decision was Albert Schweitzer, whose death at the ripe old age of 90 the whole world mourned in September last.

## II

Schweitzer was born in Upper Alsace on the 14th June, 1875. He was the eldest son of his parents. He gave evidence of his intellectual brilliance in his student days. His favourite subjects were History and Philosophy. The promise which he had evidenced during his student career was worthily redeemed when at the age of 24 he earned his doctorate for his thesis on the Religious Philosophy of Kant. But he did not rest on his laurels. He carried on researches on the life of Jesus and in 1901 published two theological works on the life and teachings of Jesus. The English translations of these works were entitled 'The Mystery of the Kingdom of God' and 'The Quest of the historical Jesus'. These works earned for him a place of honour among the theologians of the Christian world.

Besides Theology and Philosophy, music also had great attraction for him. He was not simply a lover of music, but also a musician himself. He also took interest in the lives and works of great musi-

cians. His treatise on Bach added to his reputation as an author.

In 1903 Schweitzer got an appointment in the Theology Faculty of the University of Strasburg and by 1905 he became the Head of that Faculty. But he soon realised that mere theoretical study of the Scriptures does not lead to God-realisation ; he felt that to love and serve humanity is to love and serve God. As said before, he studied the science of medicine for several years and turned a full-fledged physician. In 1912 he married Helen Bresslau. She proved herself a worthy consort of a worthy husband. She trained herself as a nurse and in 1913 she accompanied her husband when he started for Africa. The Schweitzers chose a place in the Equatorial Zone of Africa, then under French Colonial Rule, as the scene of their activities. They had to work against heavy odds, but they finally succeeded in establishing a hospital at Lambrene in the province of Gabon and by the river Ogwe. Schweitzer there got the opportunity of treating hundreds of persons suffering from various tropical diseases, and specially from leprosy. But at the outbreak of World War No. 1 his initial progress was held up for the time being. The Schweitzers being German subjects were interned by the French Government. Schweitzer was an ever active man and he could not afford to remain idle during his internment. In prison he took to intellectual pursuit and prepared the draft of his works on the philosophy of culture and civilisation. The year 1923 saw the publication of his two philosophical treatises, *The Decay and Restoration of Civilisation* and *Civilization and Ethics*. He also wrote a travelogue on the forestland of Africa. In 1925 he returned to his old field of activity in Africa and stayed there till his death. In 1928 he got the Goethe Prize. His original interest in Theology led him to publish a new work entitled *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle*. But his interest was not confined to Christian theology alone ; he made a critical study of Hindu Thought and prepared a work bearing the title, *The Indian Thought and Its Development*. In 1952 he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace.

### III

To understand Schweitzer's philosophy of life more fully, we should turn to the pages of his *Civilisation and Ethics*. This work starts with a theoretical pessimism in its attempt to find a scientific explanation of the world, but it ends with an optimism which it discovers in reverence for life.

After an enquiry into the etiology of the maladies of modern civilisation Schweitzer comes to the conclusion that it has always aimed at 'world- and life-affirmation'. But mere world-affirmation is not enough, for there cannot be any true ethics based on 'nature-philosophy'. Ethical philosophy should always be prompted by the will-to-live. But though he is speaking in vitalistic terms, he is not upholding any kind of philosophy of will for power in the Nietzschean fashion, nor is he supporting hedonism after the manner of Spencer. He preaches that ethical self-fulfilment can be had through a mystical devotion to, and reverence for, life which prompts an individual to dedicate himself to the cause of all living existence. The moral good consists in "maintaining, assisting and enhancing life". Living for the sake of mere living is not enough—living becomes meaningful only when one is able to live in co-operation with others. As Schweitzer puts it beautifully, "I am life which wills to live in the midst of life which wills to live". In other words, "self-devotion for the sake of life motivated by reverence for life" should be the moral watch-word, according to Schweitzer.

The ambit of reverence for life should be wide enough to include compassion for all living beings. The ideal is comparable to the Indian ideal of *ahimsā* to all creatures. Schweitzer expresses his appreciation of Indian thought thus : "It reaches the point of taking into account the fact that our ethical behaviour must not only concern our human neighbour but all living things". He, however, admits that there may be exceptions to the ideal of 'non-killing' and 'non-harming' and hence one cannot be a *blind* supporter of this ideal of *ahimsā*.

Though Schweitzer appreciates the Hindu ideal of *ahimsā*, he is occasionally critical of Hindu philosophy of life. He characterises it as one-sided, inasmuch as it, in his opinion, results in other-worldiness and life-negation and encourages individuals to care more for their personal salvation than for others. Without entering into any controversy, it may be said that Schweitzer does not make full justice to Hindu thought here. But his criticism brings to light one thing, namely, that in his opinion no ethical system which proceeds by the negative method of withdrawal from the world can succeed. The moral man should be active, dynamic and creative. He should be conscious of the meaningfulness of life.

As an ever-active but humble servant of God,<sup>1</sup> Schweitzer believes that a truly moral man should always surrender himself into the hands of Universal Reason. So ultimately he develops a reverence



for God-Nature and this constitutes the source of all inspiration. With regard to God, Schweitzer feels like Goethe that

“ He rightly is the world’s deep-centered motion,  
Nature and He in mutual devotion,  
So that what lives and moves and is in Him,  
Will never find His strength or spirit dim.”

#### IV

Though Schweitzer lived the life of a hermit in a far-off African village, he was not indifferent to the events of the political world outside. What disturbed him most at the end of the Second World War was the dismal possibility of a nuclear warfare. In some of his important speeches and writings he asserted that “ those who have the authority to take responsibility ” should concentrate all their mite on “ the renunciation of nuclear weapons”. He was no believer in the theory of ‘ armed Peace’. As he said in one of his broadcasts to the Nuclear Powers of the world, “ The theory of peace through terrifying an opponent by a greater armament can now only heighten the danger of war”. What is needed most in the present hour of crisis is the re-discovery of Universal Humanism. As he said, “ The awareness that we are all human beings together has become lost in war and through politics.....Now we must rediscover the fact that we *all together*—are human beings and that we must strive to concede to each other what moral capacity we have.....The spirit is a mighty force for transforming things.... Now let us set our hopes on the spirit bringing peoples and nations back to an awareness of culture”.

Indeed, the best way to pay our homage to this Great Apostle of Peace would be to develop a rounded world-view instead of an angular one and to inculcate the spirit of Love towards all.

# A NOTE ON THE OBSTRUCTIONS TO THE RIVER-BORNE TRADE ALONG THE GANGES AND THE JUMNA IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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Since the debacle of Plassey, there had been a steady decline in the internal commerce of the Bengal Presidency. It had definitely stirred the minds of even the philanthropic Englishmen, and Lord Cornwallis stated in 1789 : "I am sorry to be obliged to say that agriculture and internal commerce has for many years been gradually declining....." The Company's Government did not adopt effective measures to check this rot which seriously hampered the economic progress of this Presidency in the 1st half of the 19th Century. Many reasons have been stated by different writers on the economic history of this period ; but one point is generally overlooked or underestimated. Considerable damage had been wrought to the internal commerce of the country by the obstructions to the trade carried on along the principal arteries of commerce at that time.

Land carriage being comparatively expensive and hazardous, rivers formed the principal routes of commerce in the Bengal Presidency. The two streams of the Ganges and the Jumna intersecting the whole of the Bengal Provinces from one end to the other and terminating in the port of Calcutta were naturally the great channels and high roads of internal trade of the country. Though a great part of the trade was conducted by land in the Upper Provinces, the Jumna and the Ganges (to a limited extent) there also presented themselves as the principal routes of commerce. Thus in the Upper and Lower Provinces, these two rivers formed the natural lines to be guarded for the levy of Transit and Town Duties which were a peculiar feature of the economic life of the country at that time.

Customs Duties on the internal trade were one of the principal sources of revenue to the state and for the protection of that revenue, Section 11 of Regulation IX of 1810 provided that chokeys should be established on the principal routes of commerce. This section was interpreted to authorise such a distribution of the various custom house chokeys as best to secure the public revenue derived from these duties. A large number of chokeys were, therefore, situated along the whole length of these two channels. The lines of the Jumna and the Ganges had to be guarded, although not specifically indicated in the Regulation, and in no instance it was deemed

sufficient merely to establish a set of chokeys round the head station of the Collector of Customs. In this manner the establishments for the collection of the Transit Duties had been for the most part placed on the great routes and navigable rivers throughout the country. "The only difference then", wrote the Board of Customs to Sir Metcalfe, Vice-President in Council, on 17th October, 1832, "between the present location of the custom house chokeys and that which prevailed on the promulgation of Regulation IX of 1810 would seem to be the great number of them now established in order to embrace different marts or gunjes that have started up since that time, the discretion so to extend them being vested in government...." In other words this provision contained in itself a principle of unlimited extension of chokeys. As every new course of trade required a new chokey and as trade was continually finding new channels for itself, an endless multiplication of chokeys was the consequence. Within a few years after the promulgation of Regulation IX of 1810, chokeys multiplied in an alarming rate. Autumnal leaves were not perhaps more thickly strewn in the vallambrosa than the routes of commerce of the country were infested with customs chokeys.

The obstructions to trade along the Ganges and the Jumna can be best understood by stating the numerous stations where the boats were liable to stop for searching according to the regulations of internal customs. In the Agra Provinces a chokey occurred at every 5 miles. After a merchant had cleared the Delhi Chokeys, he had to run the gamut of those of Meerut; and after he got clear of those, he had to enter upon those of Barielly or Furrackabad.<sup>2</sup> On the whole line of the Jumna from the point where it entered the British territory to its junction with the Ganges at Allahabad, there were no less than 133 custom chokeys where boats and merchandise might be stopped and examined. In the Delhi territory alone, which extended from Kumaul, there were 35 different posts at which boats were liable to be stopped and searched. All of them were situated on the right bank of the Jumna. The jurisdiction of Meerut custom house extended along the opposite bank of the river from Padshamahall to a point somewhere below Delhi. Mr. Glynn of Meerut custom house stated that there were only 9 posts attached to it. Mr. Laing of Agra said that there were altogether 38 chokeys belonging to his custom house. There were 8 chokeys on the left bank of the Jumna under the control of the Kanpur custom house; and Allahabad custom house had 8 subordinate posts.<sup>3</sup>

On the Ganges from Hardwar to Calcutta, the number of custom chokeys was represented to be 106 of which 86 were stated to be places

<sup>1</sup> Progs., G.I. Finance (Sept. Rev.), No. 2, of 25th February, 1835.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 7, of 24th February, 1836.

<sup>3</sup> Trevelyan's *Report on the Navigation along the Jumna and the Ganges*, 1st September, 1832.

See Progs., Board of Customs, Salt and Opium (Customs), No. 23, of 10th October, 1832.

of search. On this river there were 3 principal chokeys in the Barielly Division; 8 in the Meerut Division; 15 in the Furruckabad Division; 12 in the Kanpur district of the Allahabad Division; 1 principal chokey in Allahabad proper; 12 more in the Allahabad district; and 2 in the Mirzapur district of the Benares Division. The greatest obstruction to trade on the Ganges existed between Patna and Calcutta. It is evident from the records of the Board of Customs that while the number of chokeys between Mirzapur and Patna was only 7, there were 28 chokeys between Patna and Calcutta. In his "Report upon the Inland Customs and Town Duties of the Bengal Presidency, 1834", Charles Trevelyan, however, mentioned the following 15 chokeys between Patna and Calcutta<sup>4</sup>:

Patna Division	{	1st—A chokey four miles west of Patna, called in different lists Pylajah and Puneej.
		2nd—Patua Sudder Ghut.
		3rd—Jinjree Bang.
		4th—Futtoah.
		5th—Beeneepoor.
Moorshidabad Division.	{	6th—Ghysabad.
		7th—Sadikbagh.
		8th—Lalbaugh or the ghaut of the Moorshidabad Custom House.
		9th—Juggurnathpur.
Hooghly Division.	{	10th—Hooghly Sudder Ghaut.
		11th—Chuttrah.
		12th—Bullubpoor.
Calcutta Division.	{	13th—Balee Khal.
		14th—Bagh-bazar.
		15th—Calcutta Custom House.

These were quite independent of the Salt and Opium Chokeys for the protection of salt and opium revenue. Moreover, grave doubts were expressed whether all the existing chokeys were mentioned in the official lists. It should also be noted that only those custom-house posts legally termed as chokeys had been mentioned. No mention was made of those where single peons were stationed at numerous ghats and public ferries; and they were perhaps the greatest enemies to the commerce of the country. It was also probable that the officers at other chokeys stopped boats besides those which it was expressly enjoined.<sup>5</sup> The gravity of the situation is clearly understood by the fact that at each of these chokeys the custom officials could legally apply the right of detention and search for the purpose of protecting the revenue derived from the Transit and Town Duties. Whatever may be the real extent of the obstructions, they were sufficient to embarrass the navigation along the Ganges and the Jumna. As a result, the great staples of salt, cotton, ghee, etc., which were sent down in vast quantities to Delhi, Rewari, and other commercial

<sup>4</sup> Trevelyan's *Report* (1835 Edition), p. 18.

<sup>5</sup> *Progs.*, Board of Customs, Salt and Opium (Customs), No. 33, of 19th Oct., 1832.

towns, had to be sent on by a tedious and expensive land-carriage.\* This occasioned a great inconvenience and loss to the mercantile community. Considering the accumulated pressure of the machinery of chokeys upon the great channels of commercial intercourse, it is surprising that these two rivers could be used at all for the purposes of trade.

The impediments to the traffic on the Ganges and the Jumna together with the exaction by custom officials were the subject of frequent complaints by the mercantile community. Petitions were presented to the Governor-General and the grievances of the people were ventilated in public papers. During his tour in the Western Provinces in the middle of the year 1832 this subject attracted the serious attention of the Governor-General who directed Charles Trevelyan, the then Deputy Secretary in the Political Department, to prepare a report on the subject and to suggest certain measures of relief. After a mature consideration of the subject, Trevelyan submitted his "Report on the Navigation along the Jumna and the Ganges" on 1st September, 1832. This report clearly revealed how the country was caught in the monstrous web of custom chokeys and the disastrous effects of these impediments to trade along these two rivers. As a remedy, Trevelyan proposed that the right of search should be limited to the Head Custom House and that the subordinate chokeys should be strictly prohibited from interfering at all with the river-borne commerce, further than to prevent the clandestine shipment and unloading of goods. Trevelyan thought that this measure would not be resented by the country merchants, as the custom house was generally situated at the great marts of trade where boats would otherwise have occasion to stop. Moreover, the presence of a European Officer, as Trevelyan observed, would secure the merchant from detention or exaction or at least afford him the means of immediate redress if any such was attempted.

The report submitted by Trevelyan was referred to the Board of Customs by Mr. Secretary Prinsep for observation and comment. The report was thoroughly examined and a letter to Sir Metcalfe, Vice-President in Council, was written on 17th October, 1832, by G. Chester and H. Sargent of the Board of Customs. "That great vexation to the people", it was written in that letter, "is occasioned by the power indiscriminately assumed by, if not by law vested in, all the native officers of our custom house chokeys of detaining boat with a view to the examination of their contents is unquestionably true. It is also clearly a primary duty of the Government so to adjust their checks against evasion of the duties through these chokeys as to render them as little burthensome as possible to the fair trader and traveller. The only question then seems to be

how far the exercise of a power, which is then acknowledged to be the great source of abuse can be reduced or taken away without at the same time impairing the revenue derived from our internal duties." The Board remarked that the measures proposed by Trevelyan were not well-conceived; and they would not afford ample relief from the evil complained of to the people. It was also remarked that they could not be adopted to the extent proposed without having the immediate effect of greatly reducing the revenue. Chester and Sargent observed in their lengthy letter that the establishment of chokeys along with the right of stoppage and search was an unavoidable requirement of the system under which Transit and Town Duties were collected. If the revenue was to be collected, chokeys minus the power of detention and examination would be a complete farce. "It must be evident," they asserted, "that a tax levied on the transit of goods, though intended only to bear on articles of commerce and the general merchant, can be enforced only by a uniform unsparing examination of all boats or other means of conveyance; for if any were exempt, the ingenuity of the speculator would soon lead him to assume the appearance of a privileged conveyance but travellers are to the merchant in the proportion of at least ten to one. It seems therefore to be a necessary consequence that the ten must be inconvenienced in order that the one may not escape this is the real source of the whole evil now so strongly represented. No one can be more sensible than ourselves of its existence and of its extent; but so long as Government impose on us the management of the impost, we would ill perform our duty where we, for the sake of the good word of ten, to relax our security that the eleventh shall not find the means of evasion by assimilating himself and his conveyance to that usual with the traveller."

But the Board admitted the necessity of minimising the evils and accordingly submitted their own proposals. First, the evil might be mitigated by at once withdrawing the privilege of stopping boats from all but certain chokeys to be specified and a list of them should be published. Secondly, the occasions of the detention would be diminished by confining the examination and endorsement to the outer chokey with notice to the Collector. Thirdly, the chokey officers stationed at ferries and cross routes should be restricted from interfering at all with navigation or with the riverborne commerce, unless goods should be loaded or put on board at their ghats. "The full adoption of this plan", they hoped, "will probably enable Government to effect a saving in the establishments of some of the river chokeys, but much judgement and discretion will be necessary in making out the lists of those chokeys which are to be retained with the power of examination, with reference especially to intermediate marts and to the condition of the western salt trade, which is by far the most fruitful source of revenue in the western territory."

The Board, at the same time, proposed that a special officer should be appointed for the consistent execution of the new arrangement. This officer should be directed to proceed down the river and enquire into the circumstances of each chokey. These suggestions were carried into effect in the provinces west of Allahabad. Seven stations on the Jumna and six on the Ganges were fixed by the Governor-General, at which boats were liable to stoppage and search. As regards the navigation on the Ganges below Allahabad, the Board was again directed on 6th November, 1832, to prosecute enquiries with a view to the limitation of the number of search chokeys on the Ganges and other rivers of Bengal and Bihar. However, in their letter of 5th February, 1833, the Government gave the following instructions :

“Paragraph 4. In determining the places at which boats shall hereafter be stopped below Allahabad, it will not be necessary to lay down as an invariable rule (A), that they should be stopped at the commencement and end of each separate custom jurisdiction, (B) in some cases, as for instance, in the Gazeepur and Benares districts, where there are no intermediate chokeys, this rule it is conceived, would multiply the impediments to the navigation to an extent much beyond those which exist at present : and it is by no means clear what circumstances are supposed by the Board to render it of peculiar importance, that boats in transit should be stopped and examined at the two extreme limits (C) of each custom house jurisdiction, more than at any other place.

“Paragraph 5. The object of the custom restrictions under the present system is to lay the transit trade of the country under contribution, whatever its direction may be ; and in applying our checks to this purpose, it is obvious that we must be guided entirely by local considerations. The salt trade which crosses the line of the Jumna from west to east, requires that preventive establishments should be kept up at as many places as it can be conveyed across the river that is at every ford and ferry ; while the river-borne commerce, which follows the line of the Jumna, need only be stopped at such intervals as will prevent any considerable transit trade from being carried on in the intermediate spaces without paying duty. If this purpose is sufficiently answered by detaining boats at the Sudder Custom Houses (D) it would of course be improper to lay any additional restrictions on the freedom of the navigation ; and if not, such additional stations should be fixed on for stopping and examining boats as the existing routes of trade, and the situations of its entrepots may suggest ; but unless recommended by either of these considerations, there is nothing in the extreme limits of the jurisdiction of each custom house, which makes them a more desirable (E) situation for intercepting the trade of the country than any other.

“Paragraph 6. It must not be forgotten that river-borne trade is almost invariably bound for some principal mart, where it will be subject



to examination by our custom house officers ; that the distance between any two sudder custom houses is generally so small (F) as not to admit of any important trade being carried on, upon the intervening portion of the river, without passing either one or the other of them ; and lastly, that the operation of loading and unloading the cargoes of boats is not such as is usually resorted to by smugglers, particularly as they would have to do it in defiance of the custom house officers, who are not stationed to guard the fords and ferries of the rivers ; and after all, the only advantage which they could derive from the transaction would be the transport of their goods free of duty on that limited portion of the river, which intervenes between two sudder custom houses."

In their letter of 11th March 1833, the Board of Customs put forward their recommendations after a minute examination of the different points of instructions given by the Governor-General. As to the first one, the Board conceived it to be essential to the interests of the revenue that this should be laid down as an invariable rule, (B). The Board did not clearly apprehend the argument of Government. When there were no intermediate chokeys between two custom stations, the impediments to the navigation could not be multiplied by a mere maintenance of the present principle of search. The Board could not also discover what additional impediments the principle of stopping boats at the commencement and end of each jurisdiction was likely to throw in the way of commerce. In the case of point C, the Board apprehended some erroneous impression on the part of the Government with respect to the "Custom House jurisdiction". Government perhaps inferred that where a custom house was established, its jurisdiction extended over the district of that name. But that was not the case. Its jurisdiction extended nowhere beyond the boundaries of the belt of chokeys drawn round the town, for the protection of revenue derived from transit duties. As regards point D, the Board did not dispute this position. They only apprehended that the purpose referred to in that point would not be sufficiently answered by detaining boats at the sudder custom houses. On the point E, no separate explanation was offered. Lastly, (F), the Board were unable to concur in the assumption that the distances between two sudder custom houses were generally so small as assumed by the Government.

Though the Board did not agree with the view that inland commerce had declined due to the obstructions along the principal routes of commerce, it was asserted that utmost exertion should be made to remove those which did really exist. According to the Board, some of the chokeys then empowered to search boats in passing, might be converted into chokeys for the prevention of loading or unloading goods not protected by rowannah. Other search chokeys again might be moved nearer to the sudder station, and some perhaps altogether abolished. The number of



custom house chokeys where boats were liable to stoppage and between Patna and Calcutta, was accordingly reduced to 15 as mentioned in Trevelyan Report upon the Inland Customs and Town Duties in the Bengal Presidency. In spite of the reduction in the number of chokeys, in actual practice, the obstruction to the river-borne trade along the Ganges and the Jumna was not considerably diminished.

While the Board of Customs and the Government were engaged in a paper warfare, the internal commerce of the country was crying for redress. It is a wonder that the trade along the Ganges and the Jumna was not totally paralysed. The immediate result of the obstructions to this trade was that small traders were being elbowed out of it and smuggling by organised gangs became a usual practice. In his evidence before the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company, 1832 Holt Mackenzie said :

“I think they must do so in a considerable degree ; for small capitals can hardly pay their way through the custom houses they will meet if moving to any considerable distance. The great highway of Calcutta for many hundred miles is the river Ganges ; and along that river the custom house posts are chiefly stationed. Now, from the central district of Allahabad there are 8 custom houses including that station and Calcutta and to each custom house there are several posts attached, at each of which the goods of the merchant are liable to detention and search. So, all goods making use of that great channel of inland communication, especially those belonging to petty merchants are subject doubtless to a very considerable tax in the shape of bribery, delay and annoyance.”

Charles Trevelyan also observed in his Report on Inland Customs : “Persons in moderate circumstances cannot enter into it, because the custom system entails upon them expenses which are beyond their means and renders the inland trade precarious and slow in its returns instead of quick and sure ; and all are deferred by the intricacy of the law... The result is that the inland trade of the Presidency is a virtual monopoly in the hands of a comparatively few rich merchants.”<sup>1</sup> What the Board of Customs and the Government failed to realise was that the root of all evils lay in the principle of taxing general inland trade. So long as duties were levied on the internal transit trade, they were bound to hinder the traffic along the principal routes of commerce including those two great streams of the country. Thus, these obstructions were done away with only when the internal Transit Duty System was abolished in 1836 in the Bengal Presidency.

<sup>1</sup> Trevelyan Report, p. 79.

# THE BRITISH CONSERVATIVE PARTY AND THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1919\*

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## INTRODUCTION

In the history of the British Empire, the extension of the Parliamentary government and the Commonwealth principle to the non-white colonies, peoples of different races, cultures and nationalities raised baffling problems. In this context the Montagu Declaration of August, 1917, and the Government of India Act, 1919, constitute important landmarks. The Montagu Declaration defined for the first time the goal of British policy in India as the gradual development of parliamentary government and the Act of 1919 introduced a limited measure of parliamentary government in the Provinces. The purpose of this paper is to show that these decisions were taken in unusual circumstances and that the bulk of the Conservatives acquiesced in the decisions at the time partly because of the exaltation of feeling generated by war and mainly because of the fact that the existence of a Coalition Government with the Conservative Party as a major partner in it made it difficult for them to oppose the decisions, and that when in July, 1920, the Dyer incident provided them with a chance, they rose in open revolt against the Government's India policy.

It may be noted that before the Act of 1919 the principle on which the British Administration in India was based was one of constitutional autocracy, that is, both authority and responsibility for the governance in India were vested in the King-in-Parliament, and exercised through the agency of the Secretary of State for India in Council in London, the Governor-General-in-Council in Delhi, and the Governor-in-Council in different Provinces. The association of Indians with the administration was intended to acquaint the rulers with the opinion of the ruled, and not to establish responsible government on the British or Dominion model.<sup>1</sup>

\* See for controversies in the British Conservative Party on the Indian Problem in the thirties, the writer's papers, "The British Conservative Party and the Indian Problem, 1929-1934," *this Review*, Vol. 171, No. 1 (April, 1964), 55-71; "Decision-making and Power in the British Conservative Party: A case study of the Indian Problem, 1929-34," *Political Studies*, Journal of W. K. Political Studies Association, Vol. 13, No. 2 (June, 1965), 198-212 and "Pressure and Privilege: The Manchester Chamber of Commerce and the Indian Problem, 1924-1934," *Parliamentary Affix*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (1965), 201-215.

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the constitutional development in India since 1861, see A. B. Keith, *A Constitutional History of India, 1600-1935* (1936), 163-236; Sir Reginald Coupland, *Indian Problem, Part I: 1883-1935* (1942), 18-43; *The Cambridge History of British Empire*, Vol. V, *The Indian Empire*, chapters XI, XII, XVI, XXXI, XXXIII.

There was more than one reason for the fundamental change initiated by the Government of India Act, 1919. India, to begin with, took full part in the war by the side of the other peoples of the British Empire. She sent one million men to the battlefields. Over £146 million were voted from the revenues of British India towards the cost of the war, and the Princes and other wealthy Indians made generous gifts to the Government. Britain along with her allies were fighting to defend the twofold cause of national freedom and democracy from the assault of German militarism. On both counts some new response was needed to the appeals of Indian nationalism ; and by 1916 the Government of India had begun to press the British Government, despite the urgent preoccupation of the war, to consider yet another advance in Indian policy. At the end of 1916, the concordat between the Congress and the League enhanced the strength of Indian nationalism.<sup>1</sup> Just at that time Lloyd George succeeded Asquith as Prime Minister, and it was his powerful War Cabinet which found itself confronted with the Indian problem.

Both the August Declaration and the Government of India Act were settled by Lloyd George's War Cabinet and by Edwin Montagu, the Secretary of State for India. The Conservatives who, as members of the War Cabinet, had a direct hand in them were Bonar Law, Austen Chamberlain, Curzon, Milner, Balfour, and Carson. Carson resigned in January, 1918. Austen Chamberlain replaced Milner in April, 1918. The War Cabinet was wound up at the end of October, 1919, and the first peacetime Cabinet met on November 3, 1919. The new Cabinet thus inherited the measure ; and there was at this stage hardly scope for further discussion on the Bill for the Bill had already emerged as an agreed measure from a Joint Select Committee of both Houses. Those members of the Government, other than the Cabinet members, who had misgivings about the Act had no chance of raising their objections.<sup>2</sup> There was one exception to this. Birkenhead, as Lord Chancellor, persistently opposed the measure.<sup>3</sup> The bulk of the Conservatives acquiesced in the Act ; the public opposition came from a section of retired officials and merchants with direct investments in India, and from a handful of Conservative die-hards. But when the Conservatives found that the Act did not bring about any immediate solution of the Indian problem, they rose in open revolt against the Coalition Government's India policy. The occasion

<sup>1</sup> East India (Constitutional Reforms) : *Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms*, Cd. 9109 (1918) : (hereinafter referred to as Montagu-Chelmsford Report) Part I, Chapter I : Recent events in India, 8-24.

<sup>2</sup> Churchill, W. S., *Indian Speeches and an Introduction* (1931), 5-7.

<sup>3</sup> Lord Birkenhead, *Lord Birkenhead : The last Phase*, vol. II (1935), 245.

was provided by the Dyer incident. In fact, this was the first major revolt of the Conservatives against Lloyd George's Coalition.

## II. MONTAGU'S APPOINTMENT AS SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA

If any one man could be said to have been the author of the Government of India Act, 1919, it was undoubtedly Edwin Montagu, the Secretary of State for India. Montagu's enthusiasm for the reform of the Indian administration was already well known. He had been a reforming Under-Secretary of State for India, 1910-14, and he claimed subsequently that the one objective he had kept before him was the reform of the Indian administration, the introduction of a step towards self-government for India. He believed the only imperialism that was worth having was a trusteeship intended to develop the country into a partnership in the Commonwealth.<sup>1</sup> It was generally recognised that Montagu's Jewish background made him personally sympathetic to Indians and saved him from the sense of colour bar in his personal relations with them.<sup>2</sup> Montagu's appointment in the reconstructed Ministry of Lloyd George on July 17, 1917, was sensational,<sup>3</sup> and drew protests from *The Times* and the Conservative back-benchers. For on July 12, only a few days before, he had made a violent attack upon the Indian administration, whose ineptitude had been revealed in the Report of the Royal Commission on the Mesopotamia campaign<sup>4</sup>—a report that led Austen Chamberlain, the Secretary of State for India, to resign. Montagu stressed the need for a declaration of British objectives in India, for the immediate introduction of an instalment of reforms, and for giving the Indian Legislative Assemblies 'growing control' over the Executive.<sup>5</sup>

Lloyd George had a high opinion of Montagu's 'gifts of resource and imagination' and thought that he would be of service in the prosecution of war.<sup>6</sup> Pre-occupied with the direction of the war, Lloyd George was conscious of the important contributions that India was making to the war effort and of the necessity of reforms in the Indian administration to induce her to intensify her war effort. He himself made an appeal to the Indians for increased support for the war and an intensified programme of recruitment.<sup>7</sup> A radical in more than one respect, he was not precluded from making a new and bold approach in Indian affairs by any deep-seated prejudices.

<sup>1</sup> *The Times*, December 9, 1919.

<sup>2</sup> Edwin Montagu, *Indian Diary* (1930).

<sup>3</sup> Lord Sydenham, *My Working Life*, 363.

<sup>4</sup> *Report of the Royal Commission on Mesopotamia Campaign*, Cd. 3610 (1917).

<sup>5</sup> 95 *H.C.* (July 12, 1917), 2199-2210.

<sup>6</sup> D. Lloyd George, *War Memoirs* (1934), iii, 1067.

<sup>7</sup> Edwin Montagu, *An Indian Diary*, 352.

Lloyd George appointed Montagu in July, 1917, when he also brought in Winston Churchill. Because he was conscious of the opposition that these appointments might arouse in Unionist quarters, Lloyd George took care not to make his intention known to any Unionists except for Bonar Law and Milner, and to present the others with a *fait accompli*.<sup>1</sup> It seems that both Bonar Law and Milner acquiesced in Montagu's appointment, and they must have been aware of the far-reaching consequences that Montagu's appointment might have on Indian policy. It appears that Curzon, whose views about Indian affairs are well known, would have raised strong objections to Montagu's appointment if he had been given the opportunity.

Conservatives, who were like Curzon members of the Coalition Government, were precluded by constitutional niceties and decorum from giving any public expression to their indignation. But neither *The Times* nor the rank and file of the Party were under any such obligation. *The Times* immediately protested against Montagu's appointment.<sup>2</sup> A deputation consisting of 40 members of the Conservative Business Committee—a committee of the Conservative back-benchers—met Bonar Law in order to express their concern over ministerial appointments, and to demand a declaration from the British and Indian Governments of their non-association with Montagu's speech on the Mesopotamia debate.<sup>3</sup>

Bonar Law explained that Lloyd George, as the Prime Minister, had the right to select his colleagues and it was not possible for him to object to what Lloyd George did. Secondly, the appointments having been made it clearly became a question of confidence in the Government. Bonar Law could not accede to the other demand of the deputation that he would see that the Government made it clear that it did not associate itself with Montagu's speech on the Mesopotamia debate. He assured, however, them that no changes in the Indian Constitution would be made during the war and that the members of the Government understood amongst themselves that they were not in any way associated with Montagu's speech.<sup>4</sup> The din which attended Churchill's appointment tended, anyhow, to drown the objections which were made to that of Montagu.<sup>5</sup>

1 Addison, C., *Politics from Within*, ii, 157-158.

2 *The Times*, July 18, 1917.

3 W. A. S. Hewins, *The Apologia of an Imperialist: Forty Years of Empire Policy*, ii, 152-156. The Unionist Business Committee was set up in January, 1915. Hewins claims that it included 'most of the Conservative members not at the front'. Its object was to organise the critical and constructive forces of the back-benchers; it concentrated mainly on economic issues of the war and kept aloof from politics. Hewins, *Ibid*, 7-12.

4 Hewins, *op. cit.*, 152-156.

5 Frank Owen, *Temptuous Journey*, 416; see *The Spectator*, July 21, 1917.

## III. AUGUST DECLARATION OF 1917

The first steps towards the Government of India Act, 1919, had been taken before Montagu succeeded Austen Chamberlain as Secretary of State for India. In May, 1917, Chamberlain invited the attention of his colleagues to the very serious problems with which the Government of India were faced and requested a decision as to the action to be taken. "It is not too much to say," he wrote, "that upon a right decision at this critical time depends the peace and contentment of India for years and perhaps generations to come."<sup>1</sup>

The generally accepted view was that political concessions were due as a reward for the part played by India in the war. Curzon, who took a prominent part in the discussions, asserted that the Indian soldiers were the last people in the world to hanker after political concessions; the true reward for such services *in pari materia* was the grant of Commissions in the army to Indian officers. Curzon also did not think that one of those milestones had been reached at which constitutional reform could be said to be the legitimate outcome of acquired experience, or to be overdue. But the need to make 'concessions to India' arose "because of the free talk about liberty, democracy, nationality and self-government which have become the common shibboleths of the Allies, and because we are expected to translate into practice in our own domestic household the sentiments which we have so enthusiastically preached."<sup>2</sup>

It was generally agreed that, in some form or other, a statement by the Government to the effect that self-government within the British Empire was the goal at which they aimed, was desirable; it being clearly understood that it was under British guidance that this end must be pursued and could alone be achieved, and that there was no intention to weaken the essential safeguards of British justice and power.

One of the members of the Cabinet, whose name was not disclosed, did not think that it would be wise to use the expression 'self-government' in any formula which might be devised. He objected not to the setting up in India of a system under which that country would be more and more governed by Indians, but to the use of the term 'self-government', which seemed to him to have a precise technical meaning, namely, a Parliamentary system of Government on a democratic basis. And he thought that to graft such a system upon the ancient and unchanging social system of the East would be to produce a hybrid which would almost certainly be worthless and probably dangerous.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lord Ronaldshay, *The Life of Lord Curzon* (1928), iii, 162.

<sup>2</sup> Note written by Lord Curzon for the War Cabinet in June, 1917, as cited in Lord Ronaldshay, *Ibid.*, 163-164.

<sup>4</sup> Lord Ronaldshay, *op. cit.*, 165.

Apparently at this time the Government of India was not prepared to go further than an increase in the representative character and powers of the municipal councils and district boards. But this suggestion did not meet with the approval of Austen Chamberlain. He pointed out that to increase the number of elected members of a legislative body, without giving at the same time any real control in any department of government, would merely increase the number of irresponsible critics and would not affect any real advance in the direction of self-government. He thought that a scheme must be devised under which authority and responsibility would be conferred on members of the Legislature, and he proposed the appointment of a small commission to consider the best means by which this could be done.

As to a formula for the purpose of making the policy of the Government known, he did not think it possible to be more precise than to avow an intention to foster the gradual development of free institutions with a view to self-government.

The Cabinet's pre-occupation with the war inevitably delayed the decision of the question. While the discussions were going on between the Indian Government, the Indian Office in London, and the Cabinet, Austen Chamberlain resigned his office. Edwin Montagu, who succeeded him in July, 1917, in the reconstructed Coalition Government, submitted to the Cabinet a formula substantially the same as that suggested by his predecessor—'the gradual development of free institutions with a view to ultimate self-government within the Empire'. In place of a Commission, he suggested in accordance with an invitation issued by the Governor-General to Chamberlain, and now extended to himself, that he should proceed to India at the head of a small committee to investigate matters on the spot.<sup>1</sup>

The word 'self-government' in the formula drawn up by Montagu left open the question of the type of free institutions to be set up. But this formula did not satisfy Curzon and on the eve of its publication he redrafted it as follows :

"The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the Administration, and the gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire."<sup>2</sup>

This formula with some additions was adopted by the Cabinet and

<sup>1</sup> Lord Ronaldshay, *op. cit.*, 167.

<sup>2</sup> Ronaldshay, *op. cit.*, 167.



was communicated by Montagu in the House of Commons on August 20, 1917. The other important parts of the announcement are given below :

“ I would add that progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages. The British Government and the Government of India, on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and the advancement of the Indian peoples, must be the judges of the time and measure of each advance, and they must be guided by the co-operation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service will thus be conferred and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility.”<sup>1</sup>

There was no novelty in the first part of the two-fold policy set out in the announcement. The appointment of Indians to official posts had been foreshadowed as long ago as 1833, although too little had been done to make the intention good in the intervening period. The novelty of the announcement lay in the second part of it ; for this was, in the first place, the first time that the goal of British policy had been officially defined and in the second place the proposed method of attaining it was indicated. On the surface the words ‘ responsible government ’ are indefinite and vague, and open to different constructions. In fact, Curzon himself inserted these words in the belief that they had rather a vague and loose meaning and would not involve a commitment to any specific constitutional system, and felt that his formula was much ‘ safer and certainly nearer ’ to his point of view than the words favoured by Chamberlain and Montagu.<sup>2</sup> But read against the background of constitutional history in Great Britain or in the white colonies, the words ‘ responsible government ’ could only mean that the Government was to be responsible in the usual British sense. Responsible Government meant parliamentary or cabinet government such as had been gradually established in England after the glorious Revolution of 1688. Responsible government had also been the watch-word of reform in Canada in Durham’s day. So interpreted, the Declaration may be held to have represented a revolution in principle. And it therefore seems surprising that neither in the House of Commons nor in the House of Lords was there a debate on this significant declaration. Neither the Conservative back-benchers nor the retired officials raised their voices in alarm and protest. The reason for this complete absence of controversy seems to be that the Declaration was not taken by them to represent any departure from the established British policy. The knowledge that Curzon was its author may well have contributed to this misunderstanding.

<sup>1</sup> 97 H.C. (August 20, 1917) col. 1695-1696.

<sup>2</sup> See Curzon’s letters to Austen Chamberlain, dated August 25, 1917, and his letters to Irwin, dated October 17, 1917, as cited in Ronaldsday, *op. cit.*, 168.



## IV. MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD REPORT

But Montagu had no doubt on that score. As foreshadowed in the Declaration, he went to India at the head of a small committee and returned in the spring of 1918. He succeeded in having his way with the Governor-General, Lord Chelmsford.<sup>1</sup> 'The Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms,' which was published at mid-summer by him and Chelmsford, was essentially an expression of Montagu's own personality. It was dominated by a complete belief in the necessity of applying to India the institutions of British democracy.

Montagu and Chelmsford in their Report<sup>2</sup> did not try either to avoid or to minimise the difficulties of introducing responsible government in India. But they did deny that the difficulties were insuperable, if only Indians could be inspired, by a new sense of political obligation and by a new faith in the future of their country, to confront and grapple with them themselves.<sup>3</sup> In its essence, in fact, the Report was a declaration of faith in the philosophy of Liberalism: 'the character of political institutions reacts upon the character of the people. This fact, that the exercise of responsibilities calls forth the capacity for it, is the best ground for confidence in the working of self-government in India.... Our reason is the faith that is in us.'<sup>4</sup>

Montagu acknowledged the backwardness of the vast majority of the Indian people, and the fact that political interest was confined to the educated minority in towns who had not shown much interest in the problems of the countryside. While stressing the obvious need of a far wider system of popular education, Montagu did not propose to await the result of a process necessarily costly and protracted. The villagers must learn to stand on their own feet and use their votes to protect their rights. And to that end, indirect election to the Provincial Legislative Councils must give place to direct election on as wide a franchise as might prove practicable.<sup>5</sup>

The Report also drew attention to the essentially undemocratic character of the Hindu caste-system. It pointed out that so long as such sectional interests were paramount, 'any form of self-government to which India can attain must be limited and unreal at best.' The Report also referred to the great difficulty created by the differences between the Hindus and Moslems. It did not approve of separate electorate: 'Division by creeds

<sup>1</sup> Edwin Montagu, *Indian Diary*.

<sup>2</sup> East India (Constitutional Reforms): *Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms*, Cd. 9109, (London, 1918). This Report is hereinafter referred to as *Montagu-Chelmsford Report*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 113, 110-125.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 109, 4-5, 119-120.

<sup>5</sup> *Montagu-Chelmsford Report*, 110-125.

and classes means the creation of political camps organised against each other, and teaches men to think as partisans and not as citizens ; and it is difficult to see how the change from this system to national representation is ever to occur.' Yet to maintain the existing system until conditions altered was a practical necessity. The Report, however, refused to extend the privileges conceded to the Moslems to any other community with the one exception of Sikhs, who, though ' a distinct and important people, were everywhere in a minority and had hitherto been virtually unrepresented.'<sup>1</sup>

Apart from justifying the Declaration, Montagu and Chelmsford had to determine the ' substantial steps ' to be taken in the execution of their policy. Here they faced the difficult problem of making responsible government at once real and progressive. The problem was eventually solved by a scheme, which came to be known as dyarchy, *i.e.*, by dividing the field of government. Certain subjects of administration in each Province should be ' transferred ' to the control of ' Ministers ' chosen from and responsible to, the majority in the Legislative Councils, and on those subjects the Governor would normally ' act on their advice.' The other subjects were to be ' reserved ' to the control of the Governor and his Executive Council, whose members would still be officials and, though discussing their policy with the Legislative Council, would be responsible not to it but, as before, to the Secretary of State. To safeguard the discharge of his duties in the ' reserved ' field the Governor was to be empowered to enact any Bill, including a money bill, over the head of the Legislative Council if he should ' certify ' that it was essential ; but all such measures would be subject to prior approval by the British Government except in a state of emergency, when they would be subject only to subsequent disallowance.

At the end of ten years a Commission should be appointed, with direct authority from Parliament, to examine the working of the system and to advise as to whether the time had come for complete responsible government in any Province or Provinces or whether some subjects now ' reserved ' should be transferred or, if matters had gone badly, the reverse. Similar inquiries should be made thereafter at intervals of twelve years.

The Report considered it premature to introduce responsible government at the centre until it had been tried and tested in the Provinces. It referred again and again to the need of developing a real consciousness of Indian nationhood as the first condition of national self-government.

<sup>1</sup> *Montagu-Chelmsford Report* : 124-127 ; 185-190.

It recommended, however, the concession of a wide measure of representative government.<sup>1</sup>

Finally Montagu stressed that the process of self-government in India would never entail the dissolution of India's imperial partnership :

"Further we have every reason to hope that as the result of this process, India's connexion with the Empire will be confirmed by the wishes of her people. The experience of a century of experiments within the Empire goes all in one direction. As power is given to the people of a province or of a Dominion to manage their own local affairs, their attachment becomes the stronger to the Empire which comprehends them all in a common bond of union. The existence of national feeling, or the love of and pride in a national culture need not conflict with, and may indeed strengthen, the sense of membership in a wider commonwealth. The obstacles to a growth in India of this sense of partnership in the Empire are obvious enough. Differences of race, religion, past history, and civilization have to be overcome. But the Empire which includes the French of Canada and the Dutch of South Africa—to go no further—cannot in any sense be based on ties of race alone. It must depend on a common realization of the ends for which the Empire exists, the maintenance of peace and order over wide spaces of territory, the maintenance of freedom and the development of the culture of each national entity of which the Empire is composed. These are aims which appeal to the people of India, and in proportion as self-government develops patriotism in India we may hope to see the growth of a conscious feeling of organic unity with the Empire as a whole."<sup>2</sup>

The Government of India Act, 1919, embodied the Montagu-Chelmsford Report in all its essentials. The Declaration of 1917, which defined British policy as the development of responsible self-government was reproduced almost in identical terms in its Preamble. The recommendation that Parliament should make an inquiry into the working of the reforms at the end of ten years was also inserted in the Act. The Joint Select Committee which considered the Montagu-Chelmsford Report recommended the grant of fiscal autonomy to India. Nothing was more likely to endanger the good relations between India and Great Britain than a belief that India's fiscal policy was dictated from Whitehall in the interests of trade of Great Britain. India should have the same liberty to consider her

<sup>1</sup> *Montagu-Chelmsford Report*, 108-109 ; 244-245 ; 248-259.

The Report proposed that the Central Legislative Council, which in 1918 was still only a relatively small body of 67, of whom 35 were officials, 5 nominated non-officials, and 27 elected members, should be replaced by a full dress legislature of two houses, the Council of State and the Indian Legislative Assembly, in both of which the great majority of members would be elected.

<sup>2</sup> *Montagu-Chelmsford Report*, 139.

interests as Great Britain and other White Dominions. The Secretary of State should therefore as far as possible avoid interference on this subject when the Government of India and its Legislature were in agreement, and that his intervention should be limited to safeguarding 'the international obligations of the Empire or any fiscal arrangements to which his Majesty's Government was a party.'

When the scheme devised by Montagu was seen to amount to the introduction of parliamentary government in India and 'of almost complete provincial autonomy,' Curzon expressed astonishment and dismay.<sup>2</sup> Montagu, shocked and surprised, reminded him that all that he had done was to carry out 'loyally' the changes contemplated by the Declaration of 1917.<sup>3</sup> Austen Chamberlain took a similar view of the Report. He agreed with Curzon as to the magnitude of the changes proposed, but he pointed out that the source of these changes was not the Report but the Declaration itself.<sup>4</sup> But no amount of argument served to shake Curzon's hostility towards the Report. He agreed reluctantly to its publication, but only on condition that it was made clear that the Cabinet were in no way committed to its contents. He even threatened to break away from the Government in order to offer public opposition to it. But what seems to have prevented him was his sense of responsibility as the author of the Declaration itself.<sup>5</sup>

The Cabinet decided in February, 1919, to appoint a Cabinet Committee to prepare the Bill. Montagu tried unsuccessfully to secure Curzon's participation in the Committee by abandoning the idea of asking the Cabinet to assent to the principles on which the Committee should work and by making the Committee 'free to discard or modify anything in the Reform Scheme.' Curzon remained throughout a reluctant supporter of the Bill. As leader of the House of Lords, he had to speak on several occasions on the Bill. He generally confined himself to the defence of the procedure adopted by the Government. On the merits of the scheme he said little, and that little could scarcely have been gratifying to the supporters. He described the reforms as 'daring,' a 'rash experiment' and made it clear that he did not think that India would be better governed under the new dispensation than it had been in the past. But he recognised that the ideals of nationalism and self-determination now made a

1 See the *Report of the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill* (203), 1919, p. 11. See also the *Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*—Vol. I, Cmd. 3568 (1930), pp. 243-245, 356-357; *The Times*, Dec. 6, 1919.

2 See the note written for the Cabinet, June 3, 1918, as cited in Lord Ronaldsday, *The Life of Lord Curzon*, iii, 169.

3 See the letter from Montagu to Lord Curzon, June 6, 1918, as cited in Ronaldsday, *Ibid.*, 170.

4 *Ibid.*, 170.

5 *Ibid.*, 170-174; see particularly Curzon's letter to Edwin Montagu on July 25, as cited in *Ibid.*, 171-173.

6 Ronaldsday, *The Life of Lord Curzon*, iii, 174-175.

strong appeal, and the peoples of countries such as India preferred to be governed less well by themselves than to be governed superbly by another race.<sup>1</sup>

Nearly every provincial government condemned dyarchy ; they apprehended that it would operate with the maximum of friction and inefficiency. And the Governors of five provinces submitted an alternative proposal in January, 1919. They maintained that the Report had over-stressed the doctrine of responsibility, and that it would be more appropriate to emphasise the need for increased association of Indians with the government. They suggested that the executive councils should be constituted, in equal numbers, of officials and of Indians elected by the elected members of the Council, and that the Government should remain unitary, the Governor allocating portfolios and exercising the right to decide on his own discretion after hearing advice. Further advance would take the form of increasing the number of Indians in the Council, giving them increased functions and surrendering the right of over-ruling the Council. But this plan had the defect that it could hardly be deemed to lead to responsible government. It should be noted that two Governors, Lord Ronaldshay and Sir E. A. Gait, felt that to reject the wider interpretation given by the Report would be treated as a breach of faith and they accepted it as the most reasonable scheme.<sup>2</sup>

The Labour Party and the Radicals gave the Report an ecstatic welcome, for it was they who boldly conceived the idea of a British Commonwealth transcending races and religions, and they threw their weight in favour of responsible government in India.<sup>3</sup> The bulk of the Conservatives did not share the enthusiasm of the Labour Party and acquiesced in the Report.<sup>4</sup> Apart from a minor intervention by Bonar Law, none of the prominent Conservative leaders other than Austen Chamberlain took part in the discussion.

#### IV. THE INDO-BRITISH ASSOCIATION

The opposition to the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms came from a section of retired officials, a section of British merchants with direct investments in India, and a handful of Conservative diehards led by Salisbury, Midleton and Selborne. Prominent among the retired officials were

<sup>1</sup> 31 H.L. (Oct. 24, 1918), col. 863-875 ; see also Ronaldshay, *Ibid.* 176.

<sup>2</sup> *Joint Select Committee Report of Government of India Bill*, 1919, Evidence (Cd. 203), i : 116 H.C. (May 22 and June 2, 1919), col. 639, 1161.

<sup>3</sup> See Ramsay MacDonald and Col. Wedgewood, 109 H.C. (Aug. 6, 1918), cpl. 1157-1160, 1209-1215.

<sup>4</sup> See Austen Chamberlain, 109 H.C. (Aug. 6, 1918), col. 1199-1209. However the Earl of Donoughmore, who went with Montagu to India, defended the reforms enthusiastically ; 31 H.L. (Oct. 24, 1918), col. 862-863. See also Sir J. D. Rees, 109 H.C. (Aug. 6, 1918), col. 1170-1179.

Sir John Prescott Hewett, Lord Sydenham, Lord Lansdowne, Sir Francis Younghusband, Sir Charles MacLeod and Sir West Ridgeway. The British merchants were represented by Sir David Yule, Sir James Duncan and J. C. Shorrocks. The officials and the merchants set up a pressure group, the Indo-British Association, to fight the reforms. The few die-hards did not formally join the Association, but worked with it hand and glove.

The division of the opponents into officials, merchants and diehards is not meant to be a rigid one. There was some over-lapping among them ; for example, Sydenham may be regarded both as a retired official and a diehard. Secondly, it should be noted that the objections were raised by British merchants with direct investments in India and not British merchants with commercial interests in India. For example, the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, representing the interests of the Lancashire Cotton and Textile industry, did not make any intervention. The British merchants living in India formed a part of the British community in India, and were involved in Indian politics.

The story of the Association is the story of public opposition to the Reforms. Not all the members of the Association were Conservatives ; a few of them professed to be Liberal. But the Association directed all its efforts towards influencing the Conservative leaders and rank and file. In this they were somewhat handicapped by the existence of a Coalition Government in which the Conservative Party was a major partner.<sup>1</sup> For example, Curzon, who might have been a natural leader of the critics, could raise objections only inside the Cabinet.<sup>2</sup> The Coalition had, however, the advantage for the opponents of the reforms that it was so unpopular that there was always a reservoir of discontent on which they could draw for support.<sup>3</sup>

The man who conceived the idea of forming the Indo-British Association was Sir John Prescott Hewett.<sup>4</sup> Hewett had been an outstanding Indian administrator from 1877 to 1912. More than any one else, perhaps, he gave the Association weight and respectability. Yet his influence was limited ; he became a Conservative M.P. only after the 1922 election, made no impression in the House of Commons and lost his seat a year later. Moreover, once the reforms had been passed, Hewett carefully

<sup>1</sup> Lord Sydenham, *My Working Life*, 354 ; 'The effect of the Lloyd George of 1916, and especially that of 1918, was to involve leading Unionist Peers in policies of which otherwise they would have been formidable opponents.'

<sup>2</sup> Sydenham claimed that had Lord Curzon not been a member of the second Coalition, 'his authority and oratorical power would have prevented the House of Lords from rejecting their motion for the appointment of a Joint Select Committee for the consideration of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report.' See *Ibid*, 369.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, 354, 364.

<sup>4</sup> Lord Sydenham, *My Working Life*, 339.

avoided doing or saying anything which might stand in the way of the experiment. He paid repeated visits to India, and in a letter to *The Times*, March, 8, 1930, he wrote that he had been astounded at the changes which had taken place in the period between his visits and appealed for trust in the Governor-General, Irwin. Although he was critical of some features of the White Paper on which the Government of India Act, 1935, was based, he refused to join Churchill and his friends, but favoured federation as a prerequisite to the grant of responsibility at the Centre.<sup>1</sup>

Sydenham, the Chairman of the Association, was its most active and vocal member. No sooner had the Declaration of August, 1917, been made, than Sydenham met about organising the Indo-British Association. By the end of October, an organising committee had been set up with Sydenham as the President and with Hewett, Francis Younghusband, MacLeod, Shorrock, Yule and Jackson as members. By the beginning of December, the organising committee had enlisted the support of some others like Sir Armstrong, James Duncan, Sir William Garth, Sir West Ridgeway, and the Association was formally constituted.<sup>2</sup>

David Yule, James Duncan\* and J. C. Shorrock represented the interests of British businessmen with direct investments and interests in India. J. C. Shorrock claimed to represent 'the British East India merchants' and declared that 'to the whole mercantile community, Anglo-Indian, and Indian, any delegation of the powers of the supreme executive government of India to an elective body, particularly powers in financial matters, means a state of chaos pure and simple.'<sup>3</sup> A significant passage in Sydenham's speech at the 1st Annual General Meeting of the Association inclines us to think that these commercial interests were heavily represented in the Association :

"It has been said we are reactionaries, caring only for the interests of British Commerce.... We stand only for the interests of British Commerce in so far as they affect and conduce to the progress of India as a whole...."<sup>4</sup>

Younghusband asserted that the Indo-British Association might be a rallying point of the British Community in India, 'of all those classes and individuals in India who have a real stake and interest in the country.... the landed gentry, the leaders of the great trade and industrial enterprises.'"

<sup>1</sup> *The Times*, March 8, 1930.

<sup>2</sup> See *The Times*, Dec. 11, 1917.

\* Sir David Yule (1858-1928) was a member of Andrew Yule & Company Ltd., Calcutta, Director of the Midland Bank Ltd., Mercantile Bank of India, etc. 'Sir James Duncan (died-1926) was the Managing Director of Steel Bros. & Co. Ltd., East India Merchants, Chairman, Royal Insurance Co., Ltd., London Board, Deputy Chairman, British and Foreign Marine Insurance Co., Ltd., London Board.

<sup>3</sup> & <sup>4</sup> Indo-British Association. *Interest of India : Minutes of Proceedings of the 1st Annual General Meeting, July 29, 1918* ; See also *The Montagu-Chelmsford Report on Indian Constitutional Reform and the future of Indo-British Commerce*.

<sup>5</sup> *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Indo-British Association, Oct. 30, 1917, 18-20.*



It should be noted that the usual classification of pressure groups into sectional and promotional groups does not appear to be satisfactory in this case. The Indo-British Association might be thought as promotional but this would obscure the sectional interest in its composition.

*The Spectator* threw its whole weight against the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and gave its whole-hearted support to the Indo-British Association. John St. Loe Strachey, who took over the paper in 1898 and continued to edit it till 1925, came from a family which had sent to India distinguished administrators since the days of Henry Strachey, Secretary to Lord Clive ; he was a nephew of Sir John Strachey, the well-known Indian administrator.<sup>1</sup>

The Indo-British Association regarded the Report, as one put it, 'in a spirit of almost inrelieved gloom.'<sup>2</sup> They accepted the Declaration of 1917, but they objected strongly to the Report, for it did not proceed 'on lines of evolution but on lines of revolution.' They asserted that the principle of responsible government was 'opposed to the tradition, customs and inherited characteristics of the Indian people.' There was no universal form of government. Forms of government must depend on the people and climate, and democracy was not suitable for hot climates. They maintained that India was no nation but 'a motley congeries of people who had really nothing in common.' It was their mission to see that India should continue to progress on Western lines to Western standards of life. And this needed the maintenance of law and order. The British authority alone could hold in check the powerful forces of reaction latent in Indian society. Gradually India would emerge under British guidance as a nation. But the Report proposed to hand over power before there was an Indian nation. And this premature transfer might 'postpone self-government.' Finally, they claimed that the proposal of responsible government was intended to placate the 'denationalised intelligentsia' and would help them to establish 'the narrowest oligarchy in the world.' The interests of the vast masses of people, who did not agitate and who looked silently to Britain for the protection of their interests, had been ignored by Montagu.<sup>3</sup>

The few diehards, who worked in close co-operation with the Indo-British Association, approached the problem from a different point of view. Selborne found it difficult to accept that the ultimate goal of British

<sup>1</sup> Ama Strachey, *St. Loe Strachey : His Life and His Paper* (1930) ; see also D.N.B., 1922-1930.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Crewe, 31 *H.L.* (Aug. 6, 1918), col. 572.

<sup>3</sup> Lord Sydenham, 31 *H.C.* (Aug. 6, 1918), col. 548-562 ; col. 793-804.

Lord Lamington, *Ibid.*, col. 586-590.

Viscount Midleton, *Ibid.*, (Oct. 23, 1918), col. 773-783.

Lord Lansdowne, *Ibid.*, col. 783-793.



policy should be the establishment of the British Parliamentary form of government. Self-government could be of many different types. He argued that there was a fundamental difference between the Eastern and the Western mind. There could be no comparison between the two, for it involved 'a totally different conception and wholly different philosophy of politics.' There had been unsuccessful attempts to fasten parliamentary government on Eastern nationalities in Egypt, Turkey, Persia and China. The recent happenings in Russia reminded him also of 'the tremendous danger in too abrupt a transition from one form of government to another.' But the failure of parliamentary institutions in the Eastern societies did not prove them incapable of self-government. The democratic experiment tried in England at the same stage as India was now in would have been a failure. Selborne was inclined to think that the system of self-government existing in Japan might prove a better model for India to copy.<sup>1</sup>

The Indo-British Association not only raised strong objections to the introduction of responsible government in India, but also to the scheme of dyarchy by which this was sought to be done. Now behind the dyarchy was the whole principle of giving Indians, through provincial ministers chosen from the members of the Legislatures largely representative of an Indian electorate, a direct measure of responsibility for the Government in India. The critics therefore sought to undermine the scheme itself. They declared that the suggestion of a dual executive appeared to be a most astounding provision—a thing for which no precedent could be found nor an analogy be suggested.<sup>2</sup> They argued that it would be impossible to separate services whose administration throughout the country were closely interwoven with that of other services; that it would be impracticable for the Executive which was responsible for law and order to be obliged to carry out the decrees of another Executive which had no such responsibility. The masses of India would find it difficult to distinguish between the action of the two halves of the Executive. Foreshadowing something like a permanent hostility to the Governor and the Government on the part of the Legislature with its elected majority, they argued that the practical consequence of dyarchy would be 'a government by vote and certification.'<sup>3</sup>

The Indo-British Association took comfort in the fact that whatever his theoretical objections to the principle of separate representation, Montagu did not make a proposal for its revocation. They did not fail

<sup>1</sup> 31 *H.L.* (Oct. 24, 1918), col. 834-845.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Lansdowne, 31 *H.L.* (Oct. 23, 1918), col. 790; See also Viscount Midleton, *Ibid.*, col. 779-780; *The Spectator*, June 14, 1919; The Indo-British Association, *The Proposed Constitutional Reforms in India and What They Mean*, 5-6.

<sup>3</sup> *The Times*, July 10, 1918; Lord Sydenham, 31 *H.L.* (Aug. 6, 1918), col. 556-557; Prof. Oman, *The Times*, Dec. 4, 1919; Lord Lansdowne, 31 *H.L.* (Oct. 23, 1918), col. 790.

to demur to his arguments against the principle as such. The line of action that they adopted, as was correctly perceived by Colonel Wedgwood, was 'in favour of more and more sectional representation.'

Sydenham claimed that the communal electorate was the only method by which 'the great mass of people (could) ever obtain any real representation or real protection.' He argued that without this the non-Brahmin Hindus could have practically no chance of upholding either their interests or playing any part in the affairs of their country. He maintained that as the basis of representation under the Morley-Minto scheme was narrow, the ingenious native lawyers had secured preponderance in the Legislative Councils; the only way to offset their domination was to accept a complete system of communal and interest representation.<sup>2</sup>

Faced by the criticism that they were negative and destructive in their approach, the Indo-British Association suggested an alternative scheme in order to give effect to the announcement of August, 1917. They proposed to hand over the administration in defined areas to Indian officers, the areas being increased when experience proved that Indian interests were being secured and promoted by the transfer. In every province one or two districts must be wholly under the Indian members of the different services. If, after a period of trial, this system proved to work well, other districts could be similarly staffed. Later a division (*i.e.* a group of districts) could be so handed over, and the process, if shown to be successful, could be continued until a whole province came under Indian rule in the future. By this geographical method it was argued that there could be gradual and safe transfer without dislocating the existing machinery, creating interminable friction and undermining throughout the country the only authority which held the heterogeneous masses together.<sup>3</sup>

The proposal that Parliament should content itself with handing over the administration of certain districts to exclusive Indian control, by way of experiment, did not command the support of all the critics of the Reforms. For example, Midleton, who stressed more than once the need to find an alternative to dyarchy, hesitated to lend his support to this proposal.

The Indo-British Association worked hard against the Reforms until the passing of the Bill made opposition useless. So great was the change

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Josiah Wedgwood, 109 *H.C.* (Aug. 6, 1918), col. 1212.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Sydenham, 31 *H.L.* (Oct. 15 and 23, 1918), col. 695-798. See also Sir Valentia Chisol, *Indian Report: First Impressions: An Essay in Provincial Self-Government*, *The Times*, July 10, 1918, and *Indian Reforms: Government and Electorate*, *The Times*, Aug. 14, 1918; Lord Midleton, 31 *H.L.* (Oct. 28, 1918), col. 777; Lord Lamington, *Ibid.*, col. 5883.

<sup>3</sup> The Indo-British Association, *The Proposed Constitutional Reforms in India and What They Mean*: *The Times*, Oct. 9, 1918.

See for further suggestions, *The Spectator*, July 13, 1918, and Oct. 5, 1918.

in the climate of opinion that the Indo-British Association did not find it tactically possible to press for the rejection of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. They worked on the assumption that a critical examination of the Rowlatt Report (referred to in the next section) and the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, with 'its curious facts and incongruous proposals,' might lend to a different bill.<sup>1</sup> They held several meetings in London, and issued several pamphlets.<sup>2</sup> They carried on a bitter opposition to the Reforms in Parliament at every stage of the discussion. In fact, the Association was partly responsible for rallying diehard opposition to the Reforms. Together with some diehards, they tried unsuccessfully to secure in October, 1918, the appointment of a Joint Select Committee to consider the Report even before the Government had made up its mind about it.<sup>3</sup> In December, 1919, they made with the help of Edward Carson, a last attempt to delay the passage of the Bill and to secure more time and opportunity for discussion of it. When the Joint Select Committee was finally appointed to consider the Bill in June, 1919, Michael O'Dwyer and John Hewett represented their point of view before the Committee,<sup>4</sup> and Sydenham as a member of the Committee divided it on four occasions finding himself in a minority of one each time.<sup>5</sup>

It may be noted that in the division which took place in the House of Lords on the motion for the appointment of the Joint Select Committee, the 21 Lords who voted in its favour, were all Conservatives. Prominent among them were Salisbury, Halsbury, Selbourne, Falkland, Atkinson, Midleton, Clifford, Sandys, Willoughby—diehards who had voted against 'the great surrender,' i.e., the Parliamentary Act of 1911.<sup>6</sup> Two supporters of the reforms, Harris (who had been a Governor of Bombay) and Balfour (who was a member of the Cabinet) also voted in favour of the immediate appointment of the Joint Select Committee. It should be noted that the publication of the Report and the appointment before the Cabinet had made up its mind, of two committees to deal with problems relating to the franchise and the division of functions, 'appalled' the diehards. They apprehended that the Government was being committed by such successive step, and therefore pressed for the reference of the Report to a Joint Select Committee of both Houses.

Of the 25 Lords who voted against the motion, 14 were Conservatives. Of the 35 Conservative Lords, who went into the Division, 21 voted for the motion and against the Government.

<sup>1</sup> Lord Sydenham, *My Working Life*, 368.

<sup>2</sup> 31 *H.L.* (Aug. 6, 1918), col. 609-612; see also *Ibid.* (Oct. 23, 1918), col. 773-783.

<sup>3</sup> *Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill*, ii (97, 1919), 417-447, 453-468.

<sup>4</sup> Lord Sydenham, *My Working Life*.

<sup>5</sup> See the Division List 31 *H.L.* (Aug. 6, 1911), col. 875-878.

<sup>6</sup> 31 *H.L.* (Aug. 6, 1918), Col. 609-612; *Ibid.* (Oct. 23 and 24, 1918), Col. 877-878.

It has already been noted that the Government of India Act, 1919, embodied in all essentials the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, Sydenham conceded that their opposition was a melancholy performance. They failed in their efforts to convince others of the unsuitability of occidental machinery for an oriental society like India. The right wing opposition was, however, far from being futile. Politics is ordinarily a matter of what is possible. Curzon's opposition together with that of the Indo-British Association and their friends must have set limits to the Act. Secondly, the Conservative critics did what they could to confuse the Indian situation and they were partly responsible for the radical transformation in the political situation in India and the non-cooperative attitude towards the Reforms adopted by the Indian National Congress under Gandhi's leadership.

The Government of India Act, 1919, was settled by Lloyd George's War Cabinet. The existence of the Coalition Government with the Conservative Party as a major partner in it, made it difficult for those Conservative ministers to oppose the Act who felt disturbed, at the partnership-approach to India, and at the experiment of parliamentary democracy there. Apart from Curzon, who was himself a member of the War-Cabinet, none of them could oppose the Act. Even Curzon, in obedience to the principle of collective responsibility of the ministers, had to defend the Act in public. The bulk of the Conservatives acquiesced in the Act, and did not unite their voices with those of the members of the Indo-British Association. But when they found that the Act did not bring about any immediate solution of the Indian problem, they rose almost in open revolt against the Government's India policy. The occasion was provided by the Dyer incident. The revolt was as much against the policy in India as it was against the Coalition itself. In fact, this was the first major revolt of the Conservatives against Lloyd George's Coalition.

It may be noted that the allegiance of many Conservatives to Lloyd George had all along been characterised by an element of impermanence and even insincerity. During the first three years of peace this fact was of no great importance. On several occasions between 1920 and 1922 an important section of Conservatives showed their growing distaste for their Liberal allies. Before there arose a movement of Conservatives aimed directly at overthrowing the Coalition, there were outbursts of Tory antagonism against certain Liberal ministers whose attitudes or policies seemed distinctly liberal. The principal victim of this form of Tory hostility was Montagu, who not only tried to follow a liberal policy but also dared to justify it in strikingly radical language.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wilson, T. G., *Decline of the Liberal Party, 1918-1922*. (Unpublished Oxford D.Phil. Thesis, 1959), 336-341.

## II. THE DYER INCIDENT

The Dyer incident is worth describing in detail because it brought into prominence the strength of feeling, particularly among the Conservatives, against the partnership approach towards the Indian people. On the morning of April 13, 1919, Brigadier-General Dyer, who had arrived at Amritsar on the night of the 11th, issued a proclamation forbidding *inter alia* processions to parade in or outside the city and declaring that 'any such procession or gathering of four men will be looked upon and treated as an unlawful assembly and dispersed by force of arms, if necessary'. This proclamation was read at some places but not all places in the city, in the course of a progress through the streets by a column of troops led by the Brigadier-General himself, who left his quarters about 9 a.m. for the purpose and returned to them at about 1.30 p.m. About an hour before his return to his quarters in Ram Bagh, Dyer heard that, despite his proclamation, it was intended to hold a large meeting at the Jallianwala Bagh at 4.30 that afternoon, and at 4 p.m. he received a message that a crowd of about 1,000 had already assembled there. Shortly after 4 p.m. General Dyer marched from the Ram Bagh with picketing parties (as he had previously determined to picket the main gates of the city) and with a special party consisting of 50 Indian Infantry armed with rifles, 40 Indian Infantry armed with 'Kukris' (short swords) and two armoured cars. He proceeded straight to the Jallianwala Bagh, dropping his picketing parties en route, and on arrival marched his infantry through a narrow lane into the Bagh and deployed them immediately to right and left of the entrance. The armoured cars he left outside, as the lane was too narrow to admit them. Having deployed his troops, General Dyer at once gave orders to open fire and continued a controlled fire on the dense crowd facing him in the enclosure (which he estimated at about 5,000 persons) for some ten minutes, until his ammunition supply was at the point of exhaustion. 1,650 rounds of 303 Mark VI. ammunition were fired. The fatal casualties as the result of this action were believed to be 379; the number of wounded had not been exactly ascertained, but was estimated by Lord Hunter's Committee at possibly three times the number of deaths. Immediately after giving orders to cease fire, Brigadier-General Dyer marched his troops back to the Ram Bagh.

The reasons given by General Dyer for opening fire without warning and for the severity and duration of the firing are stated as follows in his written statement furnished to the General Staff (16th Indian Division) and subsequently laid before Lord Hunter's Committee :

"We cannot be very brave unless we be possessed of a greater fear. I had considered the matter from every point of view. My duty and

my military instincts told me to fire. My conscience was clear on that point. What faced me was what on the morrow would be *Danda Faus* (Bludgeon army referring to the rioters in Lahore).

"I fired and continued to fire until the crowd dispersed, and I consider this is the least amount of firing which would produce the necessary moral and widespread effect it was my duty to produce if I was to justify my action. If more troops had been at hand the casualties would have been greater in proportion. *It was no longer a question of merely dispersing the crowd, but one of producing a sufficient moral effect, from a military point of view, not only on those who were present but more specially throughout the Punjab.* There could be no question of undue severity."<sup>1</sup>

Dyer's action was not only approved by his superiors, such as the Divisional Commander, Major-General Beynon, and the Lt. Governor of Punjab, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, but his subsequent posting amounted to promotion.<sup>2</sup> The conduct of the Government of India was no less deplorable than that of the Army people and Sir Michael O'Dwyer. The Government of India admitted receiving the first report of the firing on the crowd on April 14 ; but they followed a policy of reticence, and had not acquainted the Secretary of State for India, Edwin Montagu, with any details even as late as October 29. Montagu and the rest of the British public came to know about the incident from Press reports, but it was not till General Dyer had submitted his evidence to the Hunter Committee in November that the British people know any details of the tragic happenings. The Government of India conceded that "it is no doubt a matter of regret that without resort to a formal inquiry full knowledge of what actually occurred should not have become quite general."<sup>3</sup>

It was under pressure from Indian public opinion that the Government of India appointed in October, 1919, a Committee 'to investigate the recent disturbances in Bombay, Delhi and the Punjab, their causes, and the measures taken to cope with them'.<sup>4</sup> The Committee was presided over by Lord Hunter, lately Solicitor-General for Scotland. There were four British and three Indian members. The Committee began its sittings on October 29, 1919, and presented its report to the Government of India in the first week of March, 1920. Lord Hunter and his four British colleagues submitted a majority report, while the three Indian members signed a minority report.<sup>5</sup> We need not go into the details of these reports

<sup>1</sup> As cited in East India : *Correspondence between the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India on the Report of Lord Hunter's Committee.* Cmd. 705 (1920).

<sup>2</sup> See *Dyer's statement*, Cmd. 771 (1920), para. 13.

<sup>3</sup> See East India (Disturbances in the Punjab etc.) : *Correspondence between the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India on the Report of Lord Hunter's Committee.* C. 705, para. 22. See also *The Times*, Dec. 17, 1919.

<sup>5</sup> *Report of the Committee appointed by the Government of India to investigate the disturbances in the Punjab, etc.* Cmd. 681, 1920.

and the points of divergence between the two,\* for the discussion in Britain focussed on the majority report.

Lord Hunter and his British colleagues found General Dyer's action open to criticism in two respects : First that he started the firing without giving the people who had assembled a chance to disperse, and second that he continued firing for a substantial period of time after the crowd had commenced to disperse.

Following the findings of the Committee, General Dyer was removed by the Commander-in-Chief in India. The Army Council in Britain decided that he should be retired from the Army.

The reticence which had been practised made the ultimate disclosures more injurious than perhaps would have been the case if the Indian authorities had been frank at the time. The British public received at the time very little information. *The Times* pointed out : " We have examined the whole of the reports as transmitted to the Press in this country for publication, and they contain very little indication of what had happened at Amritsar on the day in question. The sole allusion is as follows : ' At Amritsar, on April 13, the mob defied the proclamation forbidding public meetings. Firing ensued, and 200 casualties occurred'. This official statement was published in *The Times* of April, 1919, but at some subsequent date the Government of India must have become aware of the truth about the massacre".<sup>1</sup> Nor was Montagu acquainted with the details of the happenings at least as late as October. In answer to a question, Montagu confessed on June 23, 1920, in the House of Commons :

" What I said in December and what I say now is that I had no information as to the details, shooting without warning and shooting to the exhaustion of ammunition and the principles on which General Dyer acted, and so forth. These things came to me as a shock when I read them in the newspapers."<sup>2</sup>

That bulk of the Conservatives felt disturbed at the sacrifice of General Dyer to placate Indian opinion. The Cabinet appointed a committee

\* The most important point on which there was an essential difference of opinion relates to the introduction of martial law in the Punjab. While the majority found that a state of rebellion existed, necessitating or justifying the adoption of that measure, the minority considered that the disorders did not amount to rebellion and that the disturbances might have been suppressed and order restored without abrogating the control of civil authorities, or calling in military force save as auxiliary to the civil authorities. However, the majority found that there was nothing to show that the outbreak in the Punjab was part of a pre-arranged conspiracy to overthrow the British Government in India by force.

<sup>1</sup> *The Times*, Dec. 17, 1919.

<sup>2</sup> 130 *H.C.* (June 23, 1920), col. 2153-2154 ; See also 123 *H.C.* (Dec. 16, 1919), Col. 241 : " I thought I said I knew no details of the circumstances until I saw a report in the newspapers. It is not an official communication yet." See also *The Times*, Dec 17., 1919.



to consider the whole affair. Birkenhead and Milnor were, among others, members of the Committee.<sup>1</sup>

According to the Labour leader, Spoor, three courses were open to the Cabinet. The first course was a frank approval of the Head of the Government of India, Lord Chelmsford, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, General Dyer and all the other officers involved. The second course was the approval of the Indian Government and of O'Dwyer, but condemnation of General Dyer. The third course, which was in fact, demanded by the Indian National Congress, was the condemnation of all concerned—the recall of Chelmsford, the trial of O'Dwyer, General Dyer and others.

The issue was, however, complicated not only by delay but by two other factors, one technical and the other political. The conduct of a military officer may be dealt with in three spheres. First, he might be removed from his employment or his appointment, relegated to half pay, and told that he had no prospects of being employed again. This might be done by a simple administrative act, and the officer in question had no redress. The second method was of a more serious character, and it affected, not the employment of an officer, but his status and rank. An officer could be retired compulsorily from the Service, or some reduction of forfeiture in his pension or retired pay could be imposed. In this case, the officer was protected by the fact that it was necessary for three members of the Army Council to approve the proceeding, and by certain rights of laying his case before them. The third method was definitely of a penal character. Honour, liberty, and life are affected and the whole resources and protection given by British justice were available.<sup>2</sup>

However, decision by the Army Council which is a subordinate administrative body, could not affect the final freedom of action of the Cabinet. If the Cabinet, with their superior authority and more general outlook, took the view that further action was required against General Dyer beyond the loss of employment, it was free to take it.<sup>3</sup> At the same time, General Dyer's conduct had been approved by his superior and at different stages events had taken place amounting to virtual condonation so far as penal or disciplinary action was concerned.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Birkenhead, 41 *H.L.* (July 19, 1920), col. 264-265; Milner, *Ibid.* (July 20, 1920); col. 312; Montagu, 131 *H.C.* (July 8, 1920), col. 1706; Bonar Law, *Ibid.*, col. 1806; Churchill, *Ibid.*, col. 1702.

<sup>2</sup> W. S. Churchill, 131 *H.C.* (July 8, 1920), col. 1720-1722.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 1724.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 1732-33: Churchill who defended the Government's case in the House of Commons acknowledged: "It is quite true that General Dyer's conduct has been approved by a succession of superiors above him who pronounced his defence, and that at different stages events have taken place which, it may well be argued, amount to virtual condonation so far as penal or disciplinary action is concerned. General Dyer may have done wrong, but at any rate he has his rights, and I do not see how in face of such virtual condonation it would have been possible or could have been considered right to take disciplinary action against him. For those reasons the Cabinet found themselves in agreement with the conclusions of the Army Council, and to take those moderate and considered conclusions we confidently invite the assent of the House."



Moreover, the bulk of the Conservatives were not in favour of any drastic action. The Cabinet therefore decided not to do anything beyond endorsing the decision of the Government of India and the Army Council. They repudiated the doctrine of terrorism upon which General Dyer based his action. Churchill developing this point said :

“ Our reign in India or anywhere else has never stood on the basis of physical force alone, and it would be fatal to the British Empire if we were to try to base ourselves only upon it. The British way of doing things...has always meant and implied close an effectual co-operation with the people of the country. In every part of the British Empire that has been our aim, and in no part have we arrived at such success as in India, whose princes spent their treasure in our cause, whose brave soldiers fought side by side with our own men, whose intelligent and gifted people are co-operating at the present moment with us in every sphere of government and of industry.”<sup>1</sup>

This decision to sacrifice General Dyer as a scape-goat incensed the bulk of the Conservatives, and they rose in open revolt. In the House of Commons, Sir Edward Carson, Sir W. Joynson-Hicks and R. Gwynne bitterly attacked the Government. Edwin Montagu made a provocative speech and made the situation far worse for the Government.<sup>2</sup> Churchill by his dispassionate speech largely retrieved the situation for the Government. Bonar Law also intervened to pacify his Unionist colleagues.<sup>3</sup> Yet in the division that followed, the bulk of the Unionist members voted against the Government. An analysis of the voting (including tellers)<sup>4</sup> yields the following result :

	For Government	Against Government
Unionist .	102	119
Coalition Liberals	70	7
Labour .	36	..
Ind. Liberals .	20	..
Nat. Party .	..	1
Nat. Dem. Party .	4	1
Independent .	..	3
	<hr/> 232	<hr/> 131

<sup>1</sup> W. S. Churchill, 131 *H.C.* (8 July, 1920), col. 1731.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Daily Telegraph*, July 9, 1920 ; *Morning Post*, July 10, 1920 See also L. S. Amery, *My Political Life*, ii, 204.

<sup>3</sup> *Morning Post*, July 10, 1920 : ‘ But for Bonar Law’s appeal, it is beyond any doubt that the figures would have been worse from the Ministerial point of view... Bonar Law exerted all his influence with his own party.’ See also R. Blake, *The Unknown Prime Minister*, 420-421.

<sup>4</sup> See for the Division List, 131 *H.C.* (July 8, 1920), col. 1817-1818.

In the House of Lords, the opposition was led by Finlay, Midleton, Sumner, Salisbury, Lamington and Sydenham. Feelings were so exacerbated that all the eloquence and persuasion of Crewe, Milner, Birkenhead, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Curzon could not prevent the House from passing a motion of censure\* by 129 to 86 votes.<sup>1</sup>

The revolt of the Unionists was partly designed to show the strength of sympathy with General Dyer. It was partly an expression of resentment against the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, that is to say, against the extension of the principle of partnership to India. It was partly an expression of dissatisfaction with the Coalition Government<sup>2</sup> and with Edwin Montagu in particular.

On the face of it, the main question was whether General Dyer's action in dealing with the assembly in the Jallianwala Bagh was too impetuous and too drastic. But what was involved in the Dyer's controversy, as *The Times* noted, was a clash of two imperial conceptions :

"The growth of a more liberal conception of Imperial rights and duties in our democratic Commonwealth has out-paced the slow progress of the older conservatism. *A fortiori* it has been unwelcome to many Englishmen in the East, who are out of touch with the newer conditions of Imperial rule. Few, indeed, have the courage directly to oppose the forces that make for an extension of liberal principles of government to our Great Dependency. But the partisans of reaction carry on a species of guerrilla warfare upon the flanks of progress. . . . it was profitable neither to him (Dyer) nor to the British cause in India that about his person the supporters of these old ideals which yield so grudgingly to the inroads of modernity should make what is, perhaps, their last stand. . . . It is rather calculated falsely to convey the impression to India that an important section of opinion in this country regards preventive massacre and the degradation of subject peoples as serviceable instruments of Imperial Government."<sup>3</sup>

The resentment that the critics felt was partly directed against Edwin Montagu. Montagu had long been distrusted by many Conservatives as dangerously pro-Indian in his political views, and there were some who

\* The motion was as follows : 'That this House deplores the conduct of the case of General Dyer as unjust to that officer, and as establishing a precedent dangerous to the preservation of order in face of rebellion.'

<sup>1</sup> 41 *H.L.* (July 19 and 20, 1920), col. 222-307 ; col. 311-378.

<sup>2</sup> See Edward Carson, 131 *H.C.* (July 8, 1920), col. 1719 ; *Morning Post*, July 21, 1920.

<sup>3</sup> *The Times*, July 21, 1920 ; Edwin Montagu, 131 *H.C.* (July 8, 1920), col. 1708 ; 'The whole matter turned upon the doctrine of terrorism. It was no use one Session passing a Great Act of Parliament on the principle of partnership for India in the British Commonwealth, and then allowing the Indian Administration to depend upon terrorism.' See also, Edward Carson, *Ibid*, col. 1719, and Sir W. Joynson-Hicks, *Ibid*, col. 1765.

openly declared that this could be explained by Montagu's own racial antecedents.<sup>1</sup> Even Bonar Law, who had rallied to the defence of Montagu, did not have a high opinion of him. Three months earlier he had written to Lloyd George a letter referring to the Dyer case : ' I saw Max yesterday. E.M. is going to do nothing. With all his cleverness he has evidently some of the poorest qualities of his race.' It may be noted that Montagu had by now aroused the implacable hostility of the greater part of the Conservative Party. It was with something like a howl of delight that they were able to wreak their vengeance upon him 2 years later.

Apart from their reactionary imperialist attitude and dissatisfaction with the Coalition Government and Montagu, the critics were roused to fury by the deplorable handling of the whole affairs by the Government of India and the India Office. Edward Carson said, ' if there was anything to be investigated, if there was punishment to be noted out, it ought to have been an immediate matter, not only in justice to General Dyer, but in justice to the Indian people.'<sup>3</sup> It should be noted that Sir J. Davidson, who did not share Carson's and his friends' attitude, voted against the Government because of ' the abominable conduct ' of the Government of India and Montagu.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> R. Gwynne, 131 *H.C.* (July 8, 1920), col. 1795 ; see also *The Morning Post*, July 21, 1920.

<sup>2</sup> R. Blaks, *The Unknown Prime Minister*, 420-421.

<sup>3</sup> Carson, 131 *H.C.* (July 8, 1920), col. 1717 ; see also Sir W. Joynson-Hicks, *Ibid* 176.  
R. Gwynne, *Ibid*, col. 1795, *Morning Post*, July 9, 1920.

<sup>4</sup> *H.C. op. cit.*, col. 1805.

# MAKE LOVE IN TENEMENTS

TREVOR GOODGER-HILL

Make love in tenements  
where the sound of children  
and the smash of glass  
insinuate their presence.  
In the alley below  
the cries make death  
seem close but cheated  
for the river above  
is one of motion forever.  
Only the glass punctuates  
our megaphone of joy  
and the river, frozen  
is silence and stillness.  
Then the eyes of poverty open.

## Reviews and Notices of Books

**Pain of Flowers**—By Sri Anil Baran Ganguly. Published by the Indian Social Club, London, 1964. Price 7/6 d.

The avowed cultural function of the Club to foster better understanding between India and England, can be served so well by no other means as by creative activities in art and literature. Most of the poems in this collection, written in a foreign language, project an essentially Indian outlook on life and way of thinking, besides being enwrapped in 'the authentic warm scented air' of India. The setting is invariably amidst the natural scenes of this 'infinitely varied' country, sometimes against the sublime Shelleyan backdrop of :

The unbounded peace of the Himalayan peaks  
And the limitless expanse of the sky.

A full cluster of Indian flowers—*Sheuli* and *Mohua*, *Asoka* and *Champaka*—emit their faint perfumes, and *Kimsuka* tinges the air with its 'flaunted red' tints.

The emotions evoked have the delicate shades and sensibilities of an oriental mind. There is a pervasive 'tender melancholy', characteristic of the Indian poetic temperament, as in "And pain's my sweet solace". If Romanticism can be redefined as sadness added to beauty, then unmistakably the poet of *Pain of Flowers* is romantic.

The poems are in the tradition of the best Indo-Anglian verse. The 'Chaitee breeze' and the 'leaf-covered basket of a shy flower-girl' are reminiscent of early Tagore.

When Koels coo and woo  
And the spring breezes flirt with *Champaka* buds—

echoes Toru Dutt's delicious Keatsean verse.

Night smells gather,  
Glow-worms wink,  
Crickets sing afar.—

has the suggestion of the evanescent atmosphere of Sarojini Naidu's Nature description.

The poems, as the publishers hope, catch the fancy of lovers of poetry in the 'sweet cool musings on life and death, love, growth and decay'. Death haunts the mind of the poet : 'this death-dark night called life.' Yet in the midst of death 'life hums a simple refreshing tune.'

The images are generally soft and refreshing, and in rare cases unexpectedly bold, *e.g.*

The train  
Like a wild reptile zig-zags in  
.. ..  
The train tears on,  
Like a wild dragon breathing fire,  
Dives into the depths of the forest.

There is a rare felicity of language and ease in phrasing. Words 'breathe the very breath of life.' *Vagabond*, one of the best poems in the volume, gives a perfect integration of inner mood and physical environment. Another is *Beauty*, which the poet, after a long search in Mohenjodaro, Taxila, Taj Mahal, and *Hamam* of Delhi, discovers in 'a beggar woman in tattered clothes. In the tarry darkness of an abandoned lane'.

The volume is not free from lapses. Occasionally beauty in imagery is lachrymose, even morbid, *e.g.* "Time struggles on. Like a person diseased." Though not painful, like so many in modern poetry, images are conventional and derivative. Excepting half a dozen pieces most of the poems are imitations. Conscious efforts after effect are at places evident. Alliteration is scattered galore: 'cloud clad sky', 'swan-sleeping shores', 'soft solitude', 'dew-drenched lawn at dawn'. The rhyme in 'Smoke-red/my beloved' gives a mild shock of *tour de force*.

K. Lahiri

## **Ourselfes**

The XIth International Congress of Pediatrics will be held in Tokyo from November 7 to 13, 1965, under the auspices of the International Pediatrics Association, the Japan Pediatric Society, the Japanese Society of Child Health and the Government of Japan. This is the first of its kind ever to be held in any Asiatic country. The organising committee has invited the University of Calcutta to send a delegate to the conference and it is learnt that Dr. Sisir Kumar Bose might represent this University at the conference.

### **U.G.C. SPONSORED SEMINAR ON PSYCHOLOGY**

The Director, University School of Psychology Education and Philosophy, Gujrat University, requested the University of Calcutta to participate in the Seminar on Psychology to be held at Gujrat University, Ahmedabad, for eight to ten days towards the end of October, 1965. This Seminar will be held under the auspices of the University Grants Commission.

The Vice-President, 12th Madras Psychology Conference of the Madras Psychology Society, Department of Psychology, University of Madras, has also invited this University to send a delegate to the Conference, to be held within the 1st week of October.

It is learnt that the Under-Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Health, has requested the University to allow Dr. Asima Chatterjee to serve on the Expert Committee to be set up in connection with the question of research projects that might be entrusted to the Indian Drug Research Association, Poona. She will have to

- (a) review the progress of the pharmacognostic research scheme already entrusted to the Association ;
- (b) recommend the future scope of research works there with regard to
  - (i) Pharmacognosy Screening Unit set up there ;
  - (ii) Drug Testing Laboratory to be set up there ;
  - (iii) Drug testing on behalf of commercial houses in the State of Maharashtra and approved by the Government of the State.

- (iv) Pilot project for drug standardisation research as recommended by the Ayurvedic Sub-committee on Drugs Standardisation.

It is stated that the Government of India have been financing a research scheme entitled 'Pharmacognostical Studies on selected Indian Medicinal Plants' at the laboratory of this Association during the Third Five-Year Plan.





## Notifications

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

NOTIFICATION NO. CSR/35/64

It is notified for general information that the following changes in Chapter LII-A of the Regulations relating to the Diploma Course in Town and Regional Planning as well as the revised D.T.R.P. Regulations and Syllabus as set out in the accompanying papers have been adopted by the Academic Council on the 22nd May, 1964 and accepted by the Senate on the 19th September, 1964 :

'That the existing D.T.R.P. Regulations and Syllabus as set out under Chapter LII-A of the Regulations be replaced by the revised D.T.R.P. Regulations and Syllabus under the same Chapter.'

The Academic Council decided that the revised Regulations and Syllabus would take effect from the session 1964-65.

SENATE HOUSE,  
Calcutta.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
*Registrar.*

*The 17th November, 1964.*

### REGULATIONS FOR THE DIPLOMA IN TOWN AND REGIONAL PLANNING (D.T.R.P.) EXAMINATION

1. An Examination for the Diploma in Town and Regional Planning will be held annually at such time and place as the Syndicate shall determine, the approximate date to be notified in the Calendar.

2. Any candidate who has passed the Bachelor of Engineering (Civil) Examination or Bachelor of Architecture (B.Arch.) Examination of the University of Calcutta or equivalent degree Examination of any other University or Institute of Collegiate standing may be admitted to the Examination provided he has prosecuted a regular prescribed course of study in a College of Engineering affiliated to the University for two academic sessions of eight months each after passing the relevant Degree Examination.

3. (a) Every candidate for the D.T.R.P. Examination shall be examined in the subjects mentioned in Regulation 11 below.

(b) A candidate may be permitted to appear in all the subjects mentioned under Section A of Regulation 11 at the end of one academic session after his admission to the course or thereafter subject to his completing the courses in these subjects and provided he is certified by the Principal of his College to be fit to take the Examination.

(c) A candidate may be permitted to appear in all the subjects mentioned under Section 5 of Regulation 11 at the end of two academic sessions after admission to the course or thereafter subject to his completing the courses in these subjects after passing the University Examination in all the subjects prescribed under Section A and provided he is certified by the Principal of his College to be fit to take the Examination.

4. A candidate must pass each of the D.T.R.P. Section A and Section B Examinations within a period of two academic years from the date of his admission to the courses. A candidate may, however, be permitted to appear even after two years if he is specially recommended by the Principal of his College.

5. Every candidate for admission to the Examination shall send to the Registrar his application with a certificate in the form prescribed by the Syndicate and a fee of Rs. 100 ordinarily a month before the date fixed for the commencement of the Examination.

A candidate who fails to pass or present himself for the Examination shall not be entitled to claim a refund of the fee.

6. In order to pass the D.T.R.P. Examination, a candidate must obtain at least 40% of the full marks in each of the theoretical subjects and Viva-Voce, at least 50% of the total marks in sessional subjects and half of the aggregate at each of the sections of the D.T.R.P. Examination.

7. A candidate who fails in one subject only and by not more than five per cent. of the full marks but has shown merit by gaining sixty per cent. or more in the aggregate marks of the examination shall be allowed to pass.

8. (a) A candidate who fails in the D.T.R.P. Examination Section A, in not more than two subjects may be allowed to appear, at the recommendation of the Principal of his College in the subject or subjects in which he has so failed in the next annual Examination as a non-collegiate student on payment of Rs. 50 and he shall be deemed to have passed the D.T.R.P. Section A Examination if he passes in the said subject or subjects.

(b) Save as provided in the preceding paragraph, any other unsuccessful candidate in the said Examination shall be allowed to appear in all the subjects as a non-collegiate student at the next annual Examination within the time limit prescribed in Regulation 4 on payment of Rs. 100.

(c) A candidate who fails in the D.T.R.P. Examination Section B in one subject only, may be allowed to appear on the recommendation of the Principal of his College in that subject in which he has failed in the next annual Examination as a non-collegiate student on payment of Rs. 50 and he shall be declared to have passed the whole Examination if he obtains 50% marks in that subject at that Examination.

9. If the Board of Examiners are of the opinion that in the case of any candidate not covered by the preceding Regulations, consideration ought to be allowed by reasons of his high proficiency in a particular subject or in the aggregate, they shall report the case to the Syndicate, and the Syndicate may pass such a candidate.

10. As soon as possible after the D.T.R.P. Examination the Syndicate shall publish a list in order of merit of those who have passed the D.T.R.P. Examination.

Every candidate on passing shall receive a Diploma.

A candidate who stands first shall receive a gold medal and a prize of books to the value of Rs. 200 provided he has passed the examination at the first chance.

11. The subjects for the D.T.R.P. Examination and the distribution of marks shall be as follows :—

#### SECTION A

1.1	History of Town Planning and Civic Design (Paper 3 hours)	100
1.2	Principles of Architecture, Civic and Landscape Design. Do.	100
1.3	Civil Engineering in relation to Town Planning Do.	100
1.4	Geography and Geology in relation to Town Planning Do.	100
1.5	Urban and Rural Sociology .. .. Do.	100
1.6	Economics and Statistics in relation to Town Planning Do.	100
1.7	Principles of Town Planning .. .. Do.	100
1.8	Town Planning Design & Drawing .. (Paper 18 hours) (in instalments)	100
1.9	Town Planning Design & Drawing Sessional	200
		<hr/> 1,000

#### SECTION B

2.1	Philosophy and Technology of City and Regional Planning.	(Paper 3 hours)	100
2.2	Housing and Urban Re-development	.. Do.	100
2.3	Traffic and Transportation	.. Do.	100
2.4	Planning Legislation	.. Do.	100
2.5	Planning Administration and Finance	.. Do.	100
2.6	Statutory Planning and Professional Practice	Do.	100
2.7	Planning Project and Thesis	.. .. Sessional	300
		Viva-Voce	100
			1,000

12. The limits of each subject are given below. They may however be modified from time to time by the Academic Council on the recommendations of the Faculty of Engineering.

#### SECTION A

##### 1.1. *History of Town Planning and Civic Design :*

Historical survey of Town Planning through the ages—its value, methods and sources of study. Evolution of Urban Culture from the earliest civilizations to the modern age. Early towns in the River-valleys, such as, Egyptian, Sumerian, Babylonian, Indus, etc. Early Greek and Roman towns—including a special study of Athens and Rome. Origin and growth of towns in Western Europe during the Mediaeval period. Characteristics of planning in the Renaissance period in Europe with a critical study of the examples of civic design in the cities of Rome, Venice, Paris, London, etc. The Industrial Revolution—its effect on the growth of modern cities. Conurbations in America and Europe.

Parallel study of early civilization and settlements in Ancient India, Mohenjo Daro, Harappa, Vedic villages, Buddhist monastic communities, Hindu-Temple cities and capital cities. Town Planning according to Silpa-shastras, Capital cities of the Moghul Empire and other kingdoms. Towns planned and built during the British period in India. Growth of modern cities.

Critical survey of the 'Ideal Town-Plans' suggested by various architects/authors in various countries and periods. Analytical study of notable examples of Civic Design during various periods including the architectural expression achieved in individual buildings, building groups, civic centres, places, streets, gardens, etc. Planning of new towns built in India and other countries.

##### 1.2. *Principles of Architecture, Civic and Landscape Design :*

Fundamental Principles of Architectural Design. Integration of Function, Structure and Aesthetics. Principles of Three Dimensional Planning and Design, Principles of Architectural Composition—such as—Unity, Proportion, Scale, Mass and Volume, Form and Function, Aesthetic qualities of materials, colour and texture, Architectural expression on paper and practice.

Civic Design—City as a work of art—Civic Art as an expression of civic life—City Beautiful Idea. Individuality of a city—Formal and Informal beauty. Axial and Monumental planning—grouping of buildings—value of focal points—vistas—street picture—civic centres—ornamental squares—places—proportion of space and height—quality of composition—sense of enclosure—human scale—embellishments.

Place of Landscape Design in Town Planning. Landscape *vs.* Townscape—Landscape Planning *vs.* Land-use Planning. Various types of gardens, parks, open spaces, and play grounds. National and Regional Parks, Green Belts, Parkways and boulevards—avenues—their planting, etc. Utility and aesthetics of planting—types of planting for various purpose and effects of colour, form and design—Trees—their different types and suitability for different areas—knowledge of shrubs and flowers in India. Adornment and equipment of public parks—architectural accessories.

##### 1.3. *Civil Engineering in relation to Town Planning :*

Roads—their classification—planning and design—construction and materials. Design of crossings and junctions. Bridges.

Railways : Planning in relation to other types of communications, such as telegraph, telephones, etc. and utilities such as gas, electricity, etc.

Street lighting : Effect of street lighting and special lighting on road surfaces.

Valuation of Real Properties and Real Estates.

Water supply : Study of principles of planning and designing water supply and distribution. Catchment areas—Protection against pollution—Water supply in relation to Regional Scheme—Flood Control—General land drainage planning—Sewage collection and disposal—Disposal of sullage—trade waste and refuse removal—Planning in relation to Environmental Hygiene.

##### 1.4. *Geography and Geology (in relation to Town Planning) :*

Human Geography : Man as a geographic factor. Modes of life in typical areas with special reference to India. Modification of natural landscape by human agencies—environmental influences of group life.

Economic Geography : The geography of India with special reference to—land utilisation—forestry and agriculture—distribution of industries and population—development of settlements—communications, etc.

Urban Geography : Progressive evolution of settlement from a hamlet to a city—distribution of human dwellings—villages—classification of towns—rural settlement pattern in India. Rural settlement vis-a-vis urban settlement—criteria for differen-

tiation—hierarchy in urban settlement—urban functions—concept of metropolitan regions.

*Applied Geology* : Classification, Distribution and characteristics of the principal geological formations in India, their relationship to relief, scenery, soil fertility and agriculture. Stability of hill slopes and cliffs—types of land slips—planning control of mineral workings. Water supply from surface and underground sources. Water-tables—springs and spring lines—artesian wells and basins—geology of dam and reservoir sites.

*Photogrammetry and Cartography* : General principles of preparing and reading of geographical and geological maps.

#### 1.5. *Urban and Rural Sociology* :

Characteristics of modern urban society as contrasted with rural society with special reference to Indian conditions of life in villages, towns and cities—Social services in urban communities and methods of dealing with social problems such as health, juvenile delinquency, unemployment, etc. Region as a social unit—social characteristics of a Region—ecology of communities in urban and rural areas—Demographic characteristics of urban and non-urban areas—Functional relationship of Town and Country. Characteristics of rural life—rural—urban differences—environment and rural community, migration of rural population. Social change—rural welfare and reconstruction.

#### 1.6. *Economics and Statistics* (in relation to Town Planning) :

*Economics* : Analysis of economic problems related to land-planning and development—Private and Public Enterprise—The price mechanism, determination of supply and demand. The combination and pricing of factors of production—Influence of economic factors on changes of land use and development. Private and social costs Distribution of income between classes, persons and occupations—the general level of employment.

*Money* : The place of public spending and taxation. Elementary economic theory as to diminishing returns. Rent. The economic factors governing development and redevelopment. The effect of gross and net density on the cost and returns of development. The time factor in schemes of development in relation to profit and loss, period of loans, ripening of land. Tests for economy in development.

*Statistics* : General introduction to Statistics and statistical concepts. Classification of Data, Tabulation, Frequency distribution, Time series, etc. Measurement of Averages, weighted average, index numbers, cost of living Index number, Statistical Inquiries, Preparation of questionnaires, schedules, forms, etc. Representative samples in statistical surveys—Statistical methods for dealing with the measurement of Population trends, national income and its distribution—employment, housing, social conditions, etc. Graphic presentation—diagrams, charts, etc. Use of the official statistical publications.

#### 1.7. *Principles of Town Planning* :

Definition of Town Planning, Duties of a Town Planner, Objectives, scope and requirements of Town Planning. Different Types of Towns—according to function, locations, Street patterns—advantages and disadvantages of various types.

*Civic Survey* : Aims and methods of survey—scope, purpose, content and methods in typical subjects such as land use, utility services, transport, community facilities, life and conditions of buildings, Space and density standards. Concept of diagnostic survey—socio-economic survey—Collection, analysis and presentation of data. Need to draw deductions to outline planning problems.

Development of towns, extension of towns, suburbs, satellite towns, dormitory towns, garden city.

*Zoning* : Inter-relationships of different parts of towns. Planning of housing estates, industrial states. Neighbourhood planning. Civic centres—cultural and recreation centres. Open spaces—green belts—Village planning.

#### 1.8. *Town Planning Design and Drawing* :

Study by drawn exercises of general principles of planning housing estate, industrial estate, shopping centre, recreation centre, garden, park, neighbourhood, village, etc. Emphasis shall be given to site planning aspects of the problem including grouping of buildings, circulation pattern, distribution of open spaces, landscaping, etc. Sessional work will include at least five problems covering the above aspects and presented with the help of Drawings, supplemented by short

## SECTION B

**2.1. *Philosophy and Techniques of City and Regional Planning :***

History of the Development of Planning Thought—Critical examination of the 'Ideal Plans' suggested by various architects and planners in the past and the present. Theories, work and influences of great personalities like Patrick Geddes, Ebenezer Howard, Lewis Mumford, F. L. Wright, Le Corbusier, etc. Definitions of Planning physical, social, economic, and their scope at the National, Regional and Local level. Changing concepts of Master Planning—Comprehensive Planning. Development Planning—Community Planning, etc. Basic Studies for Planning—Economic Base, Population, Land-use, Circulation, etc. General Studies—Housing, Shopping, Schools, Recreation, etc. Problem of Big Cities—Conurbations—Metropolitan Areas, Urban Renewal—Slum Clearance—Improvement Schemes. Decentralisation—Planning of new towns. City, Region, Regionalism—Community as a regional basis, Regional Planning—natural regions—metropolitan regions. Concept of Balanced Regional Development—Discussion on plans of selected cities in India and abroad such as Greater London Plan, Greater Delhi Plan, etc.

**2.2. *Housing and Urban Re-development :***

Housing as a physical, social and economic problem. Role of Housing in National, Regional and Local Planning. Pattern of Housing Areas in a city—a constructive programme. Elements of Housing—Inventory of Housing Areas—shortage. Methods of Planning Housing Areas—Housing Standards. Low and middle income group housing—low cost and low rent housing—mass production—pre-fabrication—Citywide Approach—Neighbourhood Approach—Design Criteria. Undeveloped Areas—Blighted Areas—Slum. Rehabilitation. Nature of Urban Blight—Causes of Blight and Slum areas. Problem of Prevention—Problem of Redevelopment. Redevelopment of Central Areas in a city—amount and distribution of accommodation.

**2.3. *Traffic and Transportation :***

Growth of Street Traffic and its relation to Planning. Economic aspects of congestion and accidents. Traffic as a function of Land Use—Journey to work and Day-time Population Studies—Origin and Destination Studies. Studies of traffic generation and special kinds of trips. Traffic Surveys—measurement and description of the movement of persons, goods and vehicles—traffic counts—Traffic analyses and projections, purposes, methods. Comprehensive plans for transportation—Objectives, Scope, relation to other plans. Planning of Street and Highway Systems—Railroad facilities serving urban areas. Railroad, marine, bus and truck terminals—requirements. Metropolitan planning of air transportation facilities. Airport location and design requirements—relation to nearby land-use—integration with other aspects of planning.

**2.4. *Planning Legislation :***

History of Planning Legislation—current planning Acts—current legal machinery for planning in India and abroad—Historical and critical survey of Town Planning and Redevelopment Legislation—Important Acts in the U.K., U.S.A., India and other countries dealing with Town Planning aspects such as Highways Road Improvement, Town Improvement, Housing, Public Health, etc. Zoning and Sub-division Regulations—Building Codes. Building and Improvement Lines—Land Acquisition Act. Town Planning legal disputes. Modern tendencies in Planning Legislation.

**2.5. *Planning Administration and Finance :***

Forms and functions of Central, State and Local Government. Planning function in Urban government. Role of Public Administration in Planning—Machinery of Administration—Organisations—Departments—Ministries—Problems of Public Corporations—Municipalities. Planning as an administrative process. Role of civic and voluntary bodies in planning. Citizen participation in the preparation and execution of Development Plans. Role of Independent Agencies for Planning and execution—General study of governmental financial operations—sources of income—principles and methods of Taxation, Public Expenditure—Public Debt—Financing of Development—Long Term programming and financing of Public Works—Capita Investment.

**2.6. *Statutory Planning and Professional Practice :***

Statutory Planning Practice—a historical survey. Planning Policy and its sources. Reports of Committees and Commissions for Planning in India—Five Year Plans—Plans and Projects of the Government of India and the Government of West Bengal. Reports of Committees and Commissions in the U.K. such as Barlow, Scott,

Uthwatt, Dudley, Schnuster, etc. Reports of the National Resources Committee, U.S.A.

Professional Institutions—constitution and organisation—Affiliated and other interested bodies.

Code of Professional conduct—services and costs of consultants' services—role of the expert.

Organisation of local authority, Planning Department. Organisation and Scheduling of office work.

Drawing and map production services—preparation of reports.

**2.7. *Planning Project and Thesis :***

Individual Thesis on a Planning research problem chosen by the student and approved by the Professor of Town and Regional Planning.

The Thesis should be presented in a series of drawings including maps and plans substantiated by a brief report on the collection and analysis of the data and justification of the proposals included in the Thesis.

The student will be required to present the Report and the drawings personally to a jury consisting of the Professor of Town and Regional Planning, Professor of Architecture and one Professional Planner appointed as an external examiner.





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## THE TEACHING OF PHILOSOPHY

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(This article is written in the light of the discussion on the teaching of philosophy at the All-India Seminar of Social Sciences held at Asutosh Hall.)

### WHAT IS PHILOSOPHY ?

According to some, if we want to discuss how to teach philosophy, we should begin by defining it. But the difficulty is that there is no definition of philosophy which is acceptable to all philosophers. Philosophy is indeed unlike any other subject. Sociology, for instance, is fairly intelligible to us, because it has a fact or phenomenon for its subject matter, namely, society. There is no fact, however, with which all philosophers are agreedly concerned. Although there are not as many definitions of philosophy as there are philosophers, there are, to be sure, several definitions which differ widely from each other. It is rather paradoxical to say that after three thousand years of philosophy, philosophers of today are hotly discussing what philosophy is about. In the circumstances, if we lay stress on definition in the matter of teaching philosophy, there would obviously be several kinds of teaching according to the different definitions of philosophy. In that case, there is nothing to discuss about the teaching of philosophy. The fact we must consider is, however, this : the word " philosophy " in the phrase " the teaching of philosophy " means a subject which consists of some connected



courses of study, such as History of philosophy, Logic, Epistemology, Metaphysics, Ethics and the rest. And the question is : how teach such a subject ?

### HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY AND HISTORY

Some suggest that History of philosophy should occupy an important place in the teaching of philosophy. Most teachers would agree, I believe, that philosophy students should begin with this subject, which shows how philosophy as a human pursuit originated in the past and how philosophic thought developed over the centuries. It goes without saying that History of philosophy is different from plain history. Unlike the latter, History of philosophy is history of ideas. In consequence, by the study of the History of philosophy the beginners would understand how philosophy itself was conceived differently by different philosophers. We agree with those who hold that the teaching of the History of philosophy must not be merely descriptive. Positive history itself is no cataloguing of events, but involves deep interpretation. History of philosophy, being history of ideas, involves by far deeper interpretation, also analysis and comparison.

The question is often discussed whether History of philosophy should be taught and studied with or without reference to the historical background. I think I am not far wrong when I say that in the Indian universities History of philosophy is taught in abstraction from the history of the period in question. As a result, philosophy students, generally speaking, do not know what centuries the philosophers they study belonged to. This is ridiculous. There is no doubt that in teaching History of philosophy the teacher concerned must reckon with the relevant socio-political history in order to make it effective.

### MATHEMATICAL LOGIC AND SCIENTIFIC PHILOSOPHY

Many teachers are of the opinion that more and more of mathematical logic and scientific philosophy should be included in the philosophy curriculum. At the present time, logic is taught at three stages—primary, secondary, and higher. Elementary logic is taught at school and at the pre-university level : higher logic is taught at the B.A. and is continued up to the M.A. stage. The emphasis is now being increasingly laid on mathematical and scientific philosophy. Some go to the length of suggesting that traditional logic, which is

being taught at school, should be replaced by elementary mathematical and symbolic logic in order to train the students so as to enable them to take up mathematical *cum* symbolic logic at the B.A. stage. This is a great issue, and much can be said on both sides. The fact, however, remains that mathematical logic presupposes some training in mathematics. To refer to the London School of Economics, there is a post-graduate course in philosophy at this institute. And there are two branches of the study, namely, mathematical logic and scientific philosophy. One woman student of Calcutta University with a First Class in Philosophy has gone to London and is admitted into the School. She goes in for a Post-graduate Course in Philosophy but she finds to her surprise that in one branch practically science and in the other pure mathematics is taught. She is dumbfounded ; she lacks the requisite background. This is a pointer to the fact that if we want to teach mathematical logic and scientific philosophy in the full sense at the higher stages, we have to prepare the ground by making mathematics as well as science compulsory right from the preliminary stage. We have to overhaul the whole system of education in order to give it a scientific bias. But we should not do anything at haphazard. If we administer an overdose of mathematical logic and scientific philosophy to our system at random, it may kill it outright. They say that the eleven-year and three-year Degree courses have already unhinged the system. If it is that all is well with the new courses, we should be cautious what damage we do to it by any rash action of ours.

#### THE METHOD OF TEACHING

We are told that the teacher of philosophy should follow the right method of teaching. Up till now there is not much talk about it ; it is, as a matter of fact, left to the teacher himself. But educationists have begun to consider how best to teach philosophy. However differently philosophers may define philosophy, we may describe it as speculative understanding of the things to study. If so, philosophy teaching must have its characteristic method. Some suggest that in teaching philosophy we should follow the Socratic dialectic. But the point is that Socrates employed this method in philosophizing and that this method was in the form of a dialogue. At all events, under the present system of education this method is not applicable in teaching big classes. The teacher is to impart ideas, and make analysis and criticism to this end. Criticism is verily

conducive to clarification. Some nevertheless suggest the word "discussion" to cover these processes. We agree to the view that the teaching of philosophy must be done by discussion. But this view is not a new one. It would not be out of place to mention here that Abelard, the rationalist philosopher, in the eleventh century proposed and practised this method of discussion in the University of Paris. It was a great innovation indeed. But how far we have adopted it is a question to answer.

#### INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

Immediately after independence, a teacher of philosophy told me that it was time to Indianize the philosophy syllabus. He perhaps meant something similar to the Indianization of the military forces.. When power was transferred to the Indians all three arms of the military were Indianized. And there was an absolute need for it : the defence of the country could not without contradiction be entrusted to foreigners. But what exactly is meant by "Indianization of the philosophy syllabus" ? Is it meant that as we are now an independent nation, our students shall study, if ever, only Indian philosophy ? Here "Indian philosophy" means the philosophy or philosophies developed in India in the past. But intellectual culture has no frontiers. History is a witness to the fact that there has been an exchange of ideas between one country and another. In the contemporary situation, because of the development of science and technology the nations have come so close together that they cannot avoid cultural contact between them. It is indeed true that our students should know of our past achievements in the realm of thought. Still, we, Indians, cannot confine ourselves to Indian philosophy of the past and shut out ideas that come from outside. No nation can thrive simply by ruminating over its past.

#### INDIAN PHILOSOPHY AND CREATIVE THOUGHT

Some nevertheless in their overzeal for Indian philosophy contends that contemporary philosophy in India could be created only by way of a proper assessment and a critical study of Indian philosophy of the past. As they point out, Bacon in England created his philosophy by criticism of mediaeval thought. But we cannot afford to forget that Bacon was a creative genius and that mediaeval thought was only an occasion for him. Unfortunately, however, an Indian Bacon is not yet come. Even if a genius comes,

we cannot say that he would necessarily create out of, or on the basis of, Indian philosophy of the past. As Bosanquet, the British philosopher, says, "Philosophy may begin anywhere." Perhaps creative thinkers are already come in India, and we believe contemporary Indian philosophy would take shape presently.

#### TEACHING BY SYLLABUS

There must indeed be a syllabus to make the teaching systematic. But the framing of the detailed syllabus should be left to the philosophy Departments of the universities. But one cannot expect that they would all agree about the matter. They would certainly differ within a certain area. Yet, if there is the question of the universities having a uniform philosophy syllabus for the B.A. as well as for the M.A. stage, the representatives of the philosophy Departments of the universities must meet and put their heads together to hammer out a common programme. Such an effort is worth while as it would help co-ordination between the universities.

#### TEACHING AND THE TEACHER

There is one last point to consider. Teaching involves the teacher. We may perfect the syllabus and also the method of teaching. But it all would be of no avail if there be no teachers to work it. So we have to concentrate on the teacher. But the problem of the teacher is not a problem peculiar to the Philosophy Departments. It is indeed one of the major problems that beset our educational system. We, teachers, discuss subjects, syllabi, the method of teaching and all that, but we do not discuss ourselves. It may be that we are shy of discussing ourselves, or that we think we are above discussion. If the teacher really needs to be discussed, I do not know how to discuss him. It is a delicate matter. We may nevertheless do one thing. We may draw the attention of the relevant authorities to the fact that there is no reliable machinery in the universities to select able, efficient teachers and to appreciate efficient teaching. Universities are springing up around us. But where are the teachers to work them, let alone working them well ?

# APPLICATION OF GOODENOUGH TEST TO U.P. CHILDREN OF AGES 3+ to 10+

DR. (KM) M. GHOSH

1

On account of its non-verbal character, Goodenough Draw-A-Man Test has an appeal for children and has been found to be fairly reliable and valid for assessing intelligence of children in U.S.A. and other countries. In the opinion of investigators, this language free test material and scale is superior to other language free measures of intelligence for children upto 10+ years.

In India E. W. Menzel in C.P. (5), P. L. Shrimali in Mewar (10), P. D. Patel in Gujrat (7), T. N. Dhar (1), B. L. Joshi (4) and A. Mukherji (6) in Delhi have worked with more or less unmodified scoring scale of Goodenough, and are of the opinion that the test is fairly reliable and valid for measuring mental maturity of Indian children but that it is less sensitive and descriminative for Indian children than for American children.

Attempts were made by A. S. Pillai (9) in Madras, and P. Pathak in Baroda (8) to evolve a valid measuring scale by making suitable modifications with a view to increasing its sensivity for Indian children. These attempts do not appear to have met with much marked success and the results are not very conclusive.

The present study aimed primarily at evolving norms on the Goodenough Draw-A-Man Test of intelligence for children of Indian homes of U.P., with special reference to children attending nursery schools and primary schools attached to Girls' Higher Secondary Schools in Allahabad, and secondarily to find out the extent to which the Goodenough Scale is suited for investigating the mental development of children from different environments.

The sample for my study was drawn from the city of Allahabad

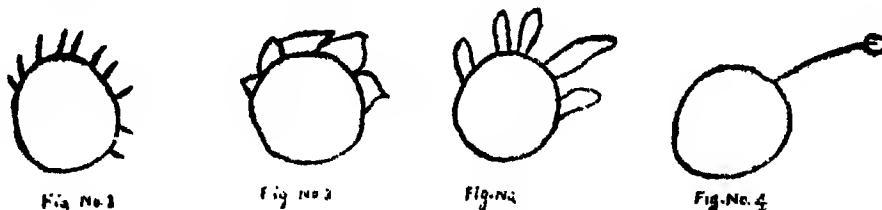
A study based on the analysis of drawings of children of nursery schools and of Primary classes of Higher Secondary schools for girls in Allahabad, U.P. The study was undertaken under a Fulbright Alumni Research Grant made by USEFI, New Delhi, for the year 1963-65. The following account is abridged from the report submitted to USEFI on the investigation made by her.

—an urban area of Uttar Pradesh. The subjects belonged to the primary classes from classes I to V attached mainly to Higher Secondary schools for girls and to pre-primary classes of the principal nursery schools of the city.

The total number of drawings collected from classes I to V was 2,000 and that from nursery classes was 927. Eight drawings from primary classes were rejected, for the papers were almost blank with such remarks as 'I do not get it', or they contained something else than a human figure. In the nursery classes 151 drawings were not considered, for they belonged to the preliminary stage of drawings, i.e., A—class\* drawings that are not recognizable as human figure. Only B—class drawings\*, which are attempts to represent human figure and can be recognized as such, were taken into account for my purpose. Seven drawings belonging to the age-group 2+ were excluded. The total number of children in the final sample for norms was 1,992 drawn from classes I to V, and 769 belonging to pre-primary classes.

The scoring of drawings in my study was done on the original 51-point scale of Goodenough strictly according to the directions given in her Manual (8).

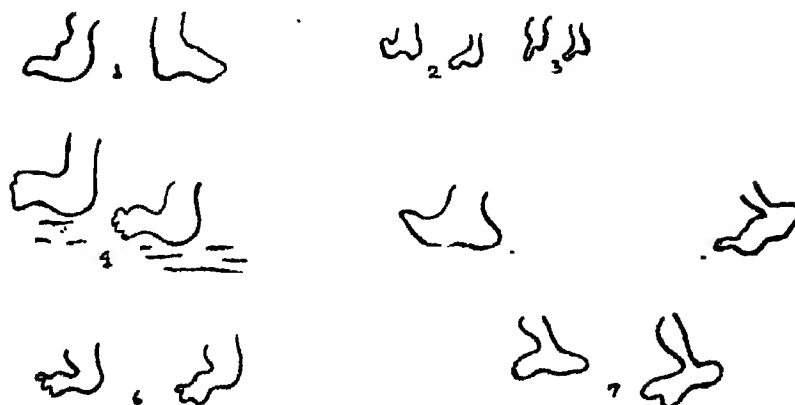
A few points viz., point No. 8a (hair), point No. 13 (heel) needed a slight moderation. Our children show the 'hair' not only with a number of straight lines and/or scribbled lines on the top of the head (illustration No. 1) but they indicate the hair in the manner shown in figure Nos. 2, 3 and 4 illustrated below. Perception of our children regarding the hair seems to be influenced by the varieties of decorative Indian hair styles.



In scoring point No. 13, in addition to the illustrated heels of the shoes as in the text of Goodenough (8), a clear indication of the heel of a bare foot (considering the shape) was also taken into account. Children have shown both bare feet and booted feet in their drawings.

\*For A and B class drawings, refer Goodenough, F. L. *Measurement of Intelligence by Drawings* (2), page 21-22.

For bare feet, credit has been given for heels drawn as illustrated below :—



While scoring the drawings, the points in the clothing area, viz., points 9a to 9e, had to be scored on the basis of Indian clothing also. On the whole, the area of clothing was marked leniently regarding the style and the number of clothing, as done by previous Indian workers.

Norms have been derived separately for ages 3+ to 10+, and classes I to V. The Table No. 1 below gives the frequency distribution of scores, the means, and the standard deviations for each

TABLE No. 1  
Distribution of Scores by Classes (Classes I to V only)

Class Score Interval	I	II	III	IV		Total
1-3						
4-6	11	7	..	1	..	19
7-9	48	27	21	3	3	102
10-12	61	72	57	28	23	241
13-15	102	119	103	80	37	441
16-18	41	68	126	101	81	417
19-21	13	33	68	103	106	323
22-24	5	17	34	58	85	199
25-27	0	7	16	28	52	103
28-30	1	1	6	16	30	54
31-33	.	1	3	12	25	41
34-36	.	0	1	1	19	21
37-39	.	1	2	2	14	19
40-42	.	..	..	2	5	7
43-45	.	..	..	..	5	5
Total Number	282	353	437	435	485	1992
Mean score	12.92	14.73	16.75	19.18	22.46	
S.D.	3.91	4.55	4.90	5.41	6.86	
C.V.	.302	.308	.292	.282	.305	

of the classes from I to V. In this table the nursery classes have been excluded owing to the lack of uniformity in the grade classification.

Rounding off the decimal figures and taking the means to the nearest whole members, the class-norms were obtained as given below :

Age Average (Upto January, 1964, to the nearest whole no. of years)	Class	Mean (Obtained)	Mean (After smoothing the curve)
6	I	13	13
7	II	15	15
8	III	17	17
9	IV	19	19
10	V	22	21

*Comparison of Age-norms and Class-norms*

The drawings were obtained in January, 1963, of the session 1962-63 (July, 1962—June, 1963), i.e., six months after the schools had started the sessions work. Actual age average of each class in January, 1963, was calculated and taken to the nearest whole number of years ; they are found to be 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 years in January, 1963, for classes I, II, III, IV and V respectively. Hence, from the above figures of class-norms, it is obvious that the norms at  $6\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $7\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $8\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $9\frac{1}{2}$  and  $10\frac{1}{2}$  years will be 14, 16, 18, 20 and 22 respectively. This shows a complete agreement between the age-norms and the class-norms, and would point to the possibility of computing the mental age and I.Q. of a child from his/her score on the Draw-A-Man test.

The test-retest reliability coefficients are found to be quite satisfactory. Reliability coefficients of the test by the split-half method for various age-groups vary from .84 to .97, which is very highly satisfactory. The Coefficients of Variation of different classes are close to one another, fluctuating between .91 to 1.09 (.18) only. This fluctuation is small and the ratio between the Coefficients of variation of any two classes may be regarded as remaining very nearly constant and equal to 1. Variation Coefficients obtained for age-groups 5+ to 10+, when examined in terms of mental age, fluctuated between .32 to .38 (.06) only. This indicates that the Coefficient of Variation is very nearly constant from age to age also and the test can be taken to be reliable from ages 5+ to 10+. The age-groups 4+, 5+, and 10+ of the sample studied are more variable than the remaining age-groups 6+ to 9+. The 3+ age-group has been found to be the most variable, V being .48.



The order of difficulty of the separate points as found by my subjects correlates with that found by Goodenough subjects to the extent of .89 on an average. Hence no fresh item validation of the test seemed necessary. The degree of validity of the items is almost the same for Indian children of Allahabad as for American sample of Goodenough.

For validity of Draw-A-Man, tested against school examination marks, the correlations between I.Q. and the aggregate of school examination marks of classes II (52 children), III (51 children) and IV (71 children), were found to be .33, .28 and .20 respectively. The correlation .20 is positive but slight and rather uncertain. The other two correlations .33 and .28 are significant at .02 and .05 levels. These correlations are significant but not high. Validity of the scores tested against teachers' ratings of the same classes are found to be significant at .01 level.

## 5

The tentative norms arrived at by various Indian workers who have used the original Goodenough scale of scoring are shown in Table No. 2.

In general, the mean score of each age-group found by me and different investigators in India falls much short of the corresponding Goodenough norms. Also, it may be noted that the norms obtained for age 6+ in the present investigation is 14 points which is equal to the Goodenough norm and is much higher than the norm obtained by any other previous worker in India; but the regular increase for successive ages up to 10+ remains the same (*i.e.*, increase of 2 points) as found by others, instead of Goodenough's successive increase of 4 points, consequently lowering the mean scores for the following ages from 7+ to 10+ in comparison to American norms. Thus, the test appears to be less sensitive and discriminative for Indian children than for American children.

On the other hand, the norms found by me for the nursery age-groups 3+, 4+, and 5+ respectively are higher than the corresponding American norms, which may be due to the effects of social status of the children concerned and probably also to the discrepancy of one/two years between the recorded age and real age (recorded age being less than the real age). A difference of even six months at this stage has a much greater effect on the mental development than at a later stage. It may be noted here that the nursery group of children is a very selective group on socio-economic grounds,

TABLE NO. 2  
Norms Arrived at by different Indian investigators

Age	Norms						
	Menzel (C.P.) 1935	Shrimala (Mewar) 1947	Joshi (Delhi) 1955	Mukerji (Delhi) 1956	Dhar (Delhi) 1956	Patel (Gujrat) 1955	Goodenough 1926
3					3 (45)		7 (91)
4					6 (98)	5 (23)	9 (314)
5					9 (143)	7 (98)	12 (393)
6	8 (128)	10 (44)	10 (122)		11 (86)	5 (220)	14 (436)
7	10 (244)	12 (101)	12 (145)		12 (111)	9 (254)	16 (402)
8	12 (341)	14 (169)	13 (128)		13 (85)	10.75 (258)	18 (415)
9	14 (344)	16 (243)	15 (93)			11.75 (248)	20 (326)
10	16 (321)	18 (276)	17 (106)			12.5 (117)	22 (221)
11	18 (297)	20 (345)		28.90 (118)		13.5 (15)	
12	20 (276)	22 (370)		31.65 (128)			
13	22 (166)	24 (295)		33.50 (121)			
14	24 (155)	26 (227)		35.40 (122)			
15	26 (332)	28 (304)					
Total cases	2604	2374	594	489	568	1233	2398

Note : The figures within brackets ( ) show the number of subjects used in obtaining the mean.

the educational expense at this stage being fairly high and somewhat beyond the reach of common public. Only affluent parents having an awareness for the need of pre-school education of children send the children to nursery schools. Effects of cultural and higher social status might have been shown by a higher average score in the performance of children.

A comparative study of the results of various school suggests that the performance of children varies according to environment. Children from good environments give better performance on Draw-A-Man than children from less favourable environments. The study reveals that the differences in educational opportunities and environmental background affect the average score ; the better the educational facilities and opportunities and more favourable the environmental background, the higher the average score.

The analysis of the available data shows also that under circumstances of better educational facilities and opportunities and better environmental background, the difference between the average score of two successive ages tends to increase, indicating greater sensitivity of the test.

In the nursery age-groups 4+ and 5+, the performance of girls appears to be superior to that of boys ; the boys are more variable in their performance than girls. This tendency of girls being superior, and the boys being more variable, is in agreement with the findings of Goodenough.

The Goodenough items, on which Indian children score significantly much less than the American subjects, generally involve a better perception of location of parts, proportion, and motor co-ordination. In this connection special mention may be made of the points 14f, 15b, 16d, 18a and 18b(2).

The claim that the Goodenough Test is entirely culture-free does not seem to be borne out by the results of this and other investigations. However, it is culture-free on a majority of items.

The items pertaining to the area of clothing need modifications in their requirements as well as the method of scoring them according to the environmental background of culture and social customs.

Items like Goodenough points 14f, 15b, 16d, 18a, 18b, which are covered by Harris point-scale (3) also and on which practically no score has been made by the children tested in the present study, seem to require suitable substitution by some other items.

The clothing area has to be considered from the point of view of our children whose concepts are influenced by our different patterns of dress and modes of living. The points involving the sense of location, proportion and motor coordination will depend on the level of education of our children and the educational environment and training that we provide to them at the nursery and primary stages of learning experience.

Again, some points, especially those involving the perception of body parts, may not have the same emphasis and meaning for Indian children as for American children on account of a difference in the social and cultural set-up.

A rescoring of the drawings of a sample of children of classes III and IV of one school, according to the revised Man-point scale of D. B. Harris (3), was done. The very brief preliminary exploration made by the present investigator indicates that not only the mean raw score from age to age on the Harris scale tends to be greater than that on Goodenough scale, but also the differences in the mean raw scores of successive ages are greater. The results seem to be suggestive of the Harris Scale being equally reliable and valid for the sample of Indian children of the present study.

Harris Scale has not made any changes, qualitative or quantitative, in the points of clothing area of the original Goodenough Scale, and does not obviate the difficulty experienced in scoring the drawings of children so far as the 'clothing area' is concerned. Also, no changes or modifications have been made by Harris in the Goodenough points 14f, 15b, 16d, 18a and 18b mentioned above. Hence, no help is afforded by the Harris Scale in marking these items.

The very brief preliminary exploration made by the present investigator indicates that the Harris revision (Man- and Woman-point scale) is likely to be more suitable to and give a more effective measure of intelligence than the original Goodenough scale if the modifications and substitutions pointed out above are carefully thought and carried out.

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## IMPLICATION OF NADI STUTI BY SINDHU- KSHIT PRAIYAMEDHA RISHI (R.V.X. 75)

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For a century that has passed a good deal of interest was exhibited on the Vedas and Vedic literature inasmuch as they were deemed as the earliest testimony in writing of the human race. Hence it was found necessary to delimit its age and territory and hold to light the cultural condition of the Vedic people. To do this the scholars had to understand the Vedic literature which had to be done through Yaska, Sayana and other commentators, though some thought that the help of the commentators was unnecessary and some thought the Brahmana texts to be puerile, but today with the spectacular advance of archaeology and the abrogation of the Biblical date of creation not much interest for the Vedas is to be seen. Archaeology has revealed many cultures far beyond the Biblical date of creation and has taught much about the progress of civilisation from very ancient times far older than the Vedic age as worked out by the Western scholars.

Orthodox Hindus of India believe the Vedas to be eternal. This has, of course, been taught by orthodox Vedic scholars like Yaska, Sayana and others. But this idea has been rejected by the Western scholars as also by some Indian scholars following the Europeans. Even late Umesh-chandra Vidyaratna in his introduction (Upodghata) to the Vedas has very ironically asked, "how did the Vedas arrive? Were they sent through the post office of God?" This, unfortunately, exhibits a lamentable ignorance of the respected scholar regarding the Brahmanical faith as embodied in the Vedas. The Brahmins believed and still believe that there is one and only one principle, call it Atma, Paramatma, Brahma, Brahmanaspati, Tat or Prana or Sat, or whatever you may like, which is the pervasive and eternal first principle originating all life and objects in the Universe, being itself the material thereof and inspiring every living thing to activity. As the Vedas depict activities hence they have originated from this first principle. The Rishis (sages) only discerned them and enjoined them upon the people. They are the Visionaries-Drashtā. In this sense the Vedas are eternal. The eternal aspect of the Vedas has been enjoined upon the people as they are never to forget this basic First principle. It may be said that this basic principle of life runs counter to the idea of free will which is rather difficult to be refuted. To this

the answer is that the so-called Free will is a relative term. As a big fish freely moves about in this water but cannot do so in the absence of water, so our freedom is relative. But as we all are after happiness and pleasure and want to avoid misery and as we have little foresight so we are enjoined upon to follow a particular course of action avoiding sin which is nothing but misery. All injunctions or beliefs or superstitions, as you may call them, are based on this principle. Without complicating references we may say that the Ishopanishat exhibits this view. A proper understanding, of course, is necessary. But as we are concerned with works of the Vedic exegesis, we, probably, cannot quarrel with the view of the Western scholars in trying to discover a chronological structure of the culture and traditions of the Vedas in a territorial background. In this connection we may state that we reject the opinions of those who ascribe the age of the Vedas to 1,20,000 or 30,000 B.C. inasmuch as the opinions stand on very flimsy or unworthy grounds. Even though we accept the age of the Vedas as calculated by Jacobi, Tilak and Jogeshchandra Roy, we cannot start our arguments from them inasmuch as these dates do not indicate if they are the origin or only a stage in the Vedic chronology.

In the fixation of the chronology of the Vedas, the most point is whether we are to date it from its writing down or the testimony of the traditions as embodied in the Mantras. Here it may be postulated that the Veda Samhitas are a body of compilations collected from different class or families in which the Mantras were handed down from generation to generation, so even a single collection cannot show a positive approximate date. So we find some scholars ascribing priority to some mantras and to others a later date. This, of course, excludes the previous compilations of which we hear from the Puranas, but relates to the compilation that we have said to be made by Vyasa. Moreover, Philosophy tells us that a language in regard to Orthography, Phonetics and inflexion changes more in the centre of origin than in the periphery. So a philological computation of the date of the Vedas is not possible without the knowledge of the centre of origin of the language if at all it was a single language. All such calculations are mere conjectures which have worked back from the almost fixed date of the birth of Buddha. These are conjectures from insufficient data. A mere consideration of the advent of classical Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit will possibly force into the mind that there must have been a serious and long gap between these and Vedic Language (if at all a single Language) which we cannot call Sanskrit or modified language. A consideration of the Sutras of Panini will possibly prove this contention, if we consider his age to be the 8th Century B.C. In many places Panini appears to have lost orientation. Such cases are

Dampati, Manusya, Kanina, Patni etc. Pati and Patni mean controller or overlord. One is not derived from the other. Dampati means master or mistress of the house. Manusya is not derived from Manu but from Manus. Kānina is derived from Kani or Kanā and not as Panini directs. This apparent loss of orientation of words is possibly due to a vast gap of time and not merely of eight or seven hundred years. So this backward calculation must necessarily be faulty. But Mak Muller and others have precisely made faulty calculations. They have conjectured the Vedic culture to have originated in India round about 1500 B.C. Moreover, as they found that the Vedic people were a white race with golden hair in some cases, whereas most of the people in India are black and mixed race and as the words Arya and Ārya are strewn over in many places in the mantras and as the Vedic Language is similar to the Persian, Greek and Germanic Languages, they formulated that the Vedic people were aryaans and must have come into India from Europe and called them Indo-Europeans in the absence of a positive proof of their origin in India. They have not also found a clear solution to the centum satem divagation of speech. Various attempts have been made to locate the origin of the Indo-European language which starting from Norway has come to rest in central Turkeystan. We are under the painful necessity to state that all these arguments are conjectures. There is not a single positive evidence. The reason of this is that the Vedas have not been as scientifically studied as is necessary. As in illustration we may state that it has been very strongly stated that there is absolutely no evidence that Dhanya (Paddy-Rice) was known in the Rig Vedic times. But unfortunately enough the word is to be found at least in three places (R.V.V. 53, 13, VI, 13, 4.X,94, 13) carrying a sense which cannot be other than Paddy or Rice. In that admirable book, Pre-historic India (pelican), Mr. Stuart Piggott, upto the end of Ch. vi, has from archaeological data very excellently established the invasion and devastation of the country by marauding horsemen from the west round about the first half of the second millenium B.C.—specifically 1500 B.C.—and has jumped to the conclusion that these marauding hordes were the Vedic Aryans in the next and last chapter of the book.

Though his conclusion is centred about Sind and Beluchistan and not the northern regions of India to which, according to the opinion of Western scholars, the so-called Aryans or Indo-Europeans migrated, we are startled with the illogicality of his argument. The excellent reasoning that he has pursued all through out the six chapters of his book is not to be found in the remaining chapter. In all fairness to him we must say that he has admitted that he has not made a first hand study of the Vedas.



But what he has not stated is that his view is based on the consensus of conjectures by the earlier European scholars. Thus a good deal of inductive reasoning has been sacrificed at the altar of conjectures. In his book, edition of 1950, chapter IV facing page 102, he has supplied us with a picture, Fig. 7, reportedly belonging to kulli culture of about 3000 B.C., which positively depicts the Agnishomiya yagna as described in Aitareya Brahman vi, 3. In the picture there are a cow and an ox with certain other animals and objects. On the top of the picture there are four creeper like things, a few strainer like objects and in between the horns two triangles, one white and another black. The creepers are of course some plants and the triangles are symbols of fire one belonging to the Ahargana and the other to Rātrigana (R.V. vi. 9.1. and 1,95,1.).

The eyes depict Surya. All the animals are of two colours as required in the Agnishomiya sacrifice. The ox and the cow are tethered to posts of which only one is seen. It is clearly the Yupa which is crowned with an object which Mr. Piggott calls a brazier but which is nothing but the Chashāla, a sort of crown. In between the cow and the ox there is the symbol of a peepul tree (*Ficus Religiosa*) the symbol of Vishva Karmā in the Yagna. This peepul tree stands for the people who performed Asvamedha or horse sacrifice. So this picture depicts an age when there was a complete amalgamation of cultures.

A living example of this can be found in R.V.I, 100,16. where it is stated that the sons of Brishāgirā, Ṛgishwā, Ambarisha, Sahadev and others used horses of two colours—red and grey. As in the 18th mantra Shimju is mentioned whom, from R.V. VII, 18,5, we know to be a denizen of the banks of Sindhu *i.e.*, Parushui (Ravi) and as Chayamānu or Chaman in Baluchistan and Nāhusisu which we take for the railway station Nushki in the vicinity of Pishin-Lora. We take the locality of Ambarisha and others in the region of Kuki culture. From mention of domes or place names in R.V. VII, 18,7 we are confined in our convictions of the locality in as much as Paktha is easily Deva Bugti, Votansa or Votans is Bolan (Bolan Pass), Alināsu the Alai, Bishanina is Pishiu and Sivas is Sibi or Sivas all in proximity of Quetta and can be easily located today in contiguity of Chaman and river Ravi or Parushui. This is rather a testimony of Vedic culture previous to Mahenjo Daro and Harappa. Mentions of canals in and about Parushui and what was later on Harappa is also made.

By way of digression we may here mention that while exploring the course of Indus, Seylan of Caryanda, as mentioned by Herodotus in Bk. IV, 44, must have sailed in 6th century B.C. from Kashmir in Dera Bugti. Herodotus calls it Cashatyros in the district of Pactyea. In Markandeya Puran Ch. 57, 52 we also find the mention of Kashmir in the

Aparānta country. The place can still today be located. So Bugti is Pactyca of the Greeks and Paktha of the Rig Veda as mentioned here. This Kashmir is not the province of Kashmir as interpreted by scholars.

Space and occasion do not allow us to discuss this amalgamation of cultures. What we want to emphasise here is that here about 3000 B.C., we have a complete amalgamation of cultures which must have taken place far earlier. So we cannot say that the Vedic people entered India round about 1500 B.C. There are more instances of this in the same book though unknown to the writer. There is one more feature in the picture that we have missed. On the bodies of the ox and the cow there are certain marks which appear very much like husked rice or barley. This is another testimony that this figure, an instance of Kulli culture of 3000 B.C., exhibits a positive instance of the influence of Vedic culture as described in Aitareya Brāhmaṇa vi, 3. In the same context of the Brāhmaṇa it is said that there was a controversy if the animal was to be sacrificed and eaten or only Puroḍaśh, a kind of bread prepared from barley or rice. Some were in favour of eating the flesh and some were against this. This can be taken as a starting point of arguments regarding the origin of Jainism and other religions. The picture is possibly related to Gavāmayana Sātra also (Aitareya Brahmana xviii, 7 and 8).

By this time we have possibly succeeded, if not in refuting the postulates of the Western scholars, at least in impressing on the scholars a need for rethinking over the issue.

Macdonell, Keith and others, though they believe in the migration of the so-called Aryans or Indo-Europeans into India, have described the Vedic affairs in a way which brings into our mind that they believe that the Vedic culture developed in India. That is why they have tried to pack all place names in British India, as it was called in their time. But to maintain their belief they have discovered certain mythologies in the Vedas. This feature is to be discussed.

Darmesteter, Hillebraudt, Luduig, Bollenstein etc. have tried to extend the places in Afganisthan as well. Whether they have done it in order to further establish the Indo-European migration theory (migratory people must leave some traces behind) or they have followed the statement of the Arab writer Al-Masudi (953 A.D.), who says that the Hindu nation extends from Khorassan to Tibet is rather difficult to understand.

From the Commentary of Sāyana it is quite evident that he takes almost the whole of India as the field of Vedic culture. But as his commentary is based on rituals only he cares very little for time and place. The same may be spoken of Yāska. Late Umeshchandra Vidyāratna presumed the Pamir plateau to be origin of the Vedic culture. Tilak's

opinion of the arctic home of the Aryans is rather well-known. There are some who think the Yablonoi and Stanovoi mountains to be the original home of the Aryans. A. C. Das, Srikanta Shastri and Dr. Lakshman Swarup think that the Vedic culture was autochthonous. But as we do not accept the word Aryan as representative of the Vedic people we think the truth lies between all these opinions. But this is not the place to discuss this question. The truth must be established by rethinking on an inductive basis. So we rather try to proceed from a nucleus about which there is practically very little divergence of views. But before proceeding with the subject matter on hand we must discuss one or two things more.

We have already mentioned that there are some who think that the Vedas contain history as well as mythology. But what is meant by mythology? Does it mean fictions and as such unbelievable tales containing exaggeration and incongruous details? If this has been meant then we must say that the Vedas vitiated by mythology can not be accepted as history. In such a case all this labour is useless unless we take it as a source of amusement. But the entire tradition of the Hindus stands against this view. So we must accept the Vedas as historical. Mythology to our view is nothing but a historical event happening long ago, how long none can tell, the broad outlines of which are carried down to us, the details being forgotten. So it is either exaggerated or symbolical or both. Sometimes this is so because we do not understand the Language and mistake one object for another or, the matter being esoteric, the event is covered in allegory or symbol. In this our sentiments play a great part. Now we have two contradictory sentiments. Most of us ascribe all good and moral acts to our forefathers. This might be due to our innate pride and craving for a recognised place in society as also to training by our guardians in our infancy. Obedience is said to be the bond of rule. So in order to maintain an ordered society this obedience is to be cultivated. This unquestioning obedience is shattered whenever there is the process of comparison and contrast or process of knowledge in our mind. Probably the story of the fall of Adam and Eve from the garden of Eden on account of eating the fruit of the tree of knowledge is an illustration of this aspect of life. On the other hand we want to progress and establish ourselves which can only be achieved through knowledge. There is a thin connecting link between these two apparently contradictory sentiments, our pride and ambition. So this ambition recreates a story which we call mythology. Mythologies may have another motive. They may be employed in educating children who have the greatest amount of wonder element in them. So interest generated in children through exaggerations and symbols which

are unravelled later on with the attainment of maturity. This is essentially connected with culture and religion. But when it is only for beguiling time it is fiction. Religion has no such motive. In the Vedas we find very little exaggeration as in the Puranas.

The Puranas exhibit a highly exaggerated presentation of stories in general. But generally the Vedas do not present any exaggeration. Time and again it is enjoined in the Vedas that truth and forth right truth (Satya and Rita) must be the aim of a man's life. So when there are some apparent exaggerations, it is because we do not understand the language and thus misinterpret it. In fact the Vedas have been much misinterpreted. Starting from a ritualistic stand point it was Yāska, who through grammatical acrobatics, introduced many mistakes and Sāyana followed suit. But if we think that these rituals must have been based on some realities (*vide* R.V. VIII, 89, 6 etc.) which were later on substituted into symbols we can say that under such circumstances mistakes were inevitable. Thus we find that to these commentators the condition and geographical details of heaven are very minutely known, which details cannot be retraced now, they know very little of mundane conditions and geographical details. There may be some who may fail foul on this argument quoting experiences of yogā. As this is not the place to discuss this we may summarily say that Yogic experiences are not uniform in nature and are very much like dreams. Moreover these experiences are not to be divulged. So there is no possibility of ascertaining the truth. We, of course, refer to the Yogic experiences based on a dual or objective respect. Over and above this we may say that whenever there are alternative meanings given by these commentators we may say that they are not sure of their ground. And this is often to be met with. In this connection we may say that the words Agni, Dyaus, Āpas, Martiya, Marya, Nakis, Sichan and others, to quote at random, have been positively misinterpreted. Over and above this we may say that while dealing with the Vedas we are dealing with movement of peoples we have not taken notice of duplication of names of places. We hope it will be readily admitted that a people on the move carry their tradition and associations with them and replant them at the place of adoption. This is so obvious that it requires no proof. In the absence of regard for this duplication many mistakes have crept in. For fear of lengthening our article we give only one instance. It is the case of Yamuna, an important river. We shall discuss these whenever necessary. So these considerations automatically lead us to a sense of growing need for re-thinking matters pertaining to the Vedas. As in establishing a theory or discovering a truth, one has to start, in one's inductions, from a nucleus which every body or most persons admit to be true, we start

our arguments from the Nadistuti of Sindhukshit Praiyamedha Rishi in order to discover a further jumping ground.

## II

While discussing the Nadi-stuti, praise of rivers, by Sindhukshit Praiyamedha Rishi (R.V.X. 75) we shall only dwell upon the implications of the hymn as there are many interpretations and translations of it.

The name Sindhukshit is probably descriptive as we find in many instances of the Vedas. It means a person who dwells by the Sindhu or Indus. In the Vedas any and every river is called Sindhu. But here, as we find that by the word Sindhu a particular chief river is meant, we have no other option than to mean the Indus. These descriptive proper names in the Vedas demonstrate the love for truth and realism and not hollow idealisms as are to be found now a days in India.

Praiamedha has been interpreted by Sāyana as the son of Priyamedha. Priyamedha is a Rishi who has been mentioned many times in the Rig Veda and who is in part the Rishi (seer) of the hymn viii, 2 in the Rig Veda. He is called an Angirasha, (elsewhere as a Vashistha) a person belonging to the clan of Angiras. But, according to Vedic custom, Praiyamedha may mean belonging to the clan of Priyamedhas who in turn descended from the clan of Angiras. We think so because the hymn under discussion appears to be a later one. In this hymn there are nine mantras of which seven are devoted to the praise of the particular chief river known as Sindhu or Indus. So the name of the Rishi (seer) appears to be descriptive.

As to the Viniyoga or application of the hymn, from the ritualistic stand point, it is said to be "go to Viniyogah." Whether it means that the Viniyoga or application is according to the foregoing hymn, *i.e.* 'Marutvatiya Nivid' or otherwise is rather difficult for us to understand. In all the dialogue hymns where the Vinoyoga is said to be (Gatih or "Gatah" it refers to tradition and not to be the foregoing hymn. As all the hymns are ritualistic substitutions (*vide* R.V.1,80, 16,v,45,6) and as in the hymns with Viniyogas Gatih or Gatah some facts are reproduced, stated or described and no invocation for aid is specifically mentioned, we can make hold to accept the Viniyoga as traditional, based on reproduction and mimesis. If our view is accepted then we can say that these hymns are the seeds or beginnings of dramatic literature. An enquiry ought to be conducted in this direction.

In the first mantra the Rishi speaks of three groups of rivers, seven in each group, and says that the Sindhu, whether in force or expanse, is greater than any of them. The Rishi evidently excludes the Sindhu from

each group but takes it to be the centre of the groups. The Sindhu is the river about which or with which the other rivers flow. Now about these three groups of rivers Sāyana says that each group flows through Dyaus (heaven?), Prithivi (earth) and Antariksha (atmosphere?). Though the Rishi speaks of three groups of rivers with Sindhu as the centre, in this hymn he has given us the names of rivers belonging only to two groups. The third group is not to be found. Why this is so is not stated. Then the Rishi states that he is invoking the rivers from Sadane Vivasvatah—the residence (Sadana) of Vivaswan. This expression is to be found strewn over in many places in the Rig Veda. Sāyana explains this expression as 'yajamāna griham,' the house (griham) of the person for whose benefit the ritual is performed '(yajamanah). But the word Yajamana is derived from root-yaj. Now the root-yaj, now a days, means the mere offerings of libations etc. to a deity particularly on sacrificial fire. Probably Sāyana means this. But the Vedic root carries a sense of union, the act of conjoining and as such it is equivalent to the root-yu as to be found in Yuvan, Yuvati, Yuvamāna, Yoshā etc. In the Somayāg and other Yagnas the Yajamāna has to go through certain processes symbolical of new birth. It is so because of unity in a community is through birth and traditional faith peculiar to the community. Probably baptism in other religions has also the same base. In Bhagabad Gitā the word Yagna is probably used in this sense of union. The uses of root-yaj and root-Bhaj in 7/23 and root-yaj in 9/25 of the same book will possibly explain our stand. Then again in the same book, Bhagavad Gita, in 6/31, it is said that Bhajana (the act of meditation)—from root-Bhaj—should be based on Ekatvam or unity or oneness. In colloquial Bengali, in certain parts of the country, there are such words Yajalo, Yajācche, Yajie etc.—all derived from root-yaj—are in use. These words are used in a bad sense. They mean the act of reducing men and things to the same standard of impurity. In the Hindu community a man is deemed impure when he returns from the latrine. If such a man touches other usable things, which are deemed pure, then those things turn impure, that is reduced to the same standard of impurity. Such a man is purified by ablution. So we see that root-yaj, though having a partial application here conveys the sense of unity. Hence yajamāna is a person with whom union is being made as such Sadane Vivasvatah cannot mean the house of the Yajmāna but a sanctum where unification through rituals is made. As Vedic rituals are symbolical, we have discussed it earlier, so such a sanctum must be representative of the community or nation. Probably from this stand point we may deem the Vivasvatah Sadanam or Yagnasālā or the house of sacrifice representative of the territory under the rule of

Vivasvān generally called Surva translated as the Sun. The rivers, that are invoked, stand in the territories ruled by Vivasvān. As the rule of Vivasvat belongs to the third period of the Vedic culture, we may take this hymn to be a later one. We have no opportunity to discuss the periods of Vedic culture here. Suffice it to say that the Prāchina, Madhyama and Nutana Rishis describe the three stages of Vedic culture. The third group of seven rivers has not been mentioned by Sindhukshit possibly because they did not lie in the territory of Vivasvat at the time of this hymn.

The second mantra states that the path of Sindhu was carved out by Varuna, a God, and the river goes over a sloping down tableland upto Bhumi or earth where sacrifices are performed or food grains are produced (the word used is Vājān). As Varuna is said to be the God of sea or water it is apparently reasonable to state that Varuna carved out a path for Sindhu. But then Varuna is also the lord of the West. Under this condition it becomes rather difficult to understand. In R.V. iii, 33, 6 it is said that Indra carved out the paths of the rivers particularly of Sutudri or Sutlej. Now Indra is said to rule the East. So there is an apparent conflict in these two Vedic texts. It is upto us to reconcile them. It takes its rise from a place near the lake Manas Sarovar modern Tibet. According to Tradition it was somewhere here that Indra resided. In the Uttar Kanda of Ramayana ch. 32 sloka we find that Ravana went to conquer Indra after crossing the Kailasha mountain. In Kalidasa (Kumar Sambhava and Meghaduta) we find that the Deva Kingdoms were here by the side of the Himalayas. So if it is said that Indra carved the path for Sutudri or Sutlej we are to understand that Indra resided at a place whence the Sutudri took its rise. This position is further strengthened by the mention of Kalāpa, heaven, in Skanda Purana, Maheswara Kumārīka Khanda, sixth chapter 33, 34. Similarly if it is said that Varuna carved the path for Sindhu we are to understand that Varuna lived at a place whence the Sindhu took its rise. Now we have to decide what place it was. We must not forget that this must be in the west as Varuna was the ruler of the West. In Aitareya Brahman 38/3 we learn that the Adityas made Indra ruler of the west. As Varuna was one of the original six Adityas so we have no conflict here in the statement that Varuna ruled the West. These factors lead us to believe that Sindhu took its rise from the arms of the Hindu Kush known as Koh-i-Baba and Koh-i-safed, the Paropanisadae or Parapamisos of the ancient Greek Writers. Or in other words the Kabul river happened to be the first half of the Indus and that portion which is to the north of Peshwar was either not there or was slender stream joining this Vedic Sindhu. Probably this northern

stream was called Tristāma in the sixth mantra of this hymn. In this speculation we are rather emboldened by the mention of the town of Dyrta in Arrian's life of Alexander Book iv 30. There is also a possibility of equating Dyrta with Dardrei of Ptolemy or Daradas of Mahabharat. Dyrta may be Trishta as well. If this is accepted then many arguments regarding the location of rivers Choes or Khoes, Cophas or Cophen or Khoaspes and Kubha will be altered. Moreover the meaning of the term Sapta-Sindhavah or Hapta-Hindava as also of Hindu-Kush will be decided for ever. Before proceeding further we must say that we are discussing the change of a traditional name—Sindhu flowing from West to Sindhu flowing from North and East as we see now-a-days. Such a change of tradition must have followed after a great natural Catastrophe changing the volume and importance of a river. Probably a tectonic disturbance or series of such disturbances followed by great avalanches etc. must have connected the cooped up northern river rising from the Manas Saravar area with the Sindhu as we find in the Vedas and have changed the aspect of the Sindhu the Kabul part of which dwindled in importance and was given a separate name. Before the earthquake of 1897 A.D. the Sango-po of Tibet, which is now considered to be a part of the Brahmaputra in the upper reaches, did not flow into the Brahmaputra but went eastward to join the Salween in Burma and as such the Brahmaputra was a smaller river and previous to that it was a still smaller river and was connected with the Karatoya in North-Bengal (*vide* River system of Bengal by S. Majumdar). It is well-known geographical fact that the salt range in the Punjab crosses the Indus at Kalabagh and goes up to the Safed Koh Mountain in the North Western Frontier Province in Western Pakisthan. To the north of this salt range is the Soan or Sohan river and to its south is the Kurram river. Now the American Archaeological expedition head by De Terra found that at one time the Sohan was a very broad river, but it was reduced lately. This indicates that at one time the waters of the Sohan must have been cooped up by a natural mountainous barrage which was at Kalabagh. To the south of this barrage the Indus must have flown for a little distance, met the Kurram and then entered the sea. That there was a sea in the western part of the Punjab can be known from R.V. 3.33, 2, the Mahabharat (where it has been variously described) and from the name Sindh-Sagar Doab of that part of the territory. That the Sindhu or Indus met the sea not very far from the Kurram river is to be assumed from Mantras 2 and 4 of the hymn under discussion, wherein it is stated that the Sindhu went in front of the other streams. Now how can a river go before other rivers unless by entering the sea before others ?



That there was a natural catastrophe can be gathered from various testimonies. First of all the archaeological testimony of the contraction in the volume of the Sohan. The contraction in the volume of the Indus which even Arrian in the Life of Alexander states to have been thirteen or twelve miles in breadth and in the south to have been more like a lake than a river (Arrian-Anabasis Book vi 13-15. Tr. Selincourt-Penguins). In the contraction of the Sohan we indirectly understand the breaking of the barrage at Kalabagh and in the contraction of the Indus we understand a tectonic disturbance by which a path was made for this inland sea, we are speaking of, to drain out its waters into the Arabian sea thus causing an inundation and devastation of Dwārakā as described in the Maushal Parva of the Mahabharata as also in other books, and also of the inundations in Mahen-jo-daro as have been found by the archaeologists.

We have digressed far from the main point of our argument. But this digression was necessary not only for coming to an indirect guess as to the age of this hymn but also for creating a suitable atmosphere for understanding the subject matter and also to leave a thorough impression of it.

In Book vi ch. 11 relating to Baktriane, Ptolemy speaks of a territory of the Ovarnoi (Varnoi) near the Paropanisadae. This must be related to Varuna of the Vedas. Arrian in Bk. v, 3-5 (p. 166 of selincourt's translation of the Life of Alexander in the Penguin series) of his Anabasis writes about the Indus " it rises somewhere west of the Parapamisus or (Caucasus) range and flows in to the Indian Ocean to the south ward. This is also to be found in the book of Mela, strabo and curtius as mentioned by Mc Crindle in p. 85 of his geography of Ptolemy.

We thank these are sufficient arguments in favour of the instrumentality of Varuna in carving out a path for the Sindhu as to be found in this hymn.

In this connection we must refer the readers to the conquests of Rāvana in the Uttar Kanda of the Ramayana in canto xxiii of Uttar Kanda Ravana's war in the Kingdom of Varuna has been described. The kingdom of Varuna lay next to Surabhi Loka, which to us appears to have been the Sariphi Range as described by Ptolemy to have been in the territory of Margiane. After this Ravana returned to Lankā, his capital city through the kingdom of Gods, evidently Ouarnoi and others. Sariphe range is to the west of Fara in Afganistan.

In the Krishna Yajurveda many times oblations are made in the name of Samudra, Sāgara and Sindhu (Samudrāya tvā, Sindhave tvā). This manta very clearly shows that these three are proper names. In the Vedas we often find that what we take for class nouns are used as proper nouns. These three being separate must be three distinct objects. Samudra must

be the Hamund occupying part of Afganisthan and part of Beluchisthan. According to many archaeologists this was a vast inland sea somewhere near 4000 B.C. which had subsequently dried up leaving the desert lands of Dasht-i-kavir, Dast-i-Lut, Dast-i-Margo and others. The Sagar must have been the sea we are describing, whose only remanant is in the name Sindhu Sāgar Doāb. Probably this has been mentioned in R.V.X. 155, 3. But enough of it. In the third mantra the expression 'Divi Svano Yatate' requires some attention. The word Divi is in the locative singular. But Sayana takes it for accusative singular and gives the meaning of 'yatate' as 'gachchati,' goes. So what we understand as "the roaring of Sindhu begins (Yatate) in dyaus (divi)"—dyaus is translated by all as heaven but we take it for a territory on the earth resided by Devas, a community of men—Sāyana gives the meaning as "your roars reach upto heaven." We take the meaning of 'Yatate' as chestate tries to begin. So what we find for a fact that the Sindhu originates from the region of Varuna, which is Dyaus, we think the meaning of Yatate as given by us is an improvement upon Sāyana. There are two words according to grammar—Dyo and Div, declined differently. In our opinion Div, meaning heaven, indicates the Western territories of Afganisthan and northern territories comprising parts of Uzbekisthan, Kirghizia and Tajikisthan. The 'Tau mountains and several place names indicate this. Dyo in our opinion refers to the heaven to the east, as has been discussed in connection with Suttlej, that is the territory of Tibet the ancient name of which was Tabotte very similar to Dyāvah as to be found in the Vedas. The locative singular of Div is 'divi' and of 'Dyo is Dyavi.' So this 'divi' in this mantra appears to be correctly interpreted by us. Bhumi is of course earth which is Mahi, Prithivi, Rasa etc. comprising a territory traversed by the Sindhu in its course to the south.

Here it is advisable to state that the third group of Sapta Sindhavah (Hapta Hindavah in Avesta) as stated by Sāyana to belong to Antariksha (atmosphere as translated by all) must be the group of seven rivers called Saraswatyah or Haraswatyah as described in different places in the Rig Veda. These seven rivers are the Helmond group of rivers flowing into the Hamund in Afganisthan which, we have every reason to believe, was called the Antariksha. We shall discuss it else where. As in our present interpretation we find the Helmond group of rivers proceeding from the basin of the Sindhu we do not find any objection to call them Sapta Sindhavah. But sindhukshit has not described them except mentioning the fact that the Sindhus are three groups of rivers with seven in each group.

So from these discussions we come to understand that the word Sin-

dhavah included a territory from Fara in Afganistan to Tibet, at least up to Manas Sarovar.

Hindu kush or Hind koh clearly means the mountain (koh) by the Sindhu.

The fourth mantra works out a beautiful simile. In it, it is again said that the Sindhu goes in front of all other rivers. We have discussed it earlier in connection with the second mantra. In this fourth mantra the 'sichau' causes some difficulty. Sāyana takes it to mean 'Sichyamanau Bhatau' two warriors or groups of warriors (Bhatau) being wetted (Sichyamanau) with flood as in a battlefield. But here the objects wetted can not be the rivers whom Sindhu leads to war. The waters of the rivers wet the land about. So by 'Bhatau' of Sāyana we ultimately come to the land or lands and not the different rivers. The 'ni' in Nayashi here means to lead or causing to get. From the trend of the speech 'to lead' is rather acceptable to us. So by 'Sichau' we mean 'Sechana Samarthau' or 'Sechana Karinyau'—the two river systems that wet. But even this is not entirely satisfactory. This only refers to the benefactory effects of the rivers and does not include any sense of the territory thus benefited.

In R.V. 1,95,7 Sayana interprets 'Sichau' as "Dyāvā-Prithivyau"—the Dyaus and Prithivi or heaven and earth as interpreted commonly. We think that this is a better interpretation. The eastern set of seven streams help the Dyaus to achieve her end and the middle set, as described by Sindhukshit here, help the Prithivi. This interpretation helps us to locate Dyans and Prithivi. In many mantras the order of the three territories of Dyaus, Prithivi and Antariksha are given in the order as we give here. If for Dyaus we take heaven and for Antariksha Atmosphere the order ought to have been different. This quite falls in line with our earlier argument in connection with Sutudri and Indra. So we come to the conclusion that the territories now known as the Punjab, the Himachal Pradesh etc. were known as Dyaus or Dyavah. Even today Kashmir is called Bhuswarga, earthly (Bhuh) paradise (Swarga or Dyaus). The North Western Frontier territories along with some territories of Afganistan along with the Kama or Kunhar river were known as Bhuh or Mahi or Prithivi or Prithivi or Rasa etc.

The fifth and sixth mantras are to be taken together. It is to be noticed that whereas the rivers in the east along with certain tributaries are in the vocative case, the rivers to the west of this system are in the instrumental case. The tributaries of the eastern rivers are also in the instrumental case. So by the instrumental case we are to understand tributaries.

In fact the Western rivers are described as 'Saratham Yabhiriyaśa'

("with whom you, Sindhu, proceed in the same chariot"). We think it better to take the word Ratha in the Babylonian sense of channel and not as taken by Sāyana as a chariot. There are occasions to think that these Vedic people had associations with the Babylonians.

Therefore the vocative case indicates the independence of the eastern rivers. This rather strengthens our argument regarding the existence of a sea to the west of the Punjab.

The order of the description of the rivers is beginning from south and east going to north and west and then from North and West to South. This is extremely important in the identification of the rivers.

Regarding these two sets of rivers in the east and the west we have further attestations in Chāndogyopanishad vi, 10, 1 the eastern and western rivers are mentioned. But, what is peculiar, it is said that they go from Samudra to Samudra and become Samudra and nothing else. What are we to make of the two Samudras? Sankaracharya in his commentary takes Samudrāt (from Samudra-ablative case) to mean from the clouds (Jaladharaiḥ). The accusative case is taken by him to mean the sea. With due respect to the great sage we say that we are unable to accept this interpretation.

Because from apparent or common view the rains do not supply the rivers all throughout the year. There must be some other source. The storage of water in the earth or the mountains is that source. So we think by Samudrāt 'Antariksha' is meant. Samudra is a name of Antariksha in the Nighantu. So this is another proof of a sea in the Punjab as indicated by Samudram in the accusative case. We have discussed Antariksha earlier.

In Brihadāranyakopanishad iii, 8, 9 it is said that it is according to the rule of this Akshara that the eastern rivers flow and the Western rivers from the Sveta mountains flow. Now the expression Svetebhyah Parvatebhyah is a distinct reference in connection with the western rivers. This Sveta mountains cannot be other than the Safed Koh (Safed-Sveta) in the North Western Frontier Province of West Pakistan. The plural may mean both Safed Koh and Koh-i-Safed (in Afganistan near Koh-i-Baba). In this case the upper reaches of the Sindhu as described by us are also meant.

The enumeration of the eastern rivers in the fifth Mantra begins from the south and ends in the north. The first river to be mentioned is Gangā. Gangā is mentioned only once in the Rig Veda. There is another reference to Gangā, but unfortunately we cannot trace it now. In R.V. vi. 45.31 in connection with Bribu there is a mention of Gāngyah which evidently means pertaining to Gangā. But we are not quite sure if this Gangyah

refers to the Ganga of Sindhukshit. In Classical Sanskrit Jahnvi (Vedic Jahnāvi) is a synonym for Gangā. But we do not think that the Jahnāvi of R.V. I, 116. 19 is synonymous with the Gangā of Sindhukshit. It is to be noticed that the Drishadvati, which scholars definitely assert to have been somewhere near modern Delhi, is not mentioned. In R.V. III, 23.4 we learn that the Bharatas performed many Asvamedha Yagnas on the banks of Drishadvati, Āpaya and Saraswati rivers. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa in 39.9 mentions that Bharata performed Asvamedha to the tune of seventy eight on the Ganges and fifty five on the Yamunā. In Bhāgavata 9.20.25, 26, the account tallies exactly with that of the Aitareya Brahmana. In Mahabharat, Drona Parva 16.66.8, it is stated that Bharata performed Asvamedha to the tune of one hundred on the bank of Yamunā, three hundred on the Saraswati and four hundred on the Gangā. From these we are led to believe that Gangā and Drishadvati were one and the same. We are further confirmed in our belief when we find that the Bhāgavata (5.19.17) while enumerating the rivers of northern India mentions Drishadvati along with Yamuna and Saraswati and not Ganga. Of course Mandākinī is mentioned, but we think that the streams Mandākinī, Alakānandā and Bhāgirathi unite in different Prayagas in the Himalayas and ultimately come out into the plains as Gangā. Therefore Drishadvati and Ganga were one and the same. This fact also occurred in the mind of Ludwig ; but he took Apaya for Ganga (*vide* Vedic Index by Mac Donell and Keith under Apaya). We take Apaya for Jamuna. The coincidences of the different texts force us to believe this. By way of digression we may say that the Mashnār country in Aitarey Brahman 39/9 in connection with Bharat might have been Manchar in Sind. From mantra four of the hymn under consideration we have no alternative to the belief that Gangā, Yamunā and Saraswati flowed westwards, joined together and formed a single stream, the dry bed of which is today known as Hakra. It is of particular interest that Hakra can be equated as Sāgara as we have discussed earlier. Ghaggar may also be equated with Sāgar. These names were given by the Arabs.

From Ramayan also we come to know that there was a place in ancient times known as the confluence of Ganga and Saraswati. Bharata while returning from his maternal uncle's house bathed in this confluence and after a long passage crossed the Yamuna and the Ganga. The geography of Mahābhārata has not been very carefully worked out. If we trace the path followed by Yudhisthira and others after the burning of Yatugriha and crossing of the Gangā we cannot but accept the fact that the Gangā at the period flowed west wards. The mention of their visiting the countries of Matsya and Trigarta are a sufficient testimony to that.

This is to be found in *Adi Parva*. In the *Ramayana* the confluence of Ganga and Sarasvati shows Ganga to be either a dying or dead river, the place retaining the tradition of santily only. This is because the *Ramayana* as we get it today was most probably re-written in the Gupta period of Indian history.

Rajsekshara, in his *Kavya Mimansha*, 910 A.D. while describing the rivers of *Uttarāpatha*, the path going to the north, begins with *Gangā*, *Sindhu* and *Sarasvati* starting from *Prithudaka*, which Cunningham and others take for *Pehoa* near Delhi. But we think it must have been *Pataudi*, a place south west of Delhi where in the ancient times the Ganga and the *Yamunā* joined each other. This is another proof of the westward flow of the Ganges. If this was so then *Yamunā* could not have any other course. From the testimony of the *Mahābhārat* the *Dwaita Vana* and the *Kāmyak Vana* were in the northern parts of Rajasthan and partly also in the south west of the Punjab. The archaeological remains in the *Ganganagar Taluka* in north Rajasthan are a proof of the westward flow of the Ganges. The *Bhogavati* of the Ganges is also traditional proof of the westward flow of the Ganges, because *Bhogavati* was the capital of the snake king *Vāsuki* in *Pātala*. *Yamuna* has been mentioned thrice in the *Rig Veda* V. 52.17 ; VII. 18.19 and in this hymn under discussion. Of these, the references to V.52 17 and VII.18.19 do not refer to the *Yamuna* under the present hymn. This *Yamuna* must have been a river in the northern part of *Afganisthan*, probably the *Kundus* of the present day. The reference in *Panchavimse Brahman*, IX.4.11, to the *Pārāvatas* living by the *Yamuna* is a proof of that. In the XIV chapter of *Brihat Samhita* by *Varahamihir* and also in the *Parasar Samhita* as quoted by *Bhattotpala* we find the mention of two *Yamunas* or *Yāmuna* people in slokas 2, and 25 relating to *Madhyadesa* and *Uttaradesa* respectively. In *Markandeya Purana* Ch. 58, sloka 42 we have a mention of *Yamuna* country in the *Udichya* or north country. So here we have a duplication of name. Similarly *Sarasvati* is duplicated. The *Sarasvati* of *Bharadvaj* and *Vashistha* having seven sisters and named the slayer of *Pārāvatas*, is assuredly the *Helmand* river in *Afganisthan* (*vide* R.V. VI. 61 and VII. 95 and 96).

After the three rivers *Sutudri* or *Sutlej* is mentioned. But *Vipāshā* or *Hyphasis* of the Greeks is not mentioned. Why this is so is difficult to conjecture. In hymn 33 of the 3rd Mandala of the *Rig Veda* it is said that the two streams joined each other and went by one name, evidently *Sutudri* (mantras 2 and 3). Then the name of *Parushni* is made. It is the *Ravi* of present day, *Iravati* of *Pauranic* fame and *Hydraotes* of the Greeks. This *Parushni* is possibly connected with the *Rishi*. *Iravan*

of Rig Veda and Airavata of the Puranas. The Asikne is mentioned. It is the modern Chenab or Chandrabhāgā and the Akesines of the Greeks. But Asikni is not mentioned here as the chief river. This name is in instrumental case singular denoting the fact that it is a tributary. It is a tributary to Marudbridhā which is the main stream. This Marudbridhā was connected with the Maruta of the Vedas.

Next to this Ārjikiyā is mentioned as the chief river. This Ārjikiyā was possibly connected with the Ārjika country connected with Saryanāvati said to be an alternative name for Kurukshetra. The mention of Ārjikiyā can be found in R.V. VIII. 64.1 and Ārjika can be found in R.V. VIII. 7.29 ; IX. 65.23 and IX. 113.1. This Saryanāvati, as described by Sāyana at different places of his commentary of the Rig. Veda, tallies very much with the description of Sagala, the capital of the Madra nation as given by Mc Crindle in his Ancient India of Ptolemy, Book VII article 46. With this Ārjikiyā are mentioned two tributaries—Bitasta and Susoma. Susoma has been taken by many European scholars as Soma and has been thus identified with Soamos or Soanos of the Greek writers and so has been taken for the Soan or Sohan river which falls into the Indus. These scholars did not take care of the fact that the name is Susoma and that it is a tributary of Ārjikiyā in this hymn. Susoma has been mentioned several times in the Rig Veda along with Ārjikiyā and Ārjika and in the Bhagavata in 5.19.17, probably there is also a reference to Susoma in Mahābhārata. Then Bitastā is mentioned. This Bitastā has been called Hydaspes or Bidaspes by the Greeks and Zailun by the Arabs. Its present name is Jhelum and is known as the chief current. Probably to Sindhukshit the upper part that flows by Srinagar was known as Bitasta and the tributary flowing by Punch to the west of the Pir-Paojal mountain was known as Susomā. The conjoined stream downwards was known as Ārjikiyā. In this speculation we are emboldened by the Rig Vedic hymns quoted by us in connection with Ārjika and Ārjikiyā.

With this we finish the eastern streams and take up the sixth mantra which describes the second set of seven streams beginning from north and joining to the south—three on the eastern bank and four on the western bank.

The first river is Trishtāmā which cannot be located unless it is as we have stated in connection with our discussions of the second mantra of the hymn. Sushartu, the second stream must be Sushan of the present day in the Hazara district. The third stream is Rasā. There are many references in the Rig Veda about this Rasa with which most other rivers, as to be found in this hymn, are also mentioned. So we think the location is not misplaced. As Rasa also means prithivi, the earth, which we have

discussed in connection with the first and second mantras of this hymn, and as in R.V.X. 108.1,2 we find Rasa to be a great stream difficult to be crossed and as the American Archaeological Expedition found the Sohan to have been a vast stream in the past so we take Rasa as the present day Sohan. This identification fulfils all the conditions. With this the tributaries on the eastern bank are finished. The fourth river Sveti begins enumeration from the western bank. It is to our opinion a small stream flowing the Safed Koh near Dwe Toi which in sound value is very much like Sveti ('d' having the value of 'j'). In this connection it is of particular interest that the word Khyber where we locate this river can be equated with Sanskrit Shubhrā or Shubhra thereby denoting its association with the Svet of Safed mountain.

Next to this the fifth river in the list of Kubha. We identify this with the river that flows by the town of Kohat in the Bannu district. There has been a good deal of controversy regarding the identification of cophen, khoes, kophes, khoaspes, koa, kubha etc. The Koa in Ptolemy is evidently the Panjkora river to which flows the Swat or Suvastu or Suastos of Ptolemy. This Koa has not been included in the list. In the sixth mantra the Rishi uses the word 'Yātabe,' for going, in connection with the river Trishtāmā. Now, why is this word used? And then 'Prathamam Yātabe', for going at first? In whatever way we construct it, we can not take it as the beginning of the stream. So it must mean the new turn of the course of Sindhu. Now it is a fact that the Sindhu proceeds southwards from somewhere near Peshwar and it is here that Trishtāmā joins it. So it is very likely that the rishi considers the Sindhu from this point. That is why he does not treat of the other tributaries of the Sindhu in the West. That is possibly why he does not describe the third set of seven rivers, though he mentions it in the beginning. It was also possible that the Rishi was a resident on the bank of the Sindhu, Sindhukshit, in the present day district of Bannu, why he takes no count of other tributaries. But most possibly as the other tributaries of Sindhu do not fall in the region of Bhuh or earth in the territorial divisions of Dyaus, Prithivi and Antariksha and as the Rishi is concerned with the first two divisions of territories, so there is no mention of other tributaries of Sindhu. Be that as it may Sindhukshit has left out Koa of Ptolemy, in our opinion, tempting though it is to equate Koa with Kubha. Koa is the Panjkora of the present day, which is the Gureus of the Greeks, wrongly identified by some as the Gauri of Mahābhārat. Even Gureus, according to our opinion, has wrongly been located by the scholars simply because they have wrongly interpreted the campaigns of Alexander, as given by Arrian, in Andaca, Bazira, or a Massaga, Rock of Aornos and other places beginning from



Choes river. Now Panjkora is evidently connected with Kuru Panchal countries. But unfortunately this is not the time or place for such a discussion. We desist from this with mentioning the fact that according to various authorities there was a Kuru country somewhere in Badakshan. There is an interesting fact regarding this Koa of Ptolemy. Though he mentions that the Indus takes its rise from the Dardrei country in the north, he mentions the confluence of Koa and Indus at a longitude westward. Scholars have taken it as a mistake. But we think that as Ptolemy gathered his informations from people visiting his place and as the accepted custom was, to at least a section of people, that the Kabul was nothing but Sindhu, some people must have told him of the Koa falling into the Indus and some other must have told him of the descent of the Indus from Dardrei. So this is another testimony of the fact that the custom in ancient times was to think of the Sindhu flowing from the Koh-i-Bab a in the west.

From Book IV 22-24 of Arrian's Life of Alexander we learn of Cophen or Kophen and Choes or Khoes. This Kophen must have been that river which flowing from the Bamian pass joins the present day Kabul river, called Sindhu by us, somewhere near Kabul, the capital of Afganisthan today and possibly Nicea or Nikea of the Greeks and Nichya of Aitareya Brahmana 38.3 mentioned earlier as a western territory in connection with the second mantra. Near about Kabul two forks of streams join together, one coming from northwest, which we call Cophen, and the other coming from south west which according to us is the Sindhu. This Cophen, in our view, is connected with Kubhanya in R.V. 52.12. The actual word used is Kubhanyavah which is the plural form of Kubhanyu. Kubhanyavah is evidently a reference to a people. Sāyana explains this as people desiring water, as he explains Vanku in R.V.V. 45.6. As in the Case of Vanku or Vankhu we take it to be river Oxus, so also we take Kubhanyu to be a river. In both cases Sāyana could not dispense with the association of water. Moreover Kubhanyavah is also very possibly associated with Parāvata. As regards choes or khoes we take it to be the Panjshir river which flowing from the khawak pass joins the present day Kabul river. In this connection we must say that Alexander and Hephaestion must have taken two different courses, the latter following the Kabul river eastward. If we do not accept this then Alexander's campaigns beginning from the Choes river cannot have any difference with the battles of Hephaestion. If Alexander followed the Kabul river eastward then a vast territory in the Hindukush and the north of Afganisthan including Badakshan would have been left unconquered. Students of Alexander's campaigns must have noticed that these were quite planned and Alexander

captured the countries, as it were with a dragnet. We are sorry that we cannot discuss it here. Suffice it to say that Alexander followed the choes, conquered the northern parts of Afganisthan, Badakshan and the Panjkore valley and Hephaestion traversed the Kabul river, entered the Bannu district and then went up to Peshawar etc. At this time very possibly there was no such thing as Khyberpass. C. V. Vaidya in his downfall of Hindu India, Vol. III, ch. xi, p. 66, writes "The old road to Hindusthan from Ghazni was via modern Bannu and the Kurram and it fell into disuse when the Khyber pass was opened." This is also according to the Bannu Gazetter. Even so late as 1398 A.D. Timur followed this path while entering modern India.

The Choes or Khoes as it is connected with the Khawak pass must have been the Begram Kappici of the Satrapies of Darius Hystaspes and the Kāpisha of the classical literature and Pali texts of the Kāvya or Kāpya country of the Vedic texts. Regarding Khospes we are unfortunately much in the dark. Probably this can be equated with Su-asva and as such it stands as a synonym for Sindhu which we find in the eighth mantra of the hymn we are discussing. Here Sindhu is described as Svasva or Su-Asva. Kubha is also mentioned in R.V.V. 53.9 almost in the same association. Regarding the Kunnar or Kama river we have very little to say.

After Kubha we come across Krumu and Gomati. European scholars have taken these as two different rivers identifying them with the Kurram and the Gomāl respectively. But Sāyana has eliminated one, taking Krumu as the adjective of Gomati. The Rishi is giving the second set of seven rivers only. So if we take both Krumu and Gomati as distinct rivers and set exceeds by one and as such Sāyana is correct in eliminating one. But we think Sāyana is mistaken here. The word Gomati comes before Krumu. Therefore Gomati should be the adjective and not Krumu. In the Rig Veda the word Gomati occurs thrice, in R.V.V. 61.19 ; VIII 24.30 and in the present hymn. In the previous two cases most probably a river is not meant but a place where cows abound. In this case also we may take Gomatim Krumum as Krumu abounding in cows. Moreover we do not think Gomāl can be equated with Gomati. At the time, which we are discussing, the Gomāl pass was possibly a creek of the sea and the Gomāl river did not fall in the Sindhu but in the Sāgara or Sea. So we reject Gomati as a river. Then the special feature about Krumu in this hymn is that it is in the accusative case where as all other rivers are in the instrumental case and Sindhu in the vocative case. Does it not indicate something ? To us it appears that Krumu is in the accusative case because it indicates the end of the journey of Sindhu. It is here that

the Sindhu enters the sea. Well, if this is, so it indicates a time of the composition of this hymn. The last river to name is mehatnu. We have not found it elsewhere in the Rig Veda. Whether we are to take it as the Matun, a tributary of the Kurram, or the Teritoi below the river of Kohat and to the north of Kurram we fail to understand. The last three Mantras relate to the cultural activities of the people on the banks of the Sindhu. There is a mention of the Asvins in the ninth Mantra.

Thus we finish the hymn and we hope we have succeeded in creating a fair impression of the Vedic territories and their names. This will help us a good deal in explaining many implications in the Rig Veda.

A belated word about Yamunā in the north of Afganisthan. It is said that on account of lushgrass on the bank of Anshumati or Yamunā the kine there were big and fat. This brings to our mind the Gavyāh, a people in the north country as mentioned in Brihat Samhitā of Varāhamihir and Gavala, a people in the north, of Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna. Along with this when we learn that in his battle near Erigaeum Alexander captured 230,000 oxen of uncommon size and beauty and wished to send some of them to Macedonia and the fact that near this place were Massaga, (Matsyaka), and Andaca, (Agnidhra or Agnijya) (d) being sometimes equal to (j) we think we stand on strong grounds. (Life of Alexander by Arrian Book IV-24-26). The Matsyas are to be found in R.V. VII 18.6, Erigaeum is of course Arjunāyana in the northern country in Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna ch. 58.

## THE ESSENTIAL KEATS

SRI KANAILAL GOSWAMI, M.A.

The one great mark which, more than anything else, distinguishes 'modern' poetry from its romantic counterpart is the fact that while in appreciating the former you need a scholarly introduction, the latter needs no interpretation provided the reader is bred in the traditional reaction to beauty in a work of art. Romantic poetry appeals directly to the senses or emotions. It tingles along the veins and gives rise to an emotional reaction. This direct appeal is what makes it enjoyable by the man in the street. As regards Keats, we can appreciate his poetry fairly well even without the aid of his own interpretation as set down casually in his letters. In poetry, it may be said, the poet's instinct is often better than or different from his reason. Hence our reference, if need be, should lie from Keats' letters to his poetry, and not vice versa. Keats's poetry is the authority to which an appeal ought to be preferred in cases of doubt or misapprehension. Nothing succeeds like success. It is the actual execution which counts rather than the theory which gives it birth. In other words, the poetry of Keats is a living interpretation of his letters. His letters are 'emotion recollected in tranquillity', and to be regarded as such. In his letters are gathered together at haphazard the dry leaves plucked from 'the tender greening of April meadows'. He himself says of his letters.

'... .. not one word I ever utter can be taken for granted as an opinion growing out of my identical Nature.'

The letters of Keats present a parallel creation along side of his poetry. They are literature to be enjoyed in itself or as an ancillary study. There is, of course, no gainsaying the fact that they stand in their own right. They constitute his soul's confessions, and sometimes no doubt they throw a flood of illumination on the interpretation of his poetry. But one cannot say that in them one has found the masterkey to all one's works. The letters represent an attempt at self-analysis on the part of the poet himself. He is not, however, out to interpret his work of art. He likes to unbosom himself to his friends and acquaintances, dropping casual remarks regarding his aesthetic reaction to literature.

The opinions of Keats vary, but he does have an identical nature, which imposes a kind of uniformity on all the varying strains of his poetic pattern. This identical nature underlies all his reaction to literature. Beauty is that thing which lures him on to fresh fields and pastures new; a kind of melancholy Beauty. That memorable dictum, 'Beauty is truth, truth beauty', has been instrumental in releasing an array of interpretations which makes it difficult for one to strike out a path for oneself. One has to

of Keats. The key of Beauty unlocks his heart. Beauty is truth, he says; the latter half is merely an emphasis. It carries no philosophical implication, for Keats was not inclined that way. His 'negative capability' is a notable phrase used as a handy weapon against Coleridge's 'irritable reaching after fact and reason'. For one so allergic to metaphysics and scarcely able to understand 'the Burden of the Mystery', it is not possible to hazard the luxury of a conceit which sits well on a profound poet like Wordsworth. Keats lived in and for poetry and he identified it with Beauty. Not that he was unaware of the silent call of eternity. But eternity with him was an emotion or a sentiment, and not a metaphysical thesis. To turn the dictum into a formula, as some critics have done, and to read into it an abstruse system of philosophical correlation is to do injustice to an adolescent poet who was confessedly innocent of such speculation. It was beyond the tether of a poetic poet whose sole concern was with Beauty, with melancholy Beauty.

Those who are in the secret of poetic creation in the romantic vein are aware of the fact that there is a psychological complex behind it which is not amenable to scientific analysis. The whole personality passes through an alembic and an essence is distilled in terms of spiritual delight. Words and imagery come pat to the purpose by an inexplicable process of association. Similes and metaphors tumble into the work, the luck of genius linking them into shape. The spontaneity attaching to this process precludes the possibility of rational deliberation. The resultant poem comes out hot from a throbbing heart. Reason compounds with surging emotion, leaving to the latter everything except a pattern of sanity. Sometimes, however, when the poet aligns himself with the lover and the lunatic, he is on the brink of overstepping the bounds of reason, and sanity is coaxed into abnormal expression. It is 'fine frenzy' with him which gives to airy nothing a local habitation and a name.

If we are to appreciate romantic poetry, we are to judge it by an outworn standard. Modern criticism would err miserably if it wants to deal with that variety according to the standard which has grown out of the modern literary zeitgeist. Keats was romantic to the tips of his fingers, and his cult of Beauty was, to all intents and purposes, synonymous with his poetry.

Now, what was his cult of Beauty? Beauty is nothing but that which is a joy for ever. It is a fleeting thing, and with Keats especially, it is a melancholy thing too. The poetry of Keats was conceived

Deep in the shady sadness of a vale.

The song of the nightingale sparks off a drunken delight, but

Fled is that music.

The Grecian Urn teases him out of thought, and beauty appears to be crystallized into permanent shapes of art. There is nothing here to toll him back to his own worried self. But there are many other things to

attend to. They keep impinging on his senses, and the moment he turns his gaze away, he is confronted with a beautiful vale of tears. There is permanent beauty in art, but life tells a different tale. The poet escapes. He harks back to the Middle Ages, to ancient mythological Greece, but his eyes fall on remarkable spots of failure, disappointment, sadness.

His 'Lamia' sloughs off her feminine charm, and the rainbow is divested of its heavenly romance. In a dreamighted December, it is the benumbed tree which forgets its green felicity. But a human child cannot help being sad and repining.

But were there ever any  
Writh'd not at passed joy ?

Even 'To Autumn', that cornucopia of mellow fruitfulness, does not fail to notice

Then in a wailful choir the small gnats mourn  
Among the silver salallows.

Sweet fancy has to be let loose in search of pleasure. But  
At a touch sweet pleasure melteth  
Like to bubbles when rain pelteth.

Pleasure again has to be sought in a fanciful equivalent of art :  
Dulcet-eyed as Ceres' daughter,  
Ere the God of Torment taught her  
How to frown and how to chide ;  
With a waist and with a side  
White as Hebe's, when her zone  
Slipt its golden clasp, and down  
Fell her kirtle to her feet,  
While she held the goblet sweet,  
And Jove grew languid.

But these things of beauty cannot satisfy for long. So  
Let the winged Fancy roam  
Pleasure never is at home.

The poet's eye glances from heaven to earth and from earth to heaven, but beauty is eternal seeking. Hence the melancholy which arises from a sense of continual dissatisfaction. Not only does Melancholy dwell with Beauty that must die and with Joy whose hand is ever at his lips bidding adieu, but

Ay, in the very temple of Delight  
Veil'd Melancholy has her sovran shrine.

So Keats's conception of Beauty is inseparable from Melancholy. All kinds of beauty must pass away, and by the same token all kinds of delight must slide into gloom. What is suggested at first has been clinched beyond doubt. It is not merely fleeting beauty that is associated with melancholy, but beauty of all kinds. His Apollo 'anguished' as one who should 'die

into life'. Keats set out in quest of the sad human heart, but landed at the shore of melancholy beauty.

What is beauty to thought is joy to feeling. They interpenetrate each other so that the one is invariably accompanied by the other. Keats calls his ideal Beauty, sometimes he calls it Pleasure, sometimes Joy or Delight. They all come to the same thing. Beauty is actually far more feeling than thought. The sights and sounds of the world provide sense-feeling, while ideas provide feeling on an abstract plane. But feeling is there. And the feeling engendered by beauty is joy or delight. What is joy in terms of feeling is beauty in terms of thinking. They lie cheek by jowl, or even closer than that. They represent the convex and concave of organic reaction. Keats's cult of Beauty is thus his cult of Joy. With Keats poetry, beauty, and joy coalesce in his spiritual life, and any attempt at scientific analysis on the part of critics would involve them in critical disaster. Unlike Wordsworth Keats did not dare attain to a serene, blessed mood and see into the life of things. It was not a state of beautitude that he aimed at. He was too much of the earth to take cognizance of the intimations of immortality.

Here, in one very important respect, Rabindranath resembles Keats. Rabindranath has spiritual affinity with Wordsworth and Shelley, but his heart is with Keats. He was early enamoured of Beauty as Keats was, and he remained a votary of Beauty all his life. Early in life he regretted his refuge in an ivory tower where Beauty held him in duress. The bid-dings of social conscience inclined him to turn his gaze to the world of misery. He listened eagerly to the clarion-call. But he stopped just short of taking the plunge. He experienced a nostalgia, looked back and found Beauty enthroned, far from the reach of struggle and misery. But Keats had no scruples to repair, and he was busy seeking a niche in the temple of Delight. The scenes of strife and misery flitted like phantoms across the hall of drunken delight, and Beauty remained inviolate. In 'Sleep and Poetry' he writes :

And can I bid these joys farewell ?  
Yes, I must pass them for nobler life,  
Where I may find the agonies, the strife,  
Of human hearts.

In spite of these effusions, and they are more visions of poetical prospect than twinges of conscience, Keats could not bring himself to dwell on the misery and sufferings which were gnawing at the heart of contemporary society. Keats died premature, and conjectures regarding what he might have done had he been granted a longer life are not quite out of place, though utterly fruitless. But it is remarkable that Rabindranath who lived to a ripe old age could never disengage himself from romantic ties. He maintained his tenor of worship, which was only

sporadically disturbed by his submission to the clamant cries of contemporary criticism. What establishes his affinity with Keats is not the number of occasions on which he yielded to critical persuasion but the unswerving devotion to the ideal of romantic beauty which dominates the poetic personality or both the poets.

Keats's 'negative capability', that much-abused phrase, wrenched from its context and juggled into an imposing variety of interpretations, points in the direction determined by his sense of poetic value. The phrase, originally, is pitted against rational analysis which is abhorrent to Keats's nature. And why? Because Keats does not feel like taking things to pieces. As a worshipper of beauty, he is averse to analysis. For beauty defies analysis, logical or scientific. The strands making up the pattern of beauty are beyond cold enumeration, and they are blended into a single essence by a feeling-tone which can be enjoyed rather than dissected. Only a few of the strands are picked up by the poet, and the obscure suggestions of imagery, in trying to satisfy the reasoning faculty, succeed in doping the intellect into uncritical acquiescence.

The 'immortal bird' of Keats is another apple of discord. The nightingale of Nature is born for death, but the nightingale of Keats is not. It shares the same fate with the Tennysonian 'brook'. Both the poets are caught tripping, and some critics exult over their prostrated guinea-pigs. But Keats harped on the same string all his life, whether in his poetry or in his letters. The 'immortal bird' conveys an emotional appeal, and the phrase cannot be appraised without having regard to the emotional content which constitutes the essence of romantic poetry. When beauty throws the poet into an ecstasy, the moment is eternalized. Love at so high a pitch cannot think otherwise. It is a sort of unreasoning reason, a kind of special pleading which is blind to the realities of existence. It is a sort of identification with the object of love. The nightingale is so essential to his self that the poet cannot think of his existence otherwise than with the bird. And as his rapturous delight spreads itself into an emotional haze of eternity, he descends into a bathos of expression which never represents the whole dissonance of his soul's harmony. This bathetic cinder thrown out of the creative furnace is unfortunately taken to be a perfect representative of the poet's philosophy of life.

To say that Keats was not devoid of interest in contemporary life or to seek traces of his political sympathies is an attempt on the part of admiring critics to bring him into line with the other poets of the period. It is remarkable that the French Revolution left him poetically cold. The millennial dreams of Shelley could not stir him into poetical activity. He owes to Leigh Hunt a spirit of liberalism which found expression in his resolve to shake off the restraints put, in the name of classicism, on the spontaneous flights of imagination. 'Beauty was awake.' But a thousand handicraftsmen who wore the mask of poetry did not awake to it. Here



again is struck the keynote of Keats's poetic endeavour. Only a free imagination can awake to and appreciate beauty. And Keats's imagination is free. It is freer than it usually is. It carries no load of theories, no ideal other than Beauty. It goes with Beauty which is ever fleeting and ever eluding the grasp of line and colour. It is only a free imagination which can woo a free ideal. Keats's imagination is ever on the point of merging in beauty, having nothing except a sad fatality to clog its excursions into realms of delight.

Keats 'Hyperion' stops short of its expected finale. The fragment appears to make more for Apollo than for Hyperion. Judging from the achievement as it stands, Hyperion, the sun-god, plays a subordinate part in the drama of god-like passion where everything tends to the birth of a new order with Apollo as its centre. In 'Hyperion',

Apollo is once more the golden theme.

Keats returns to Apollo. For his Muse does not feel equal to describing the Titans.

O Leave them, Muse ! O leave them to their woes ;

For thou art weak to sing such tumults dire ;

A solitary sorrow best befits

Thy lips, and antheming a lonely grief.

Hyperion gleams for a moment or two, then fades out just when he is emerging into the picture.

Keats's heart is with the 'awful Goddess', Mnemosyne

Who hath forsaken old and sacred thrones

For prophecies of thee, and for the sake

Of loveliness new born.

His sneaking affection for Apollo upsets the epic plan, with the result that the theme fizzles out.

The nature of Endymion is of a piece with that of Keats. But it cannot be said of Hyperion that the poet chose the name because it suited his nature. He stopped, presumably because he had nothing more to enlarge upon after the enthronement of Apollo, 'the bright Lyrist.' Beauty is the alpha and omega of Keats's poetic life:

..... 'tis the eternal law,

That first in beauty should be first in might.

The theme of human misery which the poet had suggested for later treatment led him into a mythological vale of sadness 'far sunken from the healthy breath of morn'. He tasted the bitters of life, 'the weariness, the fever, and the fret', and hesitated to go in for the human scene around him. He fled the precincts of the society only to find himself in situations as melancholy as the world of reality. He found beauty though it was no joy for ever. But beauty he must seek, however disappointing the search might prove. It was Apollo, his first love, that he returned to after long wanderings in search of that essence of delight diffused over his world of vision.

# SANSKRIT SOUNDS UNCHANGED IN OTHER LANGUAGES

RABINDRAKUMAR SIDDHANTASHASTREE

The popular theory is that the Aryans were not an indigenous people of India, but they came to this sub-continent from a foreign land, and that the language in which they spoke in the hoariest antiquity, was different from Sanskrit. I, for myself cannot hold the above theory as correct. An attempt has been made by me in an article entitled 'The Earliest Abode of the Āryas' published in three different instalments in the Calcutta Review<sup>1</sup> that the Aryans or the Āryas were an indigenous people of Northern India, and that they migrated to other countries from this earliest abode of their's. It is for the scholarly readers to decide whether the above attempt was successful or not.

As regards the original language of the Aryans, I hold that it was an early form of Sanskrit, not much different from the Vedic Sanskrit, in which they used to speak in the remotest past. The so-called Indo-European language having its foundation on a sheer imagination, as I understand, cannot be held as a reality.

It has been discussed by me in some of my previous articles that the sections of the Āryas or Aryans, while migrating to other countries, generally moved through Persia, and that after living there for a few hundred years or so, they felt it necessary to send some groups of them to different European countries. This fact can be easily proved by a comparison of the basically common words existing till today in different Aryan languages of the modern time, and the process of phonetic changes they have naturally undergone.

The Sanskrit word *kirāṇa* (meaning 'ray'<sup>2</sup>) assumed the form *kirān* in Persian, where the word was later used in the sense of a star or a heavenly body. It is presumable that a star or heavenly body was so called, because of its possession of *kirāṇa* or ray. The same word in Greek was shortened into *rīna* with its Sanskrit meaning quite unchanged. In English the word was shortened to a longer extent into 'ray'. The fact has been admitted by Prof. Max Müller<sup>3</sup> that the people has a tendency for shortening the sounds. For

1 In the issues of August, 1963, December, 1963, and May, 1965.

2 Lectures on the Science of Language, Vol. II, Lecture IV.

example, he referred to the French sounds *pere* and *mere* for the Latin *pater* and *māter* and the modern English lord and lady for the Anglo-Saxon *plaford* and *phaefdige*. In Sanskrit also we find the use of the words *Devadatta* and *Satyabhāmā* in their shorter forms sometimes as *Deva* and *Satyā* respectively and on other occasions as *Datta* and *Bhāmā* respectively. Moreover the *nāmadhātus*, *sandhis* and *samāsas* in Sanskrit give us innumerable shortened forms of different words. The examples of the Sanskrit word *kirāṇa* and its equivalents in other languages prove that the Sanskrit word first went to Persian, then to Greek, and then to English.

If the so-called Indo-European language would be a reality, and if the Greek sounds, as the modern philologists hold, would be its nearest form, then the changes in sounds of the word *kirāṇa*, as shown above, could not take place in the above way. Similarly, the Sanskrit word *jānu* (meaning 'knee') having been almost unchanged in Persian *zānu* and having slight changes in its sounds in Greek *gonu* Latin *genua*, German *knie* and English *knee*, establishes the Sanskrit origin of the word. The Sanskrit word *chāga* (meaning 'goat') underwent the natural change of *varṇa-viparyaya* (exchange of sounds) in Persian *guch*, which in Greek was changed into *gida* and in modern English into 'goat'. There are innumerable common words of this kind, which undoubtedly prove their Sanskrit origin.

In Persian, many of the Sanskrit words remain quite unchanged, and many others have been shortened. The shortened forms are extremely useful in establishing their Sanskrit origin. Sanskrit *māsa* (meaning month) was shortened in Persian into *māh*, Sanskrit *rathyā* (road) into *rah*, Skt. *mūṣika* (mouse) into *muṣ* or *mush*, Skt. *vṛhat* (big) into *hadd*, Skt. *sundarī* (beautiful woman) into *tauri*, and Skt. *pada* (foot) into *pā*. What is more important is that, some of the Sanskrit words exist in Persian in two or more different forms, one retaining the first consonant sound only of the original word, and the other the last or the central original consonant sound. For example :

Sanskrit		Persian
uru (thigh)	...	ustak ; ran
dasyu (thief, enemy)	...	duzd ; sarik
nadī (river)	...	nahar ; dariyā
pada (foot)	...	pā, dam
pūrvva (former)	..	pis ; avvāh
mānuṣa (man)	...	mard ; nās
śiras (head)	...	śar (or 'shar') ; ras
svarga (heaven)	...	somā ; gardun
harmya (mansion)	...	hārem ; manjil

If Persian would not be an offspring of Sanskrit, then the different words formed of a single Sanskrit word as shown above, under no circumstances, could have their existence in Persian. It is therefore clear that Persian originated from Sanskrit and not the *vice versa*.

As regards Greek, there also many important examples are found. The Sanskrit sentence “*mā gāh*” (don’t go) is used for strong protestation. The Greek sentence “*mā gar*” also is used in the same sense. The Sanskrit participles *kīrṇa* (scattered), *naṣṭa* (lost; ruined), *pratta* (offered) and *protā* (fastened) are found almost unchanged in Greek *kīrnō*, *nostas*, *prattō* and *protou* respectively, indicating the Sanskrit origin of the sounds. The Sanskrit verbs *asmi* (I am), *asti* (he is), *smah* (we are), and *āsan* (they were) are found in Greek respectively as *eimi*, *esti*, *esmen*, and *ēsan*. The following Greek words which are undoubtedly the shortened forms of the original Sanskrit sounds prove that Greek originated from Sanskrit and not from any other hypothetical language.

Sanskrit	Greek
asantōṣa (anguish, disgust)	... asē
kutra (where)	... kai
tasya (his)	... tou
paścāt (back, after)	... piso
barccas or varccas (force)	... bia
mama (my)	... mou
lavaṇa (salt)	... alas
adhunā (now)	... nun
anupreraṇā (impulse)	... orme
asau (he)	... sou
ārogya (cure)	... koura (g changed into k and has exchanged its place with r).

There are many other sounds of the same kind, which are potent enough to prove the Sanskrit origin of the Greek words.

It is interesting to note that the word for knowledge or language in Greek is *eidesis*, which, as I understand, is a corrupt form of the Sanskrit term *vaideśika* meaning foreign. This indicates that language for the first time was introduced in Greece by some Sanskrit-speaking foreign people. Who other than Indians could have Sanskrit as their own language?

As regards Latin, German and some other European languages, they also have adequate evidences in themselves for establishing the fact that each of them mainly originated from Sanskrit. I have an

intention to write different articles dealing with all the impacts of different Aryan languages, for establishing their Sanskrit origin.

As most of the original Sanskrit words underwent their natural phonetic changes, not according to the so-called phonetic laws of Grimm, Verner, Grassmann or the like ; but under the phonetic laws, prescribed by our ancient grammarian Pāṇini (discussed by the present author in an article entitled "Phonetic Laws as Prescribed by Pāṇini", published in the 'Indian Review'.† I desire to give here a long alphabetical list of words in different languages having some original Sanskrit sound unchanged in them. As regards the changes of the sounds, these will be discussed thoroughly in other articles.

### PERSIAN

Sanskrit with English meaning.	Persian (including Avestan) with English meaning where it is changed.	Sanskrit with English meaning.	Persian (including Avestan) with English meaning, when it is changed.
(a अ)			
agham (evil)	... agem (Avestan)	asmai (to this man)	... ahmai ( " )
aṅguṣṭha (thumb)	... aṅguṣṭ (forefinger)	asya (his ; of this man)	... ahe ( " )
ataḥ (then)	... ada (Av.)	ayam (this man)	... aēm (Av.)
atha (thus)	... atha ( " )	artha (money)	... arz (earth), zar (money)
anāmikā (ring finger)	... anāmīl (tip of finger)	avayāti (he goes down)	... avazāiti (Av.)
antar (in)	... andar	aham (I)	... azem (Av.)
andha (blind)	... ama	uta (also, even)	... uta (Av.)
anyau (two others)	... anyo (Av.)	upari (up)	... akbar
apsaras (fairy)	... pari	kakṣa (room)	... takyah
abhi (against)	... avi (Av.)	kaṭi (waist)	... kamar
abhra (cloud)	... abr	kalama (which)	... kadam
aśman (stone)	... asman (Av.)	kathayati (he quotes ; he speaks)	... gafat
aśva (horse)	... asv (or asb) ; asp.	kanīṣṭhā (little finger)	... kaniz (servant)
aṣṭa (eight)	... haṣṭ (Av.)	kamala (lotus)	kamil } (perfect)
asi (you are)	... ahi ( , , )		kamal }
asu (soul)	... ahu ( " )	karoti (he acts)	... kardan (to act)
asura (strong) (Vedic)	... ahura ( " )	kardama (mud)	... kardan (street)
asti (he exists)	asti ( , , )	karman (work)	... kar
astra (weapon)	salāh	kāṇa (blind)	... kur
asmāt (from this)	... ahmāt (Av.)	kuha (where)	... kuja
asmi (I am)	... ahmi ( , , )		

Sans. with Eng. meaning.	Persian (including Avestan) with Eng. meaning where it is changed.	Sans. with Eng. meaning.	Persian (including Avestan) with Eng. meaning when it is changed.
kranda (to cry)	farīyād, } (cry) kill }	prathama (first)	pīṣ-ras
khadga (sword)	.. kard (knife) } kaddārah (sword)	[pra] śamsā (praise)	sanā
		prastha (breadth)	pahnāi
		bhrātar [bhrātṛ]	birādar
		(brother)	
gavaya (wild cow)	.. gavazn	matta (mad)	majnūn
gau-nara (ox)	gau-nar	manuṣya (man)	mard
ghana (cloud ; thick)	ghamāmah (cloud) ghaliz (thick)	mama (my)	.. madan
		mastaka (head)	.. mabda
gharma (warm ; khway (sweat) sweat)		mātar [mātr] (mother)	.. mādar
		mukha (mouth)	madkhal
		mūlya (price)	...mablag [h]
		yakṛt (liver)	... jagar
cakṣus (eye)	... caṣm	rathyā (road)	... rah
cattār (four)	.. callar	lamba (long)	...(bu)land
[candra]-mas (the moon)	.. mah	vadana (face ; mouth)	...badan (body) dahan (,,)
carman (skin)	.. carm	vanitā (wife; woman)	.. banāt
tanu (body, thin)	.. tan (body) tang (thin)	vandh (to bind)	.. band [kardan]
tamah (darkness)	... tirah } (dark) tama (Av.) }	vanya (wild)	... vahši
		vartma (road)	... vatirah
trṇa (grass)	... nabāt	vasna (price)	... babā
dakṣa (expert)	... (cūk) dast	vahati (he carries)	... vafa [kardan]
daṇḍa (stick ; club)	... dam	vah (to carry)	... vaz
danta (tooth)	... dandān	vahu (many, much)	... baṣi ; bafi
daśa (ten)	... dam	vedanā (pain)	... dard
dhana (money)	... nakd	śaṣpa (new grass)	... sūbzah (grass)
nakra (crocodile)	... nahung	śvan (dog)	.. sharā ; sag
nadī (stream)	... nahar	śveta (white)	.. safidah
naraka (hell)	... darak	ṣaṣ (six)	.. shash [ṣaṣ]
nava (nine)	... nah	sangīta (song)	.. sarāidan
pakva (ripe)	... pukhtah	sapta (seven)	.. hapta
pañka (mud)	... band (bank)	samāna (same)	... hamān
pacati (he cooks)	.. paz (to cook)	samudra (-ea)	... dariyā
		sarati (he travels)	.. safar (to travel)
pañca (five)	.. panj	sarpa (serpent)	... afū
paṭa (cloth)	.. paṭṭu	skandha (shoulder)	.. sanāh
patati (he falls)	.. part (to fall)	svāsthya (health)	.. sihbat
patra (leaf, letter)	.. varak (leaf) parvānah (letter)	harmya (mansion)	.. manjil (house)
pada (foot)	... dam		
pitar [pitṛ] (father)	pidar		
pustaka (book)	dastak (i-hisab)		

Sans. with Eng. meaning.	Persian (including Avestan) with Eng. meaning when it is changed.	Sans. with Eng. meaning.	Persian (including Avestan) with Eng. meaning when it is changed.
<b>ā (आ)</b>		sāgara (sea, lake)	... sāhir
		sāyam (evening)	... shām
anāmikā	... anāmil	<b>i (इ)</b>	
ājñā (order)	... āyīn	anāmikā	... anāmil
āditya (the sun)	... aftāb	api (also)	... vi (Av.)
upahāra (presentation)	... ihzār	asti	... asti (Av.)
kathā (story, story ... kitab (book) book)		asmi	... ahmi (Av.)
kā (who. f.)	... kā (Av.)	āsis (benediction)	... āshis (Av.)
caitār	... callār	ittham (thus)	... itha (Av.)
	cathvāro (Av.)	iṣṭi (worship)	... istis (Av.)
jānu (knee)	... zānu (or Jānu)	ihi (you go)	... idi
jāmātā	... dāmād	kim (which)	... kih
(son-in-law)		kirāṇa (ray)	... kirān
jyotsnā (moon light)	... jiyā		(star)
tathā (so)	... tathā (Av.)	giri (hill)	... girivah
tārā (star)	... sitārah	tiṣṭhāmi (I stay)	... histāmi
tvā (to you)	... tvā (Av.)	tri (three)	... thri (Av.)
dadāti (he donates)	... dādani	dvidhā (hesitation)	... jidā
dūrāt (far away)	... dūrāt (Av.)	nediṣṭha (nearest)	... nazdistā
dvidhā (in two parts)	... jidā		(Av.)
	(different)	paritah (all round)	... pairiga
nānā ( of various	... nizā		(Av.)
kinds)	(difference)	pāpin	... kāfir
nābhi (navel)	... nāf	pitṛ	... pidar
nāman (name)	... nām	vāri	... vārid
nāmakarāṇa (naming)	nāmīdan	vālīśa	... bālīsh
palāyate (he flees)	... firār (fugitive)	vistṛta (wide)	... basit
pāpin (sinner)	... fājir	visve (all)	... vispe
(pra) śamsā	... sanā		(Av.)
bhāra (burden)	... bār, bārgīr	mihira (the sun)	... mihr
bhrātr	... birādar	sabitā (the sun)	... sābita
mātr	... mādar		(star)
mām (me)	... mām (Av.)	sindhu (sea ; river)	... hindu
māsa (month)	... māh	siñcati (he	... hincati
yathā (as)	... yathā (Av.)	sprinkles)	(Av.)
yāc (to pray)	... (ni) yāz		
yācñā (solicitation)	... yāsnā (Av.)		
yāyāvata	... āvārah	<b>i (ई)</b>	
(wandering)		tira (arrow)	... tir (axle)
varāha (boar)	... gurāj	vīra (hero)	... viro (Av.)
vāta (wind)	... vād	vairī (enemy)	... vairīm (Av.)
vāri (water)	... bārīd	śarīra (body)	... sarīr (bed)
vālīśa (fool)	... bālīs	sīv (to sew)	... ābsī (sewer)
	(pillow)	sundarī (pretty	... taurī (pretty)
saṁāsa	... hamān ;	woman)	
	māmuli		

Sana. with Eng.  
meaningPersian (including  
Avestan) with Eng.  
meaning when it is  
changed.Sana. with Eng.  
meaning.Persian (including  
Avestan) with Eng.  
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changed.

## u (उ)

aṅguṣṭha	... angust
asu (soul)	... ahu (Av.)
a-ura	... ahura
uru (thigh)	... ustakh
uṣṭra (camel)	... uṣṭur[usṭur]
kusuma (flower)	... khulāsāh
kuha (where)	... ku ; kuja
jānu	... zānu (or jāru)
dugdha (milk)	... dug [h]
duhitṛ (daughter)	... dukhtar
paśu (animal)	... washuk
putra (son)	... putha (Av.)
prati (against)	... paiti (Av.)
muhūrta	... muhammi
(Moment)	
śebh (shine)	... shudan
śuṣka (dry)	... sukht (fuel)
sindhu	... hindu
sundaram	... huradom
(beautiful)	(Av.)

## u (ऊ)

dūta (messenger)	... dūta (Av.)
dūrāt	... dūrāt (Av.)
bhūmim (land)	... būmin
	(Av.)
yūnām (of the young)	... yūnām
	(Av.)
yūyam (you ; pl.)	... yūham (Av.)
śūra (hero)	... sūra (Av.)

## e (ए)

eka (one)	... ek
te (your)	... te (Av.)
pate (protector. voc.)	... paitē
	(Av.)

## ai (ऐ)

asmai (to this man)	... ahmāi
	(Av.)
aiśvarya (wealth)	... śai (thing)
kasmai (to whom)	... kahmai
vātaih (by the wind)	... vātāis (Av.)

## o (ओ)

no (no)	... no
---------	--------

## au (औ)

gau-nara (ox)	... gau-nar
gau (cow)	... gāus
	(cattle)(Av.)

## k (क)

anika (army)	... ainika (Av.)
andhakāra (darkness)	... tārīk
eka	... ek
{kaḥ (who)	... ko (Av.)
{ko (vedic)	
kaṭi (waist)	... kamar
katama (which)	... kudām
kathā (story;	... kitāb
story book)	(book)
kaṇiṣṭhā	... kaniz
(little finger)	
kanyā (bride)	... kaininō (Av.)
kamala (lotus)	... kāmil ; } (per-
	... kamāl { feet)
karna (ear)	... kush
karoti	... kardan
kardama	... kardan
karmakara	... naukār
kasmai	... kahmāi
kā (who, fem.)	... kā (Av.)
kāka (crow)	... kālāg
kāmya (desirable)	... kāmya (Av.)
kāṇa (blind)	... kur
kukkuṭa (cock)	... katunah
	(hen)
kutra (where)	... kuthra (Av.)
kuha ( , )	... ku ; kuza
kulara (cave)	... kahf
kṛṇyāt	... ker. nuyāt
(he should do)	(Av.)
kṛt (to cut)	... kat[kardan]
churikā (knife)	... chāku
naraka	... darak
pākāśaya (stomach)	... shakm(belly)
pustaka	... dastak
	(i-hisab)



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vāhaka (bearer)	... bār-kash
mastaka (head)	... kallāh
mūka (mute)	... bakim
śuṣka (dry)	... shauk (grass ; straw)

## ch ( च )

chāga	... guch
churikā	... chākkū

## j ( ज )

khādyā (food)	... khwud
nakha (nail)	... nākhun
bhūkhaṇḍa	... kl'ushki
(a piece of land)	(land)
munḥa (mouth)	... khur ; kbaur ; madkhal

aja (goat)	... buj (or buz)
ojah (strength)	... aojah (Av.)
jātānām (of the ...)	zātānām (Av.) (or jātānām)
jānu (knee)	... zānu (or jānu)
jīvati (he live-)	... jindah
jīvantām (et ...)	jvāntām (Av.) th m live)
jīvanti (they ...)	jva'nti (Av.) live)

## g ( ग )

gataḥ (gone)	... gato (Av.)
gadāvīra	... gadavarō
(hero in fighting ...)	(Av.)
with a club)	
garjana (roar)	... gurrish
garā (hole)	... gaud
garba (pride)	... gurur
gambhīra (grave)	... gūr
gala (throat)	... golū
gām (earth ; acc. ...)	gām (Av.)
sing )	
giri (hill)	... { girivah (hill) gauhar (tone)
gau (cow)	... gāv
gau-nara	... gau-nar
grasati (he ...)	giyāh (grass)
swallows)	
chāga (goat)	... guch
niyoga (employ- ...)	nigah
ment)	
svarga	... gardūn

jyo'snā (moon- ...)	jiyā
light)	
vajra (thunder)	... jabanah
	(flame)
yaj (to pray ; to ...)	yāj, niyāz.
worship)	

## t ( ट )

aṣṭa (eight)	... ha-ht (or haṣṭ)
iṣṭih (sacrifice)	... istis (Av.)
uṣṭra	... uṣhtur (or uṣtur)
kukkuṭa	... katunah
paṭa	... paṭṭu
veṣṭana	... bostos
yaṣṭih (club)	... yacstis (Av.)

## t ( त )

ataḥ (thereupon)	āt (Av.)
asti (he exists)	... asti (Av.)
astu (be it so)	... ustu (Av.)
āste (he sits)	... istirāhat (to sit)
kathayati (he ...)	gafat, guftan
speaks)	(to speak)
kṛt	... kat ; ku'ām
jātānām (of ...)	zātānām (Av.)
the born)	
tat (that)	... tat (Av.)
tanu (body)	... tan (Av.)

## c ( च )

ca (and)	... ca (Av.)
cakṣus	... cashm
catvār	... callār
carman	... carm
paścāt	... pasca (Av.)



Sanskrit with English meaning.	Persian (including Avestan) with English meaning where it is changed.	Sanskrit with English meaning.	Persian (including Avestan) with English meaning where it is changed.
kaniṣṭhā ...	kaniḡ	putra ...	{ puthra (Av.) pūr , pisar
tanu ...	tan	pūrṇa (full) ...	pur .
tanūnām (of the bodies) ...	tanūnām (Av.)	pūrva (fore, first)	{ paurvō (Av.) pish , pishin
danta (tooth) ...	dandān	pr̥ṣṭha (back, ... behind)	pist , past
nakra ...	nahang	prati (against)	pust
nakha ...	nākhun	prathama (first)	paiti
nava (new) ...	nau	prastara (stone)	pīshras
nānā (various) ...	nanā (Av.)	prastha (breadth)	pishtah
nībhi (navel) ...	nāf		pahn
niyoga ...	nigah		
pāpin (profane) ...	bidin		
nānūṣi (man) ...	nās		
vaḍana ...	vaḍan , dahan		
vānara (monkey) ...	buzinah		
veṣṭana ...	boston		
yuvān ...	javān		
yoni (source) ...	yins		
sandhāna ...	(pa-pay) sudan		
	(search)		
samāna ...	hamān		
sindhu ...	hindu		

## p ( प )

apacat (he cooked)	pacata (Av.)
apsaras (fairy) ...	pari
pakva (ripe) ...	pukhtah
pañka (mud) ...	puṣṭah
	(bank)
pacati (he cooks)	(ash) paz
	(cook)
pañca ...	pañj
patati ...	part
pate (protector, .. voc)	paite (Av.)
pada (foot) ...	pā , pi, pay
pari (all round) ...	pāiri (Av.)
pavana (wind) ...	{ picānidan (to wind) picandin (wind)
pavitra (pure) ...	pālas
paścāt (behind) ...	pasca (Av.)
pārśva (side) ...	pāhlu
pitar (pitṛ) ...	pidar
pīḍa ...	past (kardan) (to beat)

## ph ( फ )

śapharī ...	kisiph (fish)
	(a kind of fish)
śāphalya ...	pha!āh
	(success)

## b ( ब )

[In Sanskrit generally the letter 'V' is used]

aśba (horse) ...	asb
ḍimba (egg) ...	baizah
daiba (divine) ...	rabbāni
dbāra (door) ...	darb
pārābata (pigeon) ...	kabutar
raba (roar ; sound) ...	bang
lamba (long) ...	buland
sīb (to sew) ...	ābshi
	(sewer)

## m ( म )

anāmikā ...	anāmil
asmāt (from this man) ...	ahmāt (Av.)
asmai (to this man) ...	ahmāi (Av.)
aham (I) ...	mañ
imam (him) ...	imem
ūrmī (wave) ...	mauj
katania ...	kudām
kamala ...	kāmal ;
	kāmil
kāmya ...	kāmya (Av.)



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karoti	... kardan	martya	... mirtalam
kardama	... kardan	mātar	... mādar
karmakara	... naukar	mihira	.. mihir
kranda	... farīyād	yāyāvara	... āvārah
gau-nara	... gau-nar	rakta	... ritin
gambhīra	... gur	ratha	... [ar]rādah
garjana	... gurish	rathyā	... rah ;
gata (hole)	... gaud		rah ; rash
garba (pride)	... gurur	rasa (juice)	... ārak
garbha	... gār	rāsa (dance	... raka
giri	... girīvali	in a circle)	(dance)
grāvan (stone)	... graud	ripu (foe)	... [ha]-rif
gharma (hot)	... karin ;	varāha	... garāj
	garm	varṇu (river)	... rud
cakra (wheel)	... charkh	vartma (road, way)	... vatīrah
catvār	... callār	varṣana (rain)	... bāridan
carma	... carin	varṣā (rainy season)	... bārish
cāru (charming)	... kari-	vastra (cloth)	... parcah
	ftan	vāri (water)	... burd ;
chātra (disciple)	... shāgird		burid
churikā	... satur	virāra (stop)	... birun
taru (tree)	... dār	śarīra (body)	... surat
tārā	... sitārā	śikhara (peak)	... sar ;
tīra (arrow)	... tir		sarkub ; suru.
	(axle)	śiras (head)	...shar ; ras
dāra	... dār	slokakāra (poet)	... shair
dvāra	... dār ;	sangīta (song)	...sarā-īdan
	dārb		(to sing)
naraka	... darak	samudra	... daryā
nara-gau (bull)	...nar-gau	sarati (he walks)	... safar
nirmātā	mukāvvir		(walking)
patra (leaf)	parvānah	sundarī	... taurī
„ (letter)	...farmān	sūrya (the sun)	... hur
parāgata (gone ;	faramush	svarga	... gardūn
(deceased)	(fugitive)		
pārābata	...kabutar		
pitar	... pidar		
putra	{ puthra (Av.)	kamala	... kamal ,
	{ pur ; pisar		kāmil
pūrṇa	.. pūr	gala	... gulu
prathama	... pishras	cālayati (he	... kuhl
preṣaṇa	.. firistādan	causes to lead)	(to lead)
(sending)	(to send)	nikhila (all)	... kull
preṣya	... firistā	mūlya	... mablag
(messenger)		lagati (he lags)	... lab
bhāra (burden)	... bār		(to lag)
bhrātar	... birādar	lamba	...[bu]-land
mayūra	... murg	lāti (he gives)	...[dalā] lat

1 (ल)



## GREEK

Sanskrit with Eng. meaning.	Greek with Eng. if the meaning is changed.	Sanskrit with Eng. meaning.	Greek with Eng. if the meaning is changed.
	a ( )	nāman (name) ...	onoma
akṣa (axle) ...	axōn ; axoni	paṭu (expert) ...	platus (wide ; large)
agra (edge ; top)...	athera (edge) akra (top)	patnī (wife) ...	patria (race, tribe, family)
anas (cart) ...	anō (above : on high)	pātra (pot) ...	khutra
abhaṇa (mute ; ... silent)	ophalos (middle, centre)	prathama (first)	prōtos
	... ophelos (ga'n : benefit)	pra-stara (stone)...	petra
Aśva (horse) ...	alogo	prastha ...	p'atos ; phardos
upapīḍa ...	upapherō (to suffer)	bharanti (they ... fill)	pharangi (ravine)
ulūka (owl) ...	glauka	maya (name ... of an expert technician)	maya (witch)
kaṅkāla ...	kakkarōnō (perishing from cold ; freezing)	mahānasa ...	magetika (restaurant)
kathora (hard) ...	kathorō (to notice)	mūyika ...	magicos (magic ; magical)
kapāla (skull) ...	kapellon (hot)	māsa (month) ...	menas
karṣaṇa ...	kalliergō	miśrita ...	miktas (mixed)
(cultivation)		rājan (king) ...	regas
kirana (ray) ...	rina	lavaṇa (salt) ...	alas ; alati
kukkuṭa (cock) ...	kota ; kotta	loṣṭra (stone) ...	lithas
cakra (wheel, ... circle)	kuklos	varbara ...	barbaros (barbarous)
dakṣa (expert) ...	doxa (glory ; renown)	valavat (strong)...	basis
dama (tame) ...	damazō	śapharī (a kind ... of fish)	psari (fish)
daṁśana (bite ; ... biting)	dogkanō	śarkarā (sugar) ...	sakkharon
dūta ...	doula (maid servant)	śūnya (void, ... vacuum)	kenos
"(messenger)		saraṇi (road) ...	sālage (noise ; out cry)
daiva (divine ; ... divinity)	theios (divin ... thion (divinity)	soma (the ... moon ; a kind of wine used in vedic rituals)	sōma (body)
dvandva (pair ; ... dual)	dittas	stoma (praise ; ... a hymn)	stoma (mouth)
dvāra (door) ...	thura	kaṅkāla ...	kakkārōnō
dhūma (smoke) ...	thuma (victim) thumos (anger)	chāyā (shadow) ...	skiā
nakra ...	krokodeilos	jihvā (tongue) ...	glossā
(crocodile)			
nabhas (sky) ...	nephos (cloud)		

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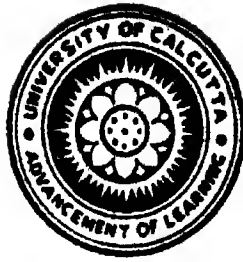


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## THE MIGHTY WORLD OF EYE AND EAR

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From a very early age Coleridge was deeply interested in the external world. As a poet he longed to see and feel, and as a thinker he had to explain it in relation to the principle of the will. The attitude of a child to the sensations of sight dominates the acute powers of observation exercised by the eye and the mind.

Coleridge, the critic and the speaker, was the enemy of Coleridge the poet. An unwanted preface to *Kubla Khan* brought forth the opium theory of poetry among the critics. Denying for himself the title of a poet he was responsible in boosting up poets like Southey. Calling some poems fragments, he worried the critics. With all this, it is undeniable that he was greatly interested in theology and metaphysics. Poetry was a form of theology, and metaphysics a form of poetry. The reveries and dreams are misleading descriptions of his own poems encouraged actively by himself. It is a world of make-believe in which he longed to live.

A master of euphony, he has given us some of the finest musical passages and has also expressed his great love of music. But he had certain definite convictions when he came to look at the external world. Some of these convictions have a child-like simplicity. One notebook records : "No one can leap over his shadow/poets leap over death" (8.3). The child claims to achieve the impossible, and at the same time seeks to evoke the sympathy of the others. "Sympathy the poet alone can excite/ any Dabbler in stories may excite pity—the more I think the more I am convinced that Admiration is an *essential* element of poetical Delight." (4.82). The successful poet excites sympathy and evokes our admiration : and the

child wants the elders to show both sympathy and admiration. Moreover, the child loves to imitate the elders, not to strive for originality. Whatever may be the originality that one may seek in Coleridge's poetry, he had a positive distaste for originality : " Original ?—yes ! 'Tis implied in the very idea of a monster " (5.52). Consequently he is opposed to the inventing of words : " Good writing is produced more effectively by rapidly glancing through language as it already exists, than by any hasty recourse to the Mint of Invention " (to Poole, 5 May, 1796). This unchildlike attitude to words is in direct contrast to his statement : " In good truth, my taste and stomach are very catholic " (to Mrs. STC, 10 March, 1799).

This childlike quality is at the root of many things in his life. Possibly his wife did not know how to treat him and care for him as a child. She always called him Samuel, a name he detested most. It is not a mere incompatibility of two different temperaments. He expected of her the attitude of a mother ; and he was denied it. This might look odd, but one has only to remember some of his eccentricities. He wanted the word Coleridge to be pronounced as a trisyllabic one with the first syllable short. Then it might be euphonious. But many must have ignored his wishes. There was something of Oedipus in him, if only we carefully go through the passage in his notebook : " Blow out a candle with a sigh—and present a pencil case for a smelling bottle. One lady passionately in love with me for three years or more—my mother " (I.365). And at times he saw his wife as he saw his mother. Again this is the element of the child operating.

Looking at the world as a child and sometimes realising that he is an adult, Coleridge falls into a dualism that is revealed in the depth of imaginative vision and also in bitter realism. In this strain, he speaks of his ' fat vacuity of face ' (P.32n), and in his letters he describes himself as " a mere carcase of a face : fat, flabby and expressive chiefly of in-expression." He speaks of

One that at his mother's look-glass,  
' Would force his features to a frowning sternness. (*Osorio*, 3.95-8)  
He was remarkable at seventeen ' for a plump face ' (32n).

Plato too had something of the child in his outlook. Coleridge, Plato and the child have their minds aspiring after the little and the great. Little and small, great and vast, sublime and silence are some of the key-words appearing in Coleridge who had the child-like capacity for delight in little things.

'Thick jasmines twined : the little landscape round' ;  
'This little lime-tree bower' ;

'She built a little home of joy and rest' ;  
 'I have found a little home, within my heart' ;  
 'A small and silent dell' ;  
 'Beneath this small blue roof of vernal sky.'

Some of the requirements for the poetic activity are 'science and song ; delight in little things.' The impression carried by the Ancient Mariner by the wedding-guest speaks of the love for 'all things great and small.' *Frost at Midnight* presents his passionate yearning for the vast, the great and the sublime along with its opposite. We have here a small and silent dell, a vale of seclusion, a quiet dale, and that dell narrowdeep. This is in contrast to the distant sea, the blue ocean, the shoreless ocean and the influxes of shapes and sounds.

The antithesis between the small and the great is not an exclusive one. As he told Godwin, his aim was "to destroy the old antithesis of words and things ; elevating as it were words into things and living things too" (September, 1800). The antithesis between the little and the vast too is to be destroyed by elevating the little into the living vast. This is done spiritually by imagination and physically by words ; for, "words are no passive tools, but organised instruments, reacting on the power which inspirits them." Certain words thus become focal, and 'the focal word' acquires 'a feeling of reality,' and one must 'grasp it.' The ability to realise it endows the poet with 'marvellous' powers which Wordsworth saw in Coleridge, 'the heaven-eyed creature.'

There is a deep love of seclusion, of soft light, of evening :

The stilly murmur of the distant sea  
 Tells us of silence (100).

He is in love with such a silence. During the day he delights in a place of seclusion where the broken light of the sun falls and where the foliage diminishes the intensity and heat. He

loved to see

The shadow of the leaf and stem above  
 Dappling its sunshine (180).

As he gazes at the flowers, clouds, groves, light and the blue ocean,  
 I have stood,

Silent with swimming sense ; yea, gazing round  
 On the wide landscape, gaze till all doth seem  
 Less gross than bodily ; and of such hues

As veil the Almighty Spirit (180).

Lamb might call it an 'unintelligible abstraction-fit' ; but Coleridge is emphasising the process of contemplation which results in a visionary experience in the quiet seclusion.

*Fears in Solitude* expresses the enjoyment of silence in 'a green and silent spot, amid the hills.' It is 'a small and silent dell.' He looks at the 'swelling slope' of the hills and isolates a point of 'a gay and gorgeous covering.' 'The level sunshine glimmers with green light' and 'it is a quiet spirit-healing nook' (256-7). The selection of the detail is typical of a child's choice. The soft light and evening give voice to the elemental cravings of the child. The silent and unseen processes of nature come back to us in *The Nightingale* in a dreamy and sauntering tone :

All is still,

A balmy night ! and though the stars be dim,

Yet let us think upon the vernal showers

That gladden the green earth, and we shall find

A pleasure in the dimness of the stars (264).

The child loves dimness or gorgeousness. The movement is from one extreme to another.

In Coleridge's delight in colour there is "something of the man of science, but more of the child, delighted with a new, 'funny,' lovely thing, and loving it for its beauty ; and the child-like' spirit is an endearing quality in Coleridge, which never deserted him, and is signalized by himself in *A Tombless Epitaph*."<sup>1</sup>

O studious poet, eloquent for truth !

Philosopher ! contemning wealth and death,

Yet docile, childlike, full of Life and Love ! (414).

The poet, the philosopher and the child are all synthesised in him. This synthesis is rendered possible by the love of life and by the love of love.

In *The Ancient Mariner* we have a riotous feast of colour. We have the green ocean, the emerald icebergs, the bloody sun, the burning sun, a hot and copper sky, the western wave all aflame, lightnings, 'hundred fire-flags sheen,' the sea that burns blue and green and white like a witch's oils, the still and awful red of the shadow of the ship, the crimson angelic forms, the red lips and yellow locks, the varied colours of the water snakes, and the bride looking like a red rose. This rich colour scheme is un-Coleridgean and unchildlike. But in *Christabel* the real Coleridge appears as far as colour is concerned. Here are the subdued light, the thin grey cloud, the dull and small moon, the white dress of Geraldine, the glimmering light in the hall, the light of the silver lamp, the green snake and the green moss, the blue-veined feet and the blue eyes of Christabel, and the last red leaf. This scheme has the childlike simplicity and significance that is characteristic of the real Coleridge.

<sup>1</sup> A. C. Bradley : *A Miscellany*, p. 181.

Like a child Coleridge delighted in a new and lovely thing. Such was the 'peculiar tint of yellow green' of the western sky (364) seen in England only twice or thrice in a year. He watched

Some broad and sunny leaf, and loved to see  
The shadow of the leaf and stem above  
Dappling its sunshine ! (180)

He would observe

The readbreast sit and sing  
Betwixt the tufts of snow on the bare branch  
Of mossy apple-tree, while the nigh thatch  
Smokes in the sun-thaw (242).

Isolating a unique spot of subdued colour he would concentrate his imagination on it till it revealed its beauty.

I saw a cloud of palest hue,  
Onward to the moon it passed ;  
Still brighter and more bright it grew,  
With floating colours not a few,  
Till it reached the moon at last :  
Then the cloud was wholly bright,  
With a rich and amber light ! (254)

The faintly veiled transparency of air develops a consciousness as it were, and the skyline seems to commune with the poet. It has a dreamy fascination. As the subliminal self looks at the world, the dell appears 'bathed by the mist' and it 'is fresh and delicate as vernal cornfield or the unripe flax' (257). The child in him makes him visualise 'a tiny sun' with 'a perfect glory' made up of 'ten thousand threads and hairs of light' (284). The sunshine 'steals through the canopy of firs' and

Spots that mossy rock,  
Isle of the river, whose departed waves  
Dart off asunder with an angry sound,  
How soon to reunite ! (372-373).

Colour, light and shade are organically united and in spite of their vagueness reveal the childlike spirit.

Coleridge's fondness for moon-light has the same childlike quality ; and at times it is associated with a child as in *Christabel*. Though the moon 'looks both small and dull' (ll. 18-19), she makes Geraldine 'shadowy' (160) while continuing to 'shine dim' (l. 175). The child is fond of the moon, takes it to be cheese or a ball, and wants to play with



it. Its anger or sorrow is quietened by looking at the moon. The crying  
Hartley

beheld the moon, and, hushed at once,  
Suspends his sobs, and laughs most silently,  
While his fair eyes, that swam with undropped tears,  
Did glitter in the yellow moon-beams ! (267).

The moon works magically and begets the glittering eye, the eye charged with a rare visionary and supernatural power. The moonshine steals over the scene and blends with the lights of eve in *Love* (332). Moonlight in a wilderness provides the context of *The Wanderings of Cain*. The glimmering of the white moonshine (l. 78), the moving moon going up softly (ll. 263-6), the horned moon (l. 210), the great bright eye of the ocean cast up silently to the moon (ll. 414-7), and the moonlight steeping the weathercock in silentness (ll. 478-479) form the background of *The Ancient Mariner*. There is the old moon in the lap of the new (363) preparing up for the *Dejection*, for the terrific crisis. The waning moon with the 'woman wailing for her demon-lover' appear in *Kubla Khan*. The moon awakens the entire universe 'with one sensation,' and then

those wakeful birds

Have all burst forth in choral minstrelsy.

The moon fascinates children and lovers. But the fascination the child has depends on the mental make-up and the eyes of the child.

The poet wakes up from 'the fiendish dream' and 'wept as I had been a child' (390). The childlike attitude has a spiritual intensity shared by its glittering eye. We are told that 'Beings Eternal live and are borne as an infant' (392). He listens to *The Prelude* 'like a devout child,' and his 'soul lay passive' (408). In *A Tourbless Epitaph* he addresses himself significantly :

O studious poet, eloquent for truth !  
Philosopher ! contemning wealth and death,  
Yet docile, childlike, full of life and love ! (414)

The poet, the philosopher and the child are all blended in him because of his zest for life. Dominated by the love of life and by the love of love, he is at home in realizing the being of a child. And as love has 'his eyes in his mind' (418), the childlike quality in him makes Coleridge charge the eye with a unique value and power. Even the stars are 'like eyes suffused with rapture' (442), and there is a bird with 'eyes of fire' (426). The eye is the indicator of the inward states. The worried soul of

Ellen appears as 'a trouble in her eye' (279). Coleridge was greatly troubled with the eye as is evident from the lines—

my eyes are a burthen,  
Now unwillingly closed, now open and aching  
O ! what a life is the eye ! what a strange and inscrutable sense !  
(305)

This eye exists even for the blind. Even for the born blind "it exists, it moves and stirs in its prison." The utterly blind one asks, 'Is it a Spirit?', and then he murmurs by way of a reply, "sure it has thoughts of its own, and to see is only a language." The eye is a spirit, a supernatural being, having its own individuality. Here we have the poet's own awareness of the supreme nature and value of the eye. The poet's eye in particular is charged with a 'magnifying power' in so far as it is emancipated 'from the black shapeless accidents of size' (345). It apprehends and realizes the universal in and through the 'phantoms of sublimity' (345). Consequently he scans the universe 'with hermit-eye' standing detached from his data of observation (361). But when the feeling poetic soul is inactive there is only the blank eye<sup>1</sup>. Yet in reality

All that charms or ear or sight,  
All melodies the echoes of that voice,  
All colours a suffusion from that light (ll. 73-5)

That primal source is the spirit that is joy and imagination.

Coleridge was deeply interested in the eye even before he came to read of animal magnetism. The eye as the great introducer of the individual to the external world has a rich significance and Coleridge's poetry tells us much about it. The 'silent pleasures of the heart' include the 'moon that meets the raptured eye' (32). The rapture makes the eye more than a physical existent; and it is bound up with the heart. Passion comes 'with a languid eye' (36). The prospect of his only sister's death makes him speak of his 'hollow eye' and 'heartless pain' with which he has 'to rove through life's wide cheerless plain' (20). Certain emotional states find their emergence here. We read that 'broad-eyed slumber is *ghastly*' (140). The eye that fascinated him, however, was the creative or inspired one. He visualises Schiller as having the 'finely-frenzied eye' and as sitting 'beneath some vast old tempest-swinging wood' (73). But frenzy is also said to be the 'fierce-eyed child of moping pain' (77). Pain and frenzy of inspiration are linked not in a casual manner. A great poetic utterance emerges when the creative artist has felt the intensity of sorrow. He contemplates 'with introverted

eye' (77); and he speaks of his 'meandering eye' that travels 'the starry wilderness' (97). In the absence of a wild frenzy there can only be the meek-eyed peace' (4). But under the stress of fancy, the 'eyes-dance rapture' and the 'bosom glows' (14). The dull dismal life of poverty is opposite to the poetic and it begets the 'sunken eye' (14).

The 'shapings of the unregenerate mind' are the  
Bubbles that glitter as they rise and break

On vain philosophy's aye-babbling spring (102).

This is a strange context for the glittering since the word glitter has its associations with the eye which at times looks 'like the star of Eve' (20). The glittering eye comes from the world of the spirit and it has a relation to 'young-eyed loves' (42). The glittering has a magic spell :

But lo ! the bursting Sun !

Touched by the enchantment of that sudden beam  
Of dewy glitter gems each plant and tree (113).

The enchantment gives it an unearthly atmosphere of the 'half-confessing eye' (42). Its exact opposite is the 'meek-eyed pity' (44). The lyre that breathes solemn airs is to 'glitter to the eye of Day' (59). Music being spiritual and ethical in Coleridge's outlook the glitter partakes of the same overtones. Yet like many other expressions, this too is ambivalent. The serpent has a 'vast moon-glittering bulk' (119). Religion is given a 'tinsel-glittering vest' (81). The locust-friends 'glittered in corruption's slimy track' and crawled with the giant throng of ambition (146). This is a sinister glitter. In solemn thought Chatterton was

wont to rove

Like star-beam on the slow sequestered tide  
Lone-glittering, through the high tree branching wide (129).

The glittering has some thing of the fire of heaven in it. At times it may appear as the 'eye of fire' that opens 'from some uncertain cloud' (165). The paradisaical element makes the bowers of England 'glitter green with sunny showers' because they are 'fair as Eden's' (166).

The poet's eye is 'the charmed eye' (103) while the elect of God have the 'strange eye darting through the deeds of men' (111). We are told that 'a soft solemn bliss swims' in the eye (112) and is raised to heaven. The maid of Orleans has the 'full eye, now bright, now unillumed' and it speaks 'more than woman's thought' (137). It is the indicator of the subliminal processes.

And now her flushed tumultuous features shot  
Such strange vivacity, as fires the eye  
Of Misery fancy-crazed ! (139)

The Gutch Notebook reads genius in the place of misery (I. 197). The eye of the fancy-crazed being is dynamic and charged with the fire of inspiration.

There is a vivacity. 'But this is not a 'broad-eye' (140) state which is 'ghastly.' The spiritually charged eye is neither fully blossomed nor completely closed. And in the rapture of the creative mood there is the 'smiling with blue eye' (156). Charged with potential artistic powers Lamb appears as the 'wild-eyed boy' (159).

The eye is like the mirror reflecting the state of the soul. The unfortunate woman finds 'no true love in the eye' of the youth (172). There is the 'fancy's eye' (176), an inward vision. The lovesick maid gazes idly 'with wet eye' at the moon till she is 'lost in inward vision' (183). This eye is intimately bound up with love and imagination.

But when the guilty soul of the mariner becomes conscious of what it has done, it is aware of its isolation; and then

Each throat

was parched, and glazed each eye (ll. 143-4)

Each *weary* eye glazed and as he turns westward the mariner beholds the skeleton ship. Later he was cursed with the eyes that reveal the 'ghastly pang' (ll. 214-5). The dead, static monotony of his isolation gives him the 'weary eye' (l. 251) in return. This is in great contrast to the 'great bright eye' of the ocean cast up to the moon most silently (ll. 416-7). And the blue eye of Christabel is yet another aspect of the bright eye. Beneath her eye the mastiff never yelled as it had no intimations of other world (ll. 150-1). Geraldine's eye has something odd about it (ll. 160-3); it is the 'unsettled eye' (l. 208) of dread, and it is closely associated with the 'aery cliffs and glittering sands' (439).

The 'glittering eye' of the mariner (ll. 3, 228) is charged with animal magnetism. The 'bright eyed Mariner' (ll. 20, 40, 618) stands in contrast to the white moonshine that 'through fog-smoke white glimmered' (ll. 77-78). The glimmering moonshine is an abettor. The unmotivated action of the mariner is as wanton as any action done by a child. Under the aegis of this light the first act of the mariner was done; and through a life of suffering this unbridled self-assertion was transformed into a humility of one who had been in hell for long. This transformation is revealed to us in and through the glittering eye. But when we are told that the 'stony eyes' of the dead 'in the Moon did glitter' (ll. 436-7), we have the Coleridgean ambivalence. The glitter has an unearthly quality; it may be spiritual or demonic. The distortion in behaviour

that accompanies the unnatural can then be conveyed by the same word. About Geraldine we read :

And wildly glittered here and there  
The gems entangled in her hair (ll. 64-5)

The glittering eye and the glittering gems are equally wild and unearthly, bringing intimations of a supersensible world. But when Geraldine drank the wild-flower wine 'her fair large eyes 'gan glitter of bright' (ll. 220-1), since she received thereby something of the divine beauty. Yet she 'slowly rolled her eyes around' (l. 246) and looked 'like one that shuddered' (l. 248). The supernatural *blue* of Christabel's eyes delays Geraldine's movements ; and hence she 'eyes the maid and seeks delay' (l. 259).

The glittering or the bright eye presupposes a spiritual tension, a conflict of values and ideals. Christabel has 'blue eyes more bright than clear' (l. 290). Great mental activity lies behind such open eyes. Even Sir Leoline's 'eye in lightning rolls' (l. 444). Smiles spread like light over Christabel's eyes (ll. 468-9). Bard Bracy declares :

This dream it would not pass away—  
It seems to live upon my eye ! (ll. 558-9)

The visionary eye finds everything vividly and picturesquely. There is a brightness in it and it is charged with the atmosphere of a crisis. But

A snake's small eye blinks dull and shy ;  
And the lady's eyes they shrunk in her head,  
Each shrunk up to a serpent's eye (ll. 583-5).

The opposite of the glittering bright eye is presented here. The glittering eye is bold and assertive and it strikes prominently as a fascinating one ; unlike the 'shrunk-serpent eyes' (l. 602), there are the 'eyes so innocent and blue' (l. 612). The innocent eyes can glitter wildly when they are charged with the supernatural creative abilities. There can be the *wild* eyes (l. 641) charged with an unwanted and unnatural anger.

The unearthly glitter transcends temporal and spatial determinations. It transmutes form and colour because it is spiritual :

The snowy peaks began to lose  
In glittering silver lights their rosy hues (248).

More explicitly we are told of the old man's daughter that 'her soul was in her eye' (249). And the glittering belongs to the creative artist and to the child :

his fair eyes, that swam with undropped tears,  
Did glitter in the yellow moon-beam ! (257).

That was the account of the child. In *Kubla Khan* the poet creates the sublime dome of poetry aided by the deep delight that came from the loud and long music. This 'miracle of rare device' makes the spectators cry,

Beware ! Beware !

His flashing eyes, his floating hair ! (ll. 49-50)

The flashing eye is the glittering eye the poet had. The perceptual experience of this eye makes them 'close their eyes with holy dread' (l. 52). The glittering thus brings the child and the poet into one spiritual synthesis. The 'glittering fairy-dome of ice' (398) is an outward form only, the true glitter is essentially inward.

In the poems cast in a meditative mood, Coleridge expresses the joy of a child, the joy of a dreamer. There is the delight of a being in recollection. Nature is harmonised with the pensive and self-loving melancholy of the poet. A pale and calm evening or a spot of ground in moonlight appear here. The moon evokes specifically Coleridgean vignettes. He is equally well fascinated by waterfalls, the foam of the ship, the clouds, the leaves in the wind, and the flight of birds and insects.

The approach to the mighty world of eye and ear is that of the poet-philosopher-child ; and it is charged with a deep spirituality emanating from the poet's own inward life. As he records : " In Natural objects we feel ourselves or think of ourselves, only by likenesses—among men too often by Differences. Hence the soothing love-kindling effect of rural Nature/the bad passions of human societies.—And why is Difference linked with Hatred ?" (I. 1376). The feeling for likeness, the urge to notice the similar, is essentially that felt by the child who longs for companionship. Coleridge felt greatly and deeply for loving society and longed for sociable companions. This led him in the true philosophical manner to apprehend similarities and identities. The process is explained briefly in a valuable note : " Those who hold it undignified to illustrate Nature by Art—how little would the truly dignified say so—how else can we bring the forms of nature within our voluntary memory !—The first Business is to subjugate them to our intellect and voluntary memory—then comes their Dignity by Sensation of Magnitude, Forms and Passions connected therewith " (I. 1489). The creative imagination illustrates the forms and essences of Nature by assimilating them first to the human will and intellect. Then arises an emotional experience in which these forms acquire a life and a meaning intensely human. Since life is coeval with activity, and since a static universe is an impossibility for Coleridge, we find him stating that " Nature's Pictures all in motion shadows " (I. 736). It is movement that attracts the child and the thinker.

The former finds it a likeness of itself and the latter takes it as an aspect of time.

He told Poole on 12th December, 1796, that one of his six companions is "Nature, looking at me with a thousand looks of Beauty, and speaking to me in a thousand melodies of Love." Nature is the sensuous manifestation of the idea of the beautiful; and the eagerness to look for likenesses makes it an expression or an embodiment of love and music. It offers the language of signs as Berkeley held. Hence George Coleridge was informed on 10th March, 1798, that he would "elevate the imagination and set the affection in right tune by the beauty of the inanimate impregnated, as with a living soul, by the presence of Life." This he could do successfully, for "I love fields and woods and mountains with almost a visionary fondness—and because I have found benevolence and quietness growing within me as that fondness has increased." This may be a subjective projection or a significant recognition of a supreme value. In either case the value is apprehended and realized by the secondary imagination of the creative artist. The becalmed ship and the painted ship, appearing prominently in *The Ancient Mariner* illustrate it. The stillness illumines the dry heart of the mariner (ll 244-7). The violent mood of nature is equally natural

The upper air burst into life!  
And a hundred fire-flames sheen,  
To and fro they were hurried about!  
And to and fro, and in and out,  
The wan stars danced between (ll 313-7)

The wild effects of sky and cloud bear comparison with Turner. But in Coleridge they are a part of the vision.

Coleridge is endowed with a faculty of minute and subtle observation. The 'creaking of the rook's wing' and the branches ash,

Unsunned and damp, whose few poor yellow leaves  
Ne'er tremble in the gale, yet tremble still,

Fanned by the waterfall (179)

great us in *This Lime-tree Bower my Prison*. The 'peculiar tint of yellow-green' marks the sunset in *Dejection*. At the same time there is an equal mastery of the broad and general sweeps of nature. 'The moonlight steeped in silentness the steady weather cock' for the *Ancient Mariner* (ll. 478-9). April is the month 'of dark brown gardens and of peeping flowers' in *Dejection*. There is a human identity in these varied forms. "The further I ascend from animate Nature," he observes, "the greater becomes in me the intensity of the feelings of life." Nature is a living,

breathing form leading the individual gradually to a deeper consciousness of the nature of life. The universe thus becomes rich with pregnant meanings and images.

With all his powerful and unfailing store of observed images, he is never lavish of them. Such images are seldom employed ; and when they occur, they are transmuted into something mystical or psychical. The outer world comes to us through a veil and we feel that we are just recollecting the objects. Here he is aided by his conception that Nature is a living intelligent being. It is out of this highly sensitive apprehension of the aspects of nature that we get the record of the "green light which lingers in the west" and of "the western sky and its peculiar tint of yellow green." These are no mere generalisations emerging from the peculiar mind of the poet. As he told his wife on 17th May, 1799 : "In Nature all things are individual," and therefore "I neither am or ever was good at description. I see what I write—but alas ! I cannot write what I see." It is a powerful imagination presenting these visions. He tells us that he had found

That outward forms, the loftiest, still receive  
Their finer influence from the Life within ;  
Fair cyphers else : fair, but of import vague  
Or unconcerning, where the heart not finds  
History and prophecy of friend, or child (316).  
Or unconcerning, where the heart not finds

This Berkeleyan attitude makes the objective existence of nature entirely dependent on the mind. The relation between them is one of empathy. The poet imputes certain qualities to the external world in his imaginative activity. With delicate feeling he draws nature in an elusive half-light because all the while he seeks to comprehend nature in himself. As he wrote in *The Friend* : "In order to the recognition of himself in nature man must first learn to comprehend nature in himself and its laws as the ground of his own existence." Nature is a living principle, a creative one, and he can then stand

Silent with swimming sense ; yea, gazing round  
On the wide landscape, gaze till all doth seem  
Less gross than bodily ; and of such hues  
As veil the Almighty spirit, when yet he makes  
Spirits perceive his presence (180).

The serene and blessed mood in which Nature is revealed and realizes as spiritual, cannot be brushed aside as an 'unintelligible abstraction—fit' as Lamb did.



Nature's processes are analogous to those of the creative artist. In a letter to Matilda Betham (1802) he advises her as to the nature and duties of a poet :

Tho' sweet thy measures, stern must be thy thought,  
 Patient thy study, watchful thy mild eye !  
 Poetic feelings, like the stretching boughs  
 Of mighty oaks, pay hoamge to the gales,  
 Toss in the strange winds, drive before the gust,  
 Themselves one giddy storm of fluttering leaves ;  
 Yet, all the while, self-limited, remain  
 Equally near the fixed and solid trunk  
 Of Truth and Nature in the howling storm,  
 As in the calm that stills the aspen grove.  
 Be bold, meek woman ! but be wisely bold !  
 Fly, ostrich-like, firm land beneath thy feet,  
 Yet hurried onward by thy wings of fancy  
 Swift as the whirlwind, singing in their quills.  
 Look round thee ! look within thee ! think and feel ! (375-6).

Close observation, patient study and lofty ideas are necessary. The poetic feeling is like a wide spread bough of the mighty oak ; it pays homage to the breeze as the poet does to the breeze of inspiration. At the same time the bough does not surrender its individuality ; and the poetic feeling which is subjected to the breeze, is itself an integral part of the breeze. Still the poet must not give up the concrete facts, the minute particulars, of observation, since truth and nature are foundational to all great poetry. The poetic onrush too is like the whirlwind which needs an alert mind, an acute power of observation, and a keen sensibility. Evidently Coleridge gave this advice on the basis of his own observation. His own love of nature is intensely personal and profound. In one of his note-books we find him recording : " This love of Nature is ever returned double to us.... She is the preserver, the treasurer of our joys.... And even when all men seemed to desert us and the friend of our heart passed on, with one glance from his ' cold disliking eye '—yet even then the blue heaven spreads it out and bends over us, and the *little tree* still shelters us under its plumage as a second cope, a domestic firmament, and the low creeping gale will sigh in the heath plant and soothe us by sound of sympathy till the lulled grief loses itself in fixed gaze on the purple heath-blossom, till the present beauty becomes a vision of memory."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Anima Poetae*, P. 247.

Coleridge's imagination was really active when he managed to move further away from actual human life. It was also active when he was deeply absorbed in his own self or in the world of the mystic. An indication of this gift is found in *Time, Real and Imaginary*, a poem written about 1796 and retouched in 1812. The schoolboy projects his being in his day-dreams to live in his next holidays ; and this is the imaginary time. The joyously active youth finds time to be "the fullmoon in a fine breezy October night, driving on amid clouds of all shapes and hues, and kindling shifting colours, like an ostrich in its speech" ; and yet this time does not appear to have moved since it is the time felt (419-420).

Another instance of the same attitude is expressed in *The Raven*. The bird lives in an old oak tree with its children. The oak is destroyed by a shipbuilder. It shrieks doom and rejoices with a spirit of vengeance as the ship sinks in the sea. It is reminiscent of Blake's *Poison Tree*.

With all his firm conviction in the animate nature of the external universe, he does not give up his minute realism. Thus

"The thin grey cloud is spread on high,  
It covers but not hides the sky.

The moon is behind and at the full ;

And yet she looks both small and dull." (*Christabel*, 1.16-19)

The moon here becomes a powerful symbol of mystery, for the hidden moon stresses the helplessness of Christabel. It is also likely that there is a hint that apparent evils are really good seen in distortion. There is a romantic weirdness in the lines,

"naught was green upon the Oak

But moss and rarest mistletoe : (*Christabel* 1.33-34)

The mistletoe is an evergreen, parasitic plant, associated with mysterious religious rites of the Druids. The Druids worshipped it when they found it on the Oak. Hence it is the rarest ; and it adds to the atmosphere of mystery.

A similar effect is produced by the lines expressive of the minuteness and loveliness of the experience :

"There is not wind enough to twirl  
The one red leaf, the last of its clan,  
That dances as often as dance it can,  
Hanging so light, and hanging so high,  
On the topmost twig that looks up at the sky."

(*Christabel*, 1.48-52)

In this minute realism we find the imaginative apprehension of the silent and hidden processes of nature for nature is an evolving system of activities which are individualised. These determinate embodiments are

apprehended by the imagination. The one red leaf seems to symbolise the mockery of life which is really death.

As he speaks of the mournful evening wind, the weird touch peeps in the lines—

“ I see the old moon in her lap, foretelling

The coming-on of rain and squally blast ” (ll. 13-14)

The highly organised nervous system of the poet reacts quickly and violently because of a peculiarly abnormal speed of cerebration. Yet he declared : “ my mind has been habituated to the vast and I never regarded my senses in any way as the criteria of my belief.” Hence it is that his acute observation is expressed through a veil of obscurity. Even the silent and unseen processes of nature are apprehended in the same manner :

A balmy night ! and though the stars be dim,

Yet let us think upon the vernal showers,

That gladden the green earth and we shall find

A pleasure in the dimness of the stars.

Coleridge felt that all his most valuable experience was solitary and therefore incommunicable in prose ; and he therefore said, “ I must be alone, if either my Imagination or Heart are to be excited or enriched.” In this solitude he discovered the role of the unconscious. He fuses the external description and internal feeling. Man and nature are reintegrated in a psychological relationship.

The description the dell in *Fears in Solitude* reveals the nature of the poetic imagination at work in most of Coleridge’s poetry.

“ A green and silent spot, amid the hills,

A small and silent dell ! O’er stiller place

No singing skylark, ever poised himself.” (ll. 1-3)

The subliminal self looks and the landscape receives an imaginative treatment. The sense of seclusion is intensified by the approaching evening. The opening is thus set in a low key. Slowly it rises—

but the dell,

Bathed by the mist is fresh and delicate

As vernal cornfield, or the unripe flax,

When, through its half-transparent stalks, at eve,

The level sunshine glimmers with green light (ll. 7-11)

This is the ‘ quiet spirit-healing nook.’ These correlatives of human emotion enrich the value of places where natural objects are rendered as numinous or as terrifyingly fantastic. In either way there is a solemnity. Such are the lines—

The gust, that roared and died away

To the distant tree. (ll. 200-1)

The fervent plea for a return to the integrated life-picture makes him take rest, passivity and unawareness to be synonymous with death. The fears that troubled him should pass away and they should be like those

“heard, and only heard

In this low dell, bowed not the delicate grass” (ll. 201-2)

Hence he could express his reaction to the melodious nightingales and to the sombre owls as well.

The purely picturesque side is not wanting. The moonlit harbour in *The Ancient Mariner* is a fine example. He dwells on one specific spot till the thing seems to develop its own expressive form, its own dynamic soul. This mood again appears in the poem *Written in April 1798 during the alarm of an Invasion*. The pictorial quality is based on a minute observation of nature. As Hazlitt noted, “Coleridge was explaining the different notes of the nightingale to his (Wordsworth’s) sister, in which we neither of us succeeded in making ourselves perfectly clear and intelligible.” There is an aerial glitter in his pictures; and as Symonds called it, it is liquid colour. The ‘faithful adherence to the truth of nature’ makes him present the circumstantial details with all his sensitiveness to light and shape, colour and sound. He is alive to the subtle charms and less obvious appeals of nature. He could also describe scenes that he never saw as those of the tropical night and the iceberges. It is nature that gives colour and music, solidity and perspective, to his pictures.

Coleridge was greatly interested in colour and light. The colour is never static. He draws the colour of the dew falling on the flowers, and of the mist in sunshine. The images revealing this feature are derived from the shadows of things, from mental impressions. The scenery presented in *Frost at Midnight* and in *Dejection* is the real emotion of these poems, as Reeves observed. The feeling and the description are identical and hence he becomes reflective. When he was twenty-one he saw fancy

‘Bathed in rich amber-glowing floods of light’

At twenty-two he sees a cloud

‘wholly bright,

with a rich and amber light.’

In his early poetry his attitude to Nature does not appear to be organised round any specific nucleus. He presents a list of objects he observes. *Brockley Coomb* and the *Lines addressed to Charles Lloyd* are typical of the habit of presenting isolated images. These images are not charged with the creative imagination. When he comes to the top of the hill the

spectacle of the landscape he traversed stirs his deeper emotions ; and he bursts forth—

Dim coasts, and cloud-like hills, and shoreless Ocean—  
It seemed like Omnipresence ! God, methought,  
Had built him there a Temple : the whole world  
Seemed *imaged* in its vast circumference :  
No *wish* profaned my overwhelmed heart. (107)

The image is presented in a purely objective manner. But underneath there is a subtle emotional force giving a certain uniqueness to the image. The ardour evoked by beauty appears in *The Garden of Boccuccis* and it shows that even in 1828 he did not lose his great powers.

Evening has a great attraction for him. He was delighted in wind and storms which he observed ' with a total feeling worshipping the power and eternal link of Energy.' Though there are traces of the specifically Wordsworthian approach to Nature, Coleridge generally took up those aspects of Nature that are in tune with his moods. In *To Nature* (1815) he sings of the deep, inward joy in created objects ; and this is in tune with the spirit of love immanent. This is closely bound up with his deep feeling of beauty.

In his great poems he captures in a few lines the very essence of the elements, the principles underlying the universe. Here his imagination is active and the poems move freely in the world of dreams. This appears at times as a desire on his part to move away from the world and this is apparent in most poems. Loneliness is a recurring feature. But he moves in a world in which the animating principle is the subtle soul of the poet. As a result this world shows the rising of Alph, the sacred river, the deep romantic chasm, the holy and enchanted forests and gardens, the dome of pleasure, the Abyssinian damsel singing of Abora on her dulcimer, and the poetic dome. The upper air bursts into love and life, the sky is overcrowded with the melodious sounds of the birds ; and human emotions play a significant part in this atmosphere. This emotional context brings forth the varied aspects of nature in tune with the atmosphere of the poem. In the *Ancient Mariner* we miss his favourite haunts like the dell, the bower, the foliage and the twilight. We even hear that there is no twilight in the courts of the heavens. There is the severe cold of the forlorn seas charged with ice and sound. The picture of Nature is just suggested by a series of gentle and casual touches. The oak, the red leaf, the wood and the moonlight grip our imagination in *Christabel* even when the poet has not described them in detail. Such again are the sun and the shade in the *Three Graves*. The subtle and

minute shades of form, sound, colour and movement are accurately portrayed and made to exist in and through sounds that are charged with a rare depth of emotion. Observe the lines :

The Sun peeps through the close thick leaves,  
See, dearest Ellen ! see !  
'Tis in the leaves, a little sun,  
No bigger than your ee ;  
'A tiny sun, and it has got  
A perfect glory too ;  
Ten thousand threads and hairs of light  
Make up a glory gay and bright  
Round that small orb, so blue.'  
And then they argued of those rays,  
What colour they might be ;  
Say this, ' They're mostly green ' ; say that,  
' They're amber-like to me.'

Yet the characteristic Coleridgean images refer to illumination and motion. The moonlight enveloping the sky is neo-platonic and oriental ; and so is the image of the sun dispelling the mists of ignorance (Rel. M. 88-104).

# SHORT HISTORY OF MAGIC

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Magic, Conjuring, Indrajal, Jadoo by any name you may call it, today it is considered as a familiar sort of entertainment. In parties, social gatherings, in dramas, variety shows and even in straight theatres as a full evening show, or a spectacular extravaganza this art has got its unique place. It is now considered as one of the sister arts of Dance, Drama and Music and as one of the familiar arts for Cultural Entertainment. Drama and music have got limitations due to the difficulties of languages. But Magic being mainly visual it appeals to all nations alike. In all the world Magic has got popular appeal irrespective of age, caste, creed and locations. When a lady is cut into two parts, or a big motor car is made to disappear, it will appeal to the people of Africa, Europe, America and Asia equally. People of all countries rush to the Magic Shows with great enthusiasm in order to see the wonderful feats of the master magicians. But if we trace back the history of this modern art of entertaining by Magic, we will find that this art or science came into existence for a different purpose and under different motive altogether.

We go to the very dawn of civilisation. The first mankind, before the growth of civilisation started this out of FEAR. The primitive man experienced the first the terrifying, spine-spinning, awe-inspiring, overwhelming FEAR....he was AFRAID of everything. The lightning in the sky, rain, thunder, the sun, the moon, even the stars were all the sources of his FEAR....they were all his enemies ! The primitive man could not solve the mysteries of Nature....and he considered these to be nothing but DEMONS....half Devil and half man. Thunder, storm, lightnings are to him the feats of the super-human Demons and their earthly weapons will prove too meagre to fight these strange Demon powers. So the primitive man tried to fight fire with fire. They tried to summon devil power to fight those weird acts of the Demons. Among them there sprung up one Ostad....a fellow a bit wiser than others who started doing some mumbo-jumbo, spell, incantations, etc. to fight Demon with his devilish powers. He collected some followers, some audience to show that he really has

got some power to summon the supernatural agencies to fight the Demons. One day he created some fire and himself entered into the same. The followers thought that he is burnt into ashes, no one can play with fire....devastating fire. But the ostad came unharmed the flame did not destroy him. May be the ostad did hide in a cave or he escaped through some hole, etc. but the gullible spectators believed in his Magic powers....thus the first Magician ....the first creator of illusions was born. Everybody accepted him. The first magician was on his triumphant way. In the centuries that followed Magicians, Wizards, Sorcerers, the High Priests kept on inventing new tricks, new illusions to add to their super-human powers. The Kings always feared him for his supernatural powers as such he became the de facto controller of the kings and their kingdoms. Then on sleight-of-hand, future telling, Animal Magnetism, Sammohan Vidya (the fore-runner of Hypnotism or Mesmerism etc.) were added to the magicians repertoire.

In the British Museum one ancient scroll (Westcar Papyrus, XVIII dynasty ; about B.C. 1550) chronicles a Magical seance by a certain Egyptian Magician (Tchatcha-em-ankh) before King Khufu, B.C. 3766. The ancient scroll says of the wizard.... "He knoweth how to bind on a head which hath been cut off ; he knoweth how to make a lion follow him as if led by a rope ; and he knoweth the number of the stars of the house (constellation) of Thoth." It will be seen from above that 'cutting a head off' was invented many thousand years ago before Christ. The experiment with Lion proves that Sammohan Vidya is also many centuries old. The Mesmerism, Hypnotism etc. derived from Animal Magnetism etc. modern science were known to the Egyptian Sorcerers, high priests, Magicians several centuries B.C. There is no doubt that the performance of the Egyptian Priest wizard Dedi before the court of King Cheops, the famous builder of the Great Egyptian Pyramid in which he captivated a ferocious untamed lion was a feat of Animal Hypnotism in those days. Such feats strengthened the position of the magicians in the court of the Kings the Pharaohs of ancient Egypt. The great fame of the Egyptian Sorcerers began to spread in the neighbouring countries and wise men from Greece, Rome and Sicily started pouring in Egypt to gain some knowledge of Magic from those famed Egyptian wizards. It is recorded that the Egyptian wizards were very clever and they performed sleight of hand tricks with shells etc. like the Indian Cups and Balls which they called as *Acetabula*. These feats of digital dexterity created great confusion and surprise in the minds



of the visiting wise men and thus the ground was formed to take them to the greater wonders of mysticism....the miracles of the Temple of Wonders. Egyptian priests poured water on an alter and it at once burst into huge flame !....The huge doors of the temple swung open completely unaided and untouched by human hands ....the Egyptian idol had a thunderous voice like a huge trumpet. The visiting wise men were all flabbergasted....amazed....they left the scene in great hurry. But there was one exception....one visitor from Alexandria his name was Heron....who looked into everything with his engineering eyes and tried to give rational explanations to everything with his engineering knowledge. When he went back to Greece, he not only solved most of those Egyptian miracles, he duplicated some of the early Egyptian miracles there. He showed how the curious mixture of sulphur and quicklime when water is added to the same can generate a great heat which can burst into fire. He also showed how heat can expand air inside the column which push one receptacle below forcing liquid water or mercury to form a syphon into another reservoir and thus form a chain of reactions which makes the huge doors swing open untouched by any human hand. Heron showed how a great image can have voice like a trumpet by having a chain of similar reactions through which a lever is forced to push one half-ball affair down into a vessel full of liquid (water) and thus the compressed air as it forces out or goes in blows a huge horn attached to it and thus a strange and loud trumpet like roaring voice of the idol can be heard. Engineer Heron himself built many wonderful Magical numbers. He built one decapitated horse that never loses its head, he built one miraculous inexhaustible fountain which could never be emptied by anybody. Heron built many magical items involving his engineering skill and pure mathematics. He built a parlour trick called EOLOPILE, which virtually is the fore-runner of modern steam engine. He kept one hollow ball filled with steam fed by pipes from a receptacle full of water on a hot oven and fire. The force of the steam caused the hollow ball spin vigorously amid thundering cheers of the admiring crowd. Magic reached great perfection in the hands of Greek engineering mathematician Heron.

Then came the dark age....centuries filled with fears and strange superstitions. Supernatural powers and supernatural agencies were treated with awe and great fear. Anyone who tried to believe in it or tried to practise it meant his sure death. A little accusation from the neighbour about anyone having unearthly power meant his death

being condemned as witches. The persecution of 'witches' and of persons discredited with working evil through powers of sorcery went on in full swing. Even Joan of Arc was burnt as a witch in the middle of the fifteenth century. Devotees of Blackart writes "Chamber's Journal" "incurred the risk of being burned as wizards or ducked as witches, according to their kind, male and female." It is really an irony of fate. Magic started from FEAR in the beginning of civilisation and then Magic was going to die from the same element FEAR. Thus Magic that was born of FEAR....was now going to be destroyed by the same FEAR. Then in the sixteenth century Magic was revived again. In this period charlatans flourished and they claimed that they can perform ghostly acts if they are properly remunerated for the same. On Italian sculptor Benvenuto Cellini agreed to pay the necessary if real ghostly acts can be shown to him by anybody. Benvenuto Cellini, sculptor, goldsmith and man-at-arms in his autobiography ("Memoirs of Cellini, Book I, Chapter LXIV") has given complete description of the Magical seance he attended. The spot chosen for the demonstration of producing the ghosts was the Coliseum ruins in Rome and the time selected was midnight. Dressed in magician's weird costume the magician treated Cellini and two other guests inside the coliseum in the special Magic Circle seance. The names of the other two spectators were (a) Vincenzo Romoli and the other a native of Pistoja. There were 'precious perfumes and fire and drugs of fetid odor.' After the mystic ritual the spirit forms appeared on the clouds of smoke. Cellini was fully satisfied and his account of the Magic seance reads today like the stories from the Arabian Nights. In the book *Natural Magic*, Sir David Brewster has quoted Cellini's autobiography and has explained it to be feat of Magic lantern slides. He says...."it was not produced by any influence upon the imaginations of the spectators, but were actual optical phantasms, or the images of pictures or objects produced by one or more concave mirrors or lenses."

Time rolled on and by the middle of the nineteenth century Magic took a completely new form....it became a product of science and it got into the repertoire of the theatrical magician. Big magicians flourished of them the names of Cagliostro, Chevalier Pinneri, Friederich Mesmer, St. Germain are most famous. But Magic flourished in the hands of the French magician Robert Houdin. No wonder that this Robert Houdin is now considered as the Father of Modern Magic. One American Magician in his early life was

so much enamoured by the name of Robert Houdin that he aspired to become a big magician and changed his real name from Erich Weiss to Houdini that is by adding the letter 'i' after the word Houdin-(i) which will mean 'like Houdin.' To become someone *like Houdin* was his only ambition thus he became HOUDINI. Today this name HOUDINI is a household word for magicians and public all over the world. Thanks to the publicity genius of the Americans and clever Magic of Houdini....but that is another matter.

Robert Houdin invented many new tricks and illusions. His most famous item was Aerial Suspension, the secret of which passed from India. Because Indian magicians performed that same trick long before it was introduced in the programme of Robert Houdin. But Robert Houdin certainly polished the act and performed with scientific background. Robert Houdin in his famous book *Autobiography* has given accounts of his Magic and his inventions. He was certainly a Magician, author and Ambassador. In the year 1857, at the request of the Government Robert Houdin came out of his retirement and gave his most memorable Magic performance. Houdin was assigned by the Government to put down a strange and growing threat to Algeria, where the natives were creating great trouble since the day the French occupied the country. The Algerians were encouraged by the fanatical cult of Algerian magicians known as 'the Marabouts'—who claimed alliance with supernatural demons. They thought that with the help of the Marabouts they will drive the French from their country. The French Government sent Robert Houdin to Algeria to prove that the French had, not only superior weapons and army, but also powerful magicians who were far superior in power than the Algerian native ones. During this time Robert Houdin devised many special feats which the Algerians thought to be genuine power of supernatural agencies. The Marabouts were completely befooled by Houdin's superior magic and they stopped fighting against the French. So Robert Houdin's cultural Ambassadorship to Algeria was magnificently successful. From the records it is found that Robert Houdin performed his tricks of the Light and Heavy Chest with electro-magnet system, Catching the bullet in his teeth, firing the unseen ghost leaving blood stains on the plain walls, thanks to the special hollow bullet made of beeswax and graphite and special bullet filled with red liquid etc. Magic historian John Mulholland writes—"Without doubt Houdin's greatest contribution to magic was his books; in them he gave magicians a professional attitude, and for the first time set down rules for being

a magician. All the earlier books had merely given meagre details of how tricks were done. Houdin was the first to describe how to do them ; there is an enormous difference between knowing how a trick works and knowing how to do it."

No wonder that this Robert Houdin is now known as " the father of modern magic " and " the King of the Conjurors."

Magic historian Milbourne Christopher writes—" Robert Houdin was not only a distinguished performer ; more importantly, his original presentations had a revolutionary impact on the five-thousand-year-old art of entertaining deception." Houdin died on June 13, 1871....but his life has inspired thousands of youngmen all over the world to practise Magic as a hobby and as a profession. Ehrich Weiss practically made him foster-father and with his new name with an added "i" to Houdin became HOUDINI (like Houdin), the world famous magician.

Then on many modern magicians flourished and are still flourishing all over the world with their sensational new tricks and illusions. The world is progressing in Science and civilisation and the Art of Magic is not lagging behind. Robert Houdin used his scientific knowledge, electricity and magnetism in his Magic. Modern magicians are using raders, radionics, transistors and televisions in their presentations. Magicians who died in the last century, ever our fore-fathers (those non-magicians) who died at that time, if by some strange unseen powers they are made brought back alive from their graves and burning ghats, they will all probably die at once on seeing the wonders of modern science say the telephones, aeroplanes, rockets, motor cars, cinemas and other commonplace scientific inventions, not to speak about the improved wonders of Modern Magic. In the Magic show of today the modern magicians use special lighting devices, they project scenes of water, cloud, sea waves, snow-falls, devastating fire much to the wonder of the modern audience. They use stereo-phonic music as well as three dimensional sound effects. The instruments are made of stainless steel tubings, special alluminium alloys that are very light but strong, the materials used are special nylons painted in fluorescent colours that glow in the ultra-violet lights. All the modern techniques are there to help the modern magician in producing his magnificent Magic Show.

In India, Magic is very very ancient. It is recorded in the old epics, the books on Tantra Shastras, and the Atharba Veda. It is a pity that there are no ancient book on Indrajal. Its masters kept it as a secret and handed it over from preceptor to pupil, father to

son maintaining its great secret. This too much secrecy has killed Magic in India. It has gone to the graves with its masters. From the little remnants received here and there, from the travelling gypsies (jaduwallahs) who perform it as a means for their livelihood modern Magic stands on a revived form. The Art once practised by Royalty like King Vikramaditya, King Bhoja and Queen Bhanumati it has come to the pavements only due to the neglect of the intelligentsia. It is a good sign that educated young Indians are now earnest to revive Indian Magic so that it can claim its seat in the Magic firmament of the world. Now the Golden Age of the Art of Magic has come. Top-ranking, educated, cultured people of India and even the Government of India has accepted the art of Indrajal. The most important magazines and newspapers are publishing articles on Magic in their valuable pages, the readers are taking great interest in them, which obviously prove that the Magic of Magic has proved again.

# SOUNDS AND THE MUSICAL SYMBOL

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Sound moves in two directions and has two possible alternatives. It may be a mere "pattering on the ear," delightful in itself, but from the point of view of explicit significance quite negligible, or it may become a vehicle of ideas, a system of signals or symbols whose sensuous quality is utterly negligible, in which the sound is forgotten completely in the sense. We might, for example, go for a day paying exclusive attention to the quality of voices and the syllables they uttered, or in a foreign country where we did not know the language we might be absorbed completely by the melody of what was being said. Sound as a vehicle of significance is language, which is turned into poetry or prose or into an art. But the purely aural qualities of it may be exploited and that exploitation is music, signifying in a logical sense, nothing, but aesthetically of the first, and often emotionally of the most poignant importance.

Music, too, illustrates the principle of all the arts, that of being sensuous in its basis and ranging in its possibility of appeal to the most abstract and intellectual of effects and appeals. The appeal of music has, like that of the other arts, an explicit and obvious physical basis. The pitch of a note is determined by the presence of overtones, its intensity is dependent upon the amplitude of vibration, its quality by its relative position in the scale.

The tones at the disposal of Indian musicians are, of course, arbitrary, and some of the newer music is indicating how arbitrary the selection is. But out of these tones an infinite variety of combinations is possible. The tones of music, like the separate sounds of syllables, may be pleasant. But even more than the sound in words, the character of musical effect depends on their succession. Music is above all a temporal art, and its effect is that of a succession of tones, each of which qualifies the aesthetic effect of the succeeding.

It is to be pointed out that much of our sensations are memories rather than sensations, and in music the feeling tone of any note is immensely affected by the tonal sequence in which it appears. Tones themselves, like colours, are pleasant or unpleasant, and are, without reference to their associations, sharp or stinging or sweet or soft or loud and there are specific nervous correlations to each kind and

indeed to each nuance of tone. Tones, moreover, like any other sensations, evoke memories and associations. Some tones like those of a trumpet are warlike ; other like those of violins and flutes are sylvan and tender. But the separate tonal effects of tones are incidental to their functions in that rhythmic—melodic—process which is a musical composition. A melody is a chord taken piecemeal and suspended through time. A note sets a given musical expectation which the melodic development fulfills. The whole elaborate construction of the most intricate musical composition is simply a complication of the melodic development of notes in a scale and tones with harmonic relations to each other. However complicated music becomes, it is, *au fond*, simply notes in a melody and notes in chord. But the notes have not simply a melodic relation to each other in a succession moments and a harmonic relation to others at an instant in harmony. Notes occur in a rhythm, and, as in poetry, the rhythm of music is its fundamental hypnosis, and for the same reasons. Rhythm enables us to hear music with economical comprehension ; the tones fall into easily apprehensible units. But the beat of music has a more imperious utility than that it permits apprehension. Our own bodily machinery has a rhythmical character ; we are creatures whose fundamental processes of living are rhythmic, and creatures, too, whose rhythms are subtly affected by those rhythms external to us that come to us through the ear. Our whole emotional life has rhythmic character and quality. Our very thoughts come to us in an ebb and flow.

To rhythms in music the rhythms in our consciousness are extraordinarily responsive. A change in beat is for the moment a change in our own being. The subtler beats and variations of symphonic music affect the consciousness of more circumspect and civilised listeners. In the languorous luxury of the love motifs in Tagore, the rhythmic beat of the dances in *Shyama* and *Chandalika*, quite apart from subtler effects, the mere animal control enforced by the rhythmic basis of the music is responsible for the musical effect. There is something imperious about the sound of music that is lacking to any other art. We either do not listen to music or in listening to it become for the time being one with its time and rhythm, confluent with its own rhythmic process.

But while rhythm is the basis and in a certain sense the substance it is not the whole of music. It is the generic condition of all music but it is not the specific being of any. The latter may be said to lie rather in the melodic line, along which the attention moves, only

more poignantly and intimately than the attention moves with the lines of a painting. When one is absorbed by music, one lives for the time being along the progression of that rise and fall, deviation and resolution of tones which constitute melody. The life of the melody, that abstract and spaceless theme singing through time, is the life of the listener. Our own will, in Biswanatha's luminous mythology, is objectified in the surge and complication of the music.

The pleasures of music flow from this triple fact of tone, rhythm, and melody. The enjoyment of all three may be purely sensuous in character. We may merely luxuriate vaguely or with precision in the abstract and objectless world of sounds, discriminating separate tones in their liquid loveliness of violin or flute, or their resonance of bars ; we may loiter along with the melody in the devious wanderings from the tonic note and in its return. We may glory in the purely physical excitement of a whole orchestral outburst of harmony or a kaleidoscopic cascade of sound. However complex the sensations of music may be—and there is no limit almost to which musical sensibility and the resources of orchestration are bound—the enjoyment may be purely sensational, an elaborate patter upon the ear, but none the less a patter.

To the more disciplined musical intelligence, music may come to be more than a pyrotechnic attack upon the eardrum, a splendid fireworks of sound. There is perhaps no other art where the pleasures of mere form are more marvelous in complexity, more intellectual in essence, in quality more pure. The complication of musical structure is indeed expressible only in music itself, for neither language nor life permits such involution and internal raticulation as is possible in those edifices, transiently existent in time, that we call musical compositions. These structures are intellectual in essence ; they are musical essences or ideas internally related to each other. A musical score is, without being played, of compelling absorption to the trained musician, it is a realm of Platonic ideas dialectically related to each other. It was something of this sort that Tagore had in mind when he said that an adequate symphony would be a complete metaphysical transcript of existence. The world of musical form is thoroughly abstract ; it exists nowhere save in itself, but its complications and its clarities transcend those that any other realm of being reveals. What we call the external world is largely a systematic inference from data received through the eye.

The world heard in music is a construction inferred from the ear. We can imagine eyeless creatures to whom a world of sound



is the only reality. And to the human temporarily absorbed in listening, who shall say that a Mozart symphony or one by Tagore is not, for the time being, a completely real world, far more perspicacious and congenial than the realm, strident and confused, in which our practical logic and imagination are compelled to live.

Nor is there any art where the pleasures of form are so pure. Music exists truly nowhere save as heard or as imagined in audible terms. It is always nine-tenths memory or premonition, since what is given at any instant is only one tone or one harmonious complication of tones. Music is bodiless and lives only as rhythmic life heard through a brief sequence of moments in time. Its instruments are material, since the most unearthly of music must be played on wood, on brass, and on string. Its appeal is through the physiological apparatus of the ear. But to the experienced listener, the sensuous quality of musical sounds is the incidental feature, though the delightful one, of those pure and subtle relations which are the genius of musical invention. Philosophers and poets seeking an image for the total operations of things have thought to detect a music of the spheres. A great and comprehensive symphony is a universe in itself, and the listener's imagination is freed from the logic of things and affairs, to live for a time in that pure and abstract mathematics of sound.

One of the curiosities of music is that this objectless realm of sounds, irrelevant to anything but its own internal relations, should have so compelling an emotional effect on the listener. For this art cannot be treated merely as sensuous titillation or as a mathematical pleasure. Its universal appeal, the poignancy of its effect on even the most intellectual of listeners or the most sensuously susceptible, demand some inquiry. Music is, for all its abstractness and its apparent meaninglessness, profoundly and subtly related to emotion. How is it that sounds signifying nothing should come at moments to mean, as it were, every thing or many things to many listeners? How is it that an art which is no language at all should come to be described, even metaphorically, as a universal language?

The hypnosis of music has already been attributed to the fundamental fact of rhythm, to which we respond not merely with the ear but with the whole movement of our bodies and the dominant tempo of our imaginations. If we pay attention to music at all, we are rushed along on its current and become, in no trivial sense, part of its current ourselves.

But it is not rhythm alone which can explain the emotional effects of music. Part of the intimate and moving appeal of music is, as Dhurjjatiprasad suggests, to be attributed to the fact that music retains, even in its complex forms, a quality lyric and personal, an echo or an approximation of the human voice. The violin sings and all music is thinkable as a kind of complicated singing. All that direct and unmistakable personal address which is native to the human voice is indigenous, too, to most music. There are sounds, too, in music that recall characteristic moods and crises in our non-musical experience.

It may be thunderous or plaintive, sad or soothing, like analogous sounds of those moods in ordinary life. There is indeed a cheap kind of musical exploitation of effects of Nature in music, an instrumental onomatopoeia, in which the crash of thunder, the singing birds, the ripple of water, the hissing of storm and sea may be imitated. But it is only by such imitation that the subtlest emotional effects of music are contrived. Rather the movement of a melody, though it expresses nothing specific, in some unspecified way awakens a whole reverberation of nervous response. In real life our emotional responses tend to go over into action, or to become absorbed by some object. In music, the sounds that provoke some reverberant response are the only objects upon which that response can be made. The very music that rouses us appeases us ; in the sounds that give us stimulation we find our peace.

There is, of course, a sense in which music is utterly inadequate to express emotion at all. Tones are tones, melodies are tonal relations in time ; harmonies are tonal relations at an instant. They can, none of them, say what language can say specifically or what some situation in life can specifically exemplify. But just because music cannot be specific it can render with voluminousness and depths the general atmosphere or aura of emotion. It can suggest love, though no love in particular ; worship or despair, though it may not say who is worshipped or what is the cause of the despair. Into the same music, therefore, a hundred different listeners will pour their own specific histories and desires. A thousand different sorrows and a thousand different joys will be called to focus by the same musical material. And the very fact that there is nothing definitive or exclusive in the emotional atmosphere of a given composition will make it all the more accessible as a means of catharsis or relief for the listener. Words are too brittle and chiselled, life too rigid and conventional to exhaust all the infinity of human emotional

response. The infinite sinuousness, nuance, and complexity of music enable it to speak in a thousand different accents to a thousand different listeners, and to say with noncommittal and moving intimacy what no language would acknowledge or express and what no situations in life could completely exhaust or make possible.

This art of sound, then at first hearing so completely spontaneous, at closer examination so disciplined and mathematical, at once stingingly sensuous and austere intellectual, has more consequence on life and society than might be imagined. In its twin freedom and control, it is an anagram of what a civilised society might be. In its intellectual structure and clarity it offers an audition of such rationality as no society has as yet exemplified. In its unspoken but deeply uttered refinement of emotion, it makes the passions and crises of this world seem awkward and gross. Plato imagined philosophy as a finer kind of music. And he suggested what is apparently fantastic : that a refined musical sensibility might be the most civilising of educational instruments. For a mind educated to musical form and an imagination refined to the finesse of musical emotion cannot remain completely gross in the contacts of life. Moral and musical taste may not be altogether unrelated. For a rational civilisation would in its sensuous beauty, its emotional delicacy, and its intellectual order be very like the noblest and the sweetest in music.

# BUDDHISM AND THE WORLD PEACE

DR. RAMCHANDRA GUPTA

Some centuries become memorable in the history to give birth to great men. Sixth century B.C. was remarkable in many countries for the spiritual ferment and intellectual upheaval. In India, we had Mahāvīra and Buddha, in China Leo Tzu and Confucius, in Iran Zarathustra and in Greece Parmenides and Empedocles. In that century many notable great teachers worked upon their inheritance and developed many new points of view. The Buddha, with whom we are mainly and exclusively concerned here, did not feel that he was announcing a new religion. He was born, grew up and died a Hindu. He was restating with a new emphasis the ancient ideals of the Indo-Aryan civilization. "Even so have I, monks, seen an ancient way, an ancient road followed by the wholly awakened ones of olden time. . . . Along that have I gone, and the matters that I have come to know fully as I was going along it, I have told the monks, the nuns, men and women, lay-followers, even, monks, this Brahmāfaring, brahmacarya that is prosperous and flourishing, widespread and widely known, become popular in short, well made manifest for gods and men."

The quest of religious India has been for the incomparable safety, fearlessness, abhaya, mokṣa, nirvāna. It is quite natural for a man to elevate himself above earthly things, to go out from the world of sense to free his soul from the trammels of existence and gross materiality, to break through the darkness into the world of spirit of light. The Buddha aimed at a spiritual existence in which all selfish craving is extinct and with it every fear and passion. It is a state of perfect inward peace, accompanied by the conviction of having attained spiritual freedom. The Buddha did not accept a fatalistic view. He did not believe that man has no control over his future. He, on the contrary, asserted that a man can work out his own future, become an *Arhat*, and attain *nirvāna*. The Buddha utilized the Hindu inheritance to correct some of its expressions. He came to fulfil and not to destroy the Hindu religion. As a matter of fact, he stood as an outstanding representative of India's religious tradition. Roughly, Buddha's teachings may be divided into two sections: (1) Philosophical, and (2) Moral. Both the sections are so interwoven that one cannot be understood properly without the

correct knowledge of the other. The fundamental principle of Buddha's philosophy is the theory of causation or dependent organisation. According to this theory, the continuous existence of a being is like a wheel of causes and effects. Ignorance gives rise to actions, and then, in turn, come consciousness, phenomena, the six senses, contact, feeling, craving grasping, becoming, birth and suffering. If the last effect is to be destroyed, the primary cause (ignorance) will also be destroyed automatically. Another important theory of Buddha is regarding the Four Noble Truths. The first truth is that all suffering has a cause. The second truth is that all existence is full of suffering. The third truth is that suffering can be made to come to an end, and the last is that there is a way to end suffering. There is a criticism against these principles, but here we are not concerned with that as the scope of our problem is very limited. We, therefore, proceed to the main theme of his philosophy. According to Buddha, the cessation of suffering is called nirvāna, the *Summum bonum*, beyond logical reasoning and beyond description. It is not a negative condition, but a positive and unconditioned state realized by the mind. Now the question arises. How can this nirvāna be attained? The answer is "by the Fourth Noble Truth,"—the Noble Eightfold path. It is also called the middle path by which the wayfarer avoids the two extremes. The Buddha's theory of middle path corresponds to Aristotle's ethical theory, widely known as 'The Nicomachean Ethics,' but the former theory is based on the sound metaphysical conception of life, while the latter theory rests on the working principle of adjustment in life.

During the Buddha's time, the ascetics often observed fasts, exposed themselves to fires around them and slept upon spikes thinking that the mind was exalted by torturing the body. On the contrary, the Epicureans of Europe, the self-indulgent seekers thought nothing of this world and the next, of rebirth, karma and its fruit, and lived the lives of luxury and sin. The Buddha's path followed neither, but led to vision, knowledge, tranquillity, and nirvāna. Each step, in the process, contributes something additional in the upward march towards the ideal. The first step is the right view. If one's view is wrong, his determination is bound to be faulty. The second step is right mental resolve which is the foundation of all great achievement, provided it is based on right view. The third step is right speech which results from right resolve and right determination. The fourth step is right action which is always preceded by right speech and right and firm determination. Right livelihood which

is the fifth step is the outcome of right action. Wrong means of livelihood are those which cause suffering to others. The sixth step is right effort which consists in strenuous endeavour by a person for his own mental and moral elevation. Right-mindfulness, the seventh step, is the attention paid to the activities and weaknesses of one's body and mind. The last step in the middle path is right concentration, the fixing of the mental faculties on a single subject. This philosophy of life, when applied to the world of politics, implies clearly world peace. But this peace is not a condition of unstable political equilibrium but rather a stable mind purified from all feelings of antagonism and thoroughly permeated by that impersonal and universal love which the Buddhists call *maitri*. Buddhism works from within outwards. Its hierarchy enjoys no international diplomatic status, and chooses to act not by means of behind the scenes political wirepulling but by the open practice and propaganda of the pacific teachings of the Buddha as India is doing. The peace which is not universal is no peace at all. The conclusion of a private peace between two or more nations, to the exclusion of the remainder, is, in reality, impossible. Such a peace, in any way, would threaten the security of any other state ; even its observance would be on no higher a moral plane than the honesty that is popularly supposed to exist among thieves. This is what actually happens in case of most of the nations today. These nations are manoeuvring against the weaker and smaller nations in order to maintain their international *status quo*, and the world peace, to the greatest extent, has been threatened. India, having accepted Asoka's great ideal of *dharma-vijaya* or conquest of righteousness, it was inevitable that this Buddhist *maitri*, or love and goodwill towards all, should form the ultimate spiritual basis of her policy of dynamic neutrality in world affairs. India's foreign policy based on *panchashila* advocates clearly for the world peace. India believes in the principle of love and co-existence through mutual benefit and understanding. India's foreign policy is based on sound religious and intellectual inheritance unlike that of European nations. It is the *raison detre* of the fact that while, working unremittingly for the world peace, the government of India consistently refuses to align itself with any power bloc. Such an attitude has naturally drawn her closer to those Buddhist countries of South East Asia, whose respective policies are mostly inspired by the same ideal. But it can, in no way, be said that such a relationship would imply hostile attitude of any kind towards any other country or group of countries. In fact, it is not a political group

based on exclusive love and limited loyalties but it is rather a gradually expanding centre radiating to the world the impersonal, universal and neutral power of *Maitri*. It is in this context that one must view the government of India's efforts for close relationship with the countries of Asia. It is because Buddhism can alone provide the sound basis for these efforts that its political implications for Asia, and through Asia for the world, are so enormous and so important.

# THE POSITION OF GOD IN ADVAITA PHILOSOPHY

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According to Advaitism "Creation is understood as manifestation in the Soil of Māyā" <sup>1</sup> and the Creator of such a creation can only be māyic and anirvācyā. Creation in time is as much an anirvācyā appearance as is the world that is a product of the creative act. However, the God of religion who creates and sustains the world is not any way in a better position than the self-contradictory and illusory world. God of religion is different from the Absolute Brahman. This tendency of viewing God as different from the Absolute is also evident in the Western Philosophy. For example, Bradley distinguishes between God of religion and the Absolute. Bradley says, "God, for me, has no meaning outside of the religious consciousness and that essentially is practical. The Absolute for me cannot be God, because in the end the Absolute is related to nothing and there cannot be any practical relation between it and the finite will. When you begin to worship God or the universe and make it the object of religion, you in that moment have transformed it. It has become something forthwith which is less than the universe." According to the Advaitin it is only in the interests of the adorers that the Absolute is imagined to have names and forms (*cf.* Sādhakānām hitārthāya Brahmanō rupakalpanā). Like all other objects of knowledge Īśvara is an object of knowledge of the adorer and as such Īśvara is no less anirvācyā than other objects. Unlike the God of religion the Absolute Brahman of the Advaitin is not and cannot be related to anything else and there is also no real tie between the world and Brahman. True relation expects that the relate should be equally real. But there Brahman and the world belong to two different states of existence. Brahman is the Absolute existence whereas the world has only Vyavahārika existence. Like God Brahman cannot maintain a genuine relation to the world. So Prof. Hocking beautifully remarks, "What we need to worship is the seminal disturbing, creating and destroying principle of Reality ;

<sup>1</sup> K. C. Bhattacharyya, *Studies in Philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> F. H. Bradley, *Essays on Truth and Reality* (1914), p. 428.



for which purpose would not Siva be a better Deity than Brahman, the ineffable and indifferent" (The Meaning of God in Human Experience, P. 186). Modern Western philosopher like Dewas Hicks also makes a distinction between God and the Absolute. Prof. Hicks says, "The totality of things, or what philosophers name the Absolute, cannot be identified with God, so long as God is conceived as a Self-Conscious Being. What philosophers designate the Absolute must include God and other minds, the world of nature and the world of values, not indeed as isolated and disconnected entities, but rather as ultimately related to one another and more especially to God and as thus forming a system or coherent unity."<sup>3</sup> But in this connection it must be made clear that the Absolute of the Absolutist in western philosophy is not Brahman of the Advaitin. Firstly, it can be pointed out 'In western philosophy, the Absolute has been conceived either as the negation of the relative or as the Synthetic Unity of the world of relations and distinctions. The Absolute as the total negation of the world of relativity must be entirely unknown and unknowable as Herbert Spencer contends. The Absolute conceived as the unifying principle of the relative world is in some respects dependent upon the world as the world is dependent upon the Absolute, as Hegel and his followers contend.'<sup>4</sup> Obviously, Brahman of the Advaitin is not unknown and unknowable since Brahman is nothing short of the pure consciousness. Secondly, these western Absolutist Philosophers commit the fallacy of mutual dependence in supposing that the world depends upon the Absolute and the Absolute depends upon the world. The Advaitin is emphatic in his assertions that if the Absolute really depends upon the world, then the Absolute will cease to be the Absolute. Hegelian Philosopher, as the Advaitin points out cannot make any distinction between the world and the Absolute. In Hegel there is a line of distinction between Reality and Existence. Reality is a category which is in antithesis to Negation. The world of inter-connected system of things is Existence. According to Hegel "The Absolute again is the highest category that includes every other category. And because it is the highest all-inclusive category, we may say that the Absolute is both Existence and Being, the lowest category with which his dialectic starts. But the reverse cannot be true in the same sense."<sup>5</sup> According to Advaitism, however, there is no dis-

<sup>3</sup> Prof. D. Hicks—*The Philosophical Bases of theism*, p. 262.

<sup>4</sup> Vide Dr. H. Chaudhuri—*Brahman in Hindu Philosophy—Philosophy East and West*, April, 1954, p. 58.

<sup>5</sup> Raju—*Idealistic Thought of India*, p. 77-78.

inction between existence and Reality. The existence which is not reality at the same time is only false existence and false existence is no existence. The Absolute Reality is Absolute existence. The Absolute Reality minus existence is no Reality at all. According to Neo-Hegelian philosopher like Bradley appearances in some transmuted form may find room in the Absolute. In transmuted form appearances are said to be without self-contradiction and self-discrepancy (but these two constitute appearance). If there is no self-contradiction in appearance, then it ceases to be appearance and there can be no meaning in saying that appearances without self-contradiction can find room in the Absolute. Thus the Advaitin observes that the Absolute of the western Absolutistic school suffers contradiction. Moreover, throughout the Process of occurents some aspect of the thing is always continuant, otherwise, we could not say that milk is changed into curd or curdling can happen only to milk. So it follows from this that if the appearance undergoes a change merely in the Absolute, some aspect of the world (*i.e.* some contradiction) would also persist in the Absolute. But it is absolutely meaningless to posit some contradiction in that which is completely uncontradicted. The Absolute of the Absolutist is a system. But the Advaitin will never admit his Brahman as any system. System is after all a fabric of infinite relations and it cannot occupy the position of the Absolute Brahman. Dr. Sāstri<sup>6</sup> clearly states, "A System is more a creation of reason than a reality, for a System has no meaning and cannot exist without the implication of relations, and relations have meaning to an interpretative consciousness. But when the System is called subjective or objective, it is clear that it cannot be truth for truth denies relations. We can understand any necessity of truth entering into a system of relation. This necessity can be either internal or external. If it is external, it implies the existence of something besides the absolute truth. If it is internal, absolute becomes a system. But the absolute and system are two incompatible concepts." However, the system on the Advaitic view falls within the realm of anirvācyā appearances. The system, be it objective or subjective cannot discard objects and subjective facts because the system is not a system of the void but a system of the subject and the Object with names and forms. On the Advaitic view the Subject and the object and the Subject-Object relation are all anirvācyā. Hence, the Absolute as a System cannot escape the charge of anirvācyatva. In spite of the fact that the

<sup>6</sup> Dr. Ashutosh Sastri—*Post Samkar Dialectics* p. 15.

western Absolutist makes a distinction between God of religion and the Absolute there is a distinction which is obvious between the Absolute Brahman of the Advaitin and the Absolute of the western Absolutist philosopher. Prof. Mālkāni<sup>1</sup> aptly says, "The Subject that is necessarily related to the object constitutes together with the latter a whole which is itself objective. It can be known and being known it is naturally transcended. The 'whole of the Subject and the Object' thus gives place to an Objective whole ; and an objective whole is spurious whole. It can be transcended and demands to be transcended. It demands a higher-grade subject, that is Subject only and never an object to be known. This is the pure subject. All objects of all grades have a necessary reference to it, because it alone reveals them for what they are. The pure Subject has no reference to anything whatsoever. The only relation it sustains to the objects it reveals is that of false identity. In other words, the objects achieve a semblance of reality through their relation to this Subject, but the subject itself achieves nothing through the relation, because it is in itself and essentially unrelated."

According to Advaitism this is the falsity of appearances that they are eternally cancelled in the Absolute Brahman (cf. Svanisthaniravachhinna Prakāratānirupita Viśeṣyatāsāmānādhikaraṇātāntābhāva Pratiyogitvammithyātvam). With one instance the Advaitic position can be made clear. Threads are the material cause of the cloth. The cloth, if it is at all in existence, must exist in the threads which are the material cause of the cloth. But if there is absolute negation of the cloth in the threads we cannot say that the cloth resides in threads or that the cloth is real. Similarly, Brahman is the material cause of the world. But Brahman and the world belong to two different levels of the existence and the world cannot really reside in Brahman. For instance, the rope belongs to phenomenal order of existence and the illusory snake has only illusory or Prātibhāsika order of existence. The illusory and contradicted snake cannot in any true sense reside in the rope. However, if the world does not reside in the material cause Brahman, the world cannot but be false. So writes Madhusudan Saraswati "Tatra tantupadam upādānaparam Etena upādānaniṣṭha atyantābhāva Pratyogitva lakṣaṇamithyātva siddhiḥ." Now the question may arise whether the absolute negation of the world in the Absolute Brahman is empirical or metaphysical. It cannot be empirical because if it be

<sup>1</sup> Mālkāni, G. R.—A *Defence of Idealism*, Philosophical Quarterly, April, 1960.

empirical, it will prove nothing. Again the negation of the world in Brahman will stand as a second reality and the śruti 'Ekamevād-vitīyam' will suffer. The Advaitin replies, absolute non-existence of the world in Brahman when coupled with Brahman will not affect Advaitism. Mandana Miśra in his *Brahma Siddhi* clearly points out, "Pare tu dvividhā dharmā bhāvarupā abhāva rūpaśceti Tatra abhāvarupā na advaitam Vighnanti (P. 4). For these reasons the world cannot be real in the Absolute Reality. But the Absolutist of Western Idealism cannot ultimately distinguish between the Absolute and the world and discard the world from the sphere of the Absolute. So the Absolute of Western Idealism reduces itself to self-contradictory appearance for the Advaitin.

Now we set ourselves to reconsider the claims of God as Sāksin and as omnipresent from the Advaitic standpoint. Without assuming the principle of nescience all-knowingness of God cannot be maintained at all. The only explanation of the omniscience of God that we can have is that the self-contradictory world-appearance is but the modification of nescience and in it there is reflection of the Absolute Brahman. This is the all-knowingness of God. Modifications of nescience regarding past objects and feelings limited by past objects leave their traces behind them. Thus in regard to the past the omniscience of God is maintained. God knows the future as the potter knows the form of the pot to be created. If we do not accept this explanation and do not call this world an indescribable appearance or a product of ignorance, omniscience of the agent-God will remain unproven. The question will be inevitable whether the all-knowingness is through the six ways of knowing or through Perception alone. The first alternative is untenable because all means of knowing cannot be applied at once. If the ways of knowing are for God merely successive or alternative the position of God will be no better than that of us. Perception being inapplicable to the minutest particles, atoms and molecules (which are always to be inferred and never to be perceived) cannot ensure the omniscience for God. The Yogic, intuition is of no help. The Yogin can have unobstructed vision only in regard to that which is acquired by him through his penitence. Thus Omniscience of God is not through the function or modification of the internal organ. Even when all lines of the picture are wiped out, the picture in an unmanifested state lives in the canvas, so when all objects are dissolved they leave their traces in nescience and this cosmic nescience is known by the witnessing-intelligence. But nescience is no reality to be really witnessed by the witnessing-intelligence.

In respect of mere self-contradiction or self-discrepancy the world-appearance and the rabbit's horn stand on a par and if there is no meaning in witnessing rabbit's horn, there can also be no meaning in witnessing the world-appearance. Again, logically speaking, the witnessing-intelligence or the Iṣvara-Sāksin remains within the Subject-Object relation and cannot be pure. Sāksin is almost the same as Brahman because both are Svaprakāś. But in Brahman there is no trace of objective awareness, on the other hand, in the witnessing-intelligence there is an immediate awareness of the mind, mental modifications and all other avidyaka creations (*cf.* also, Sākṣāt draṣṭari Samyak Jñānam-Pāṇini 5/2/91). The Sāksin is a passive witness, but it is yet a witness and world is not ended in it. So the Sāksin is not pure Brahman. Lakṣmidhara also in his Advaitamakaranda clearly states that Sāksitva cannot be ultimate or metaphysical (Cetyoparāgarupā me Sāksitāpi na tāttviki, upalakṣaṇa meveyam nistarangā cidambudhed—*vide* Advaita Makaranda Sl. 20 with Rasābhi Vyanjikā Commentary). Finally, God has inherent differences (Svagatabhedas) created by the individual and the world (Jiva and Jagat). Differences being indescribable appearances God holding inherent differences (Svagatabheda Viśiṣṭa) cannot but be an indescribable appearance, a phenomenal relational appearance in the test of Pure reason. We feel the dire necessity of God so long as we are confined to the Vyavahārika plane of existence and do not care to consider the world in all seriousness ; but so soon as the intuitive realisation of the ultimate Reality dawns the world and its creator God are dissipated for ever. God “is a phase or the expression of the absolute through the force of nature, and the expression will last so long as the objects to which the expression is related will last” \* The creator God and the world are anirvācya and māyic.

\* Swami Abhedananda—*Our relation to the Absolute*, pp. 196-197.

# HISTORICAL BASIS OF THE PANDAVA EMPIRE IN THE MAHABHARATA

NANIMADHAB CHAUDHURI, M.A.

In its main story the Mahabharata is concerned with the Middle Country and Western India and the Kuru and Yadava tribes. Compared with the Ramayana which is mainly concerned with the Eastern India it shows, as its lists of rivers, territories, peoples and holy places prove, that it knew the whole country from the trans-Himalayan regions in the north to Ceylon in the south and from the far off ridges of the eastern Himalayas in the east to the western sea. Many of its accounts indicate that the Brahmanical religion and social system had spread over the whole country known to it. It is noteworthy that in mentioning the northern, eastern, western and southern peoples outside the Midland it appears to be free from the bias against peoples outside the Midland, the early stronghold of orthodoxy, which characterises some of the Brahmanas, Sutras and even some of the Puranas which ape them.

In the political picture of India which the main story of the Mahabharata gives there are many important points calling for notice but attention is focussed here on a particular aspect of it. It is the aspect of united India under the Pandavas. The importance of this aspect of the picture unfolded in the Mahabharata lies in the fact that out of the mass of early Indian literature the Mahabharata gives us the first picture of a politically united India under a central power. The significance of this point has been overlooked. One finds a brilliant picture of the imperial court at Hastinapur and imperial power. One finds varied but substantially uniform lists of territories included in the empire. Along with other points of information these lists give the reader information about the geographical constituents of ancient India as recognised by early Indian writers.

The picture of united India which the Epic unfolds is pieced together from details given in several lists of territories, kings, princes and tribes given in the Sabha Parva. The occasion was the performance of the *Rajasuya yajna* by Yudhisthira. The sacrifice could be performed only after the subjugation of all the princes of the country. *Rajasuya Yajna* was performed by Emperor Jarasandha of Magadha, a contemporary of the Pandavas according to the Epic.

He ruled over a vast empire and was so mighty that he kept eighty kings whom he had defeated, imprisoned in the hill-fortresses of his capital Girivraja. When after his installation on the throne at Hastinapur Yudhisthira felt that he might perform this *yajna* he summoned Krishna, his adviser in all matters, to his court. Krishna pointed out that so long as Jarasandha lived there was little chance for Yudhisthira to have his desire fulfilled. Yudhisthira was on the point of giving up the idea but Krishna held out hope before him. He had his own accounts to settle with the emperor of Magadha. He had driven away his tribe from their original habitat to Mathura and from Mathura to distant Kathiawar. He also kept a number of princes of his tribe closely related to him prisoners at Girivraja. In the ambition of Yudhisthira he saw a chance of retaliation. He not only held out hopes but also spelled out a plan for getting rid of Jarasandha by stratagem.

After the death of Jarasandha four of the Pandava brothers started at the head of four armies for the conquest of the whole country as the first step to the performance of the Rajsuya. We get in the first instance an account giving details of the conquests of the four brothers and extraction of tributes from the defeated parties. The states, territories, kings and tribes in the east subjugated by the Pandavas included among others, king Bhagadatta of Pragjotish king of the Yavanas, Paundra Vasudeva (a famous figure in the Epic as the rival of Vasudeva-Krishna, the hero of the Epic), kings of the Kirata country, Magadha, Sumha, Vanga etc. ; in the north Kashmir, Uttara Kuru country (Tibet ?), Manas Sarovara region, Bahlikas, Daradas etc. ; Avanti, Mahismati, Odhra, Kalinga, Dravida, Pandya, Kerala etc. in the south ; in the west all the kings and tribes up to the sea including Sakas, Yavanas, Pahnava, Barbaras etc. There is a second list of princes invited to the *yajna*. Among them were the kings of Sindhudesa, king of Pragjotish, Mleccha princes of the coastal countries, princes of the hill tribes, kings of Kuntal and Malwa, the Dravida king, kings of Kashmir, Simhala, Kuntibhoja, princes of the Bahlika country etc.

We have finally a description of the presents and tributes sent to the Emperor, given by the envious Duryodhana to his father. These came from the king of the Kamvojas, the people of Maru Kaccha, peoples living beyond the Sindhu, peoples of the coastal country including the Paradas, Abhiras, Kitabas etc. ; from Bhagadatta, Sakas, Hara-Hunas, Cheenas, from the peoples of Odhra, from the princes of Chola and Pandya, from the princes of the savage

tribes, tribes living in the jungles, tribes living in the Himalayas, from the princes of territories between the Meru and Mandara hills, from Uttara Kuru (Tibet ?) and Uttara Kailas, from the princes of Udayachala and Karush countries, from the princes of territories on both the banks of the Brahmaputra. Presents were brought by the princes of Darada, Bahlika, Kashmir, Ceylon, Trigartta, Yaudheya, Madra, Kekaya, Pahlava, Anga, Vanga, Pundra, Kalinga, Tamralipta etc. Sandal juice in gold pitchers, *aguru* and gold brocade were brought by the kings of Chola and Pandya. Rubies, pearls and rich textiles were sent by the people of Simhala.

In the dazzling picture of the power and empire of the Pandavas one finds the whole of India under a central power, with all the princes and peoples living in different and distant parts of it sending costly presents in local produces and tributes, foreign tribes settled in the country such as the Sakas, Yavanas, Tusharas, Hunas, Cheenas etc., southern peoples like the Keralas, Cholas etc., the people of distant Simhala, eastern people like the Sumhas, Tamraliptakas, Kiratas, outlying tribes like the Kamvojas, Bahlikas etc. joining hands with the people of Aryavarta in acknowledging allegiance to the emperor and sending their tributes.

Now, one may ask, what is the basis of this picture ? Is it entirely an imaginary picture of poetic creation, or has it any basis in fact ? Before answering this question the views of scholars on the age of the Mahabharata may be mentioned. According to them the original form of the text took shape during the 5th century B.C., though the historical germ of the Epic might not be later than 1000 B.C. ; additions went on being made for nearly a thousand years and the text probably assumed its present shape about 4th century after Christ.

One of the implications of the theory accepted by scholars is that the Mahabharata belonged to the post-Bimbisara period (5th century B.C.). Another implication is that the central theme of the Epic, the story of quarrel over the ancestral throne among the princes of the Kuru family (in which had merged the Rigvedic Kuru, Puru, Bharata, Tritsu and Srinjaya tribes) was a matter of legendary history at the time when the Mahabharata began to take shape. This means, in other words, that the battle of Kurukshetra might have been fought and the parties to the battle might have been the members of two branches of the same tribe, but the great battle as described in the Epic is no more than a full-dressed, multi-purpose imaginative story developed from the bare legend of a long past fratricidal war of succession.



One may note that the Epic tries to preserve an air of the ancient world in dealing with the central theme while it takes pains to discuss elaborately post-Buddhistic cults and frequently mentions foreign tribes and races, the date of whose entry into India in pre and post Christian eras are historically known. In accordance with this air of the ancient world a studied silence is maintained in regard to the political events of the very long period during which it was taking shape through additions. This silence is so complete that events of importance like the invasion of Sind and probably of the Panjab by Darius, the Achaemenian emperor, and invasion of Alexander pass unnoticed though Parasikas and Yonas or Yavanas are several times mentioned.

From what is known about the legendary political history of India it may be said that the empire of the Pandavas did not exist at all.

From what is known about the early political history of Northern India it would appear that the first empire that grew out of the independent states into which the country was politically organised in the 7th century B.C. according to the Pali texts, rose in eastern India, first in Kosala and next in Magadha. Before Harshavardhana the Middle Country, the land of the Kurus, did not see the rise of an empire within it. And when Harshavardhana was ruling at Thaneshwar and entertaining the Chinese monk Hieun Tshang the mighty Sassanid empire which had halted the march of the Roman army into the interior of Asia for centuries collapsed before the onslaught of the recently islamised Arab hordes (651 A.D.).

From where did then the writers of the Mahabharata get the idea of the empire of Yudhisthira, an empire under which the whole of India was united under a central power? Such pictures as are given in the Sabha Parva cannot be based entirely on imagination nor does legendary history furnish a basis. The inescapable presumption is that the first all-India empire in Indian history, the empire of the Mauryas, more particularly the empire of Asoka Priyadarshi supplied the historical basis to the Kuru empire picturised in the Mahabharata.

The empire of Asoka comprised the whole of Afghanistan south of the Hindukush, Baluchistan, Sind, Kashmir, Nepal, the lower Himalayas, the whole of India proper except the southern extremity comprising two Tamil states and Keraliputra and Sattiyaputra states which were on friendly terms with the great emperor in deference to whose wishes they, as well as Tamraparni (Ceylon) welcomed Buddhism. Asoka's missionary activities brought him into friendly

contact with Syria, Cyrene (N. Africa), Macedon and Epirus (Greece) (Rock Edict XIII). The legends of Khotan in Ser-India connect Asoka with it.

References in the Epic would show that the glories of this great empire were in the minds of the writers of the Mahabharata when they proceeded to draw the picture of the short-lived empire of Yudhisthira.

# ASSIMILATION IN SANSKRIT\*

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“vāg arthāviva sam-prktau vāg-artha-pratipattaye ।  
jagataḥ pitarau vande pārvatī-paramēśvarau” ॥  
pūrvācāryān namas-kṛtya teṣāṁ vacāṁsi saṁsmaran ।  
samīkaraṇa-tattvasya vicāre mānasam dadhe ॥  
calane skhalanam loke bhavatyeva svabhāvataḥ ॥  
parihāreṇa doṣāṇāṁ tasmāt saram vicārayet ॥

Assimilation is a very important phonetic operation noted in the science of Linguistics. A good number of words have been formed in different languages with the assimilation of sounds. At the time of pronunciation of a word one of the two mutually proximate dissimilar sounds sometimes influences the other or they are mutually influenced and become somewhat similar. This phenomenon is known as ‘Assimilation’. When a sound makes the following sound similar to it, the case of Assimilation is known as ‘Progressive’ [ $x \rightarrow y > x - x$ ]. The converse case, i.e., when a sound makes the preceding sound similar to it, it is known as ‘Regressive’ [ $x \leftarrow y > y - y$ ]. When both the sounds are mutually influenced and become similar to each other, the Assimilation is known as ‘Mutual’ [ $x \rightleftharpoons y > x_y - y_x$ ]. Assimilation may be in point of quality of sounds or position of their articulation (*uccāraṇa-sthāna*).

In a spoken language this phenomenon has played an important role in the formation of words<sup>1</sup> and their combinations<sup>2</sup>. Sanskrit, it is generally believed, was a spoken language, at least in some circles. Assimilation of sound, which is absolutely concerned with the actual pronunciation of words, therefore, worked in the different cases of word-formation in Sanskrit. Grammarians have explained them by formulating various aphorisms in their own way. As a matter of fact they are simply the results of natural process of articulation.

If we consider the cases of consonantal euphonic combination in Sanskrit, we shall not fail to see how the different varieties of Assimilation have worked there. Prof. A. A. Macdonell has rightly observed :

Avoidance of hiatus and assimilation are the leading principles on which the rules of Sandhi are based.<sup>3</sup>

\* Paper read in the Section on Indian Linguistics, XXII All-India Oriental Conference held at Gauhati, Assam in January, 1965.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Internal Sandhis*,

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *External Sandhis*.

<sup>3</sup> A Vedic Grammar For Students, Ch. ii, p. 20.

Avoidance of hiatus plays its part in the cases of *vowel Sandhi*

Let us cite examples of Sanskrit euphonic combination and try to explain them in the light of Assimilation. The classification is as follows :

#### A—PROGRESSIVE ASSIMILATION

Cf. *lagna* (Skt) > *lagga* (Pkt);  
*raśmi* (Skt) > *rassi* (Pkt);  
 \* *col-nis* (Cf. Lithuanian *kālnas*) > *collis* (Lat)

In Sanskrit we have—

#### I—IN QUALITY :

*labh + tum* > \* *labhdhum* > *labdhum*;

where the surd sound *t* of the affix *tum* has assimilated itself to the preceding aspirated sonant *bh*, the final sound of the root, in quality. Its dental position of pronunciation is, however, kept intact.

*budh + tr* > \* *bodhdhṛ* > *boddhṛ*;

where the surd sound *t* of the affix has assimilated itself to the preceding aspirated sonant *dh*, the final sound of the root, in quality. Its dental position of pronunciation, however, is not changed. So also is *abuddhāḥ* from (a-) √ *budh + thās* where the aspirated surd has assimilated itself to the preceding aspirated sonant without changing its dental position of articulation. These cases have been explained by Pāṇini by the aphorism *jhaṣas tathor dho' dhah* (VIII, 2, 40). The cause of the change of *bh* and *dh* of the root to *b* and *d* respectively is not for the see. As it is very difficult to pronounce two consecutive aspirated sounds, the preceding one is naturally unaspirated. Cf. *jhalām jaś jhaśi* (Pāṇini, VIII 4, 53).

#### II—IN POSITION :

*yāc + nā* > *yācñā*;

*yaj + na* > *yajña*;

where the palatal *c* and *j* of the roots have assimilated progressively the following dental nasal of the affix and have, accordingly, changed it to the corresponding palatal sound (palatal nasal) without changing the quality of the sound. For this Pāṇini aphorises—

*stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ* (VIII, 4, 40).

*piṣ + ta* > *piṣṭa*;

where the cerebral sibilant of the root has assimilated progressively the following unaspirated dental surd sound *t* and has changed it to the corresponding cerebral sound *ṭ* (unaspirated cerebral surd) without changing the quality of the sound. For this Pāṇini aphorises—

*ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ* (VIII, 4, 41).

## III—IN QUALITY AND POSITION :

We have not come across any example of Progressive Assimilation in both quality and position.

## B—REGRESSIVE ASSIMILATION

In different languages more examples of Regressive Assimilation are available than the Progressive type.

- Cf.*     *tarka* (Skt.) > *takka* (Pkt.);  
           *śat-pada* (Skt) > *chappao* (Pkt.);  
       \* *sraśura* (Original Skt. *Cf.* GK. *hekurós*,  
           Lat. *socer*) > *śraśura* (Skt.);  
           *et(a)din* > *eddin* (Bens);  
       \* *at nos* (*Cf.* Goth *apn*) > *annus* (Lat);  
       \* *in regular* > *irregular* (Eng.);  
       \* *in-legal* > *illegal* (Eng.).

In Sanskrit we have—

## I—IN QUALITY :

*dik + darśana* > *dig--darśana*;

where the sonant sound *d* has assimilated regressively the preceding unaspirated guttural, surd sound *k* and has changed it to the corresponding sonant sound *g* (unaspirated guttural sonant).

*śat + bhāga* > *śad - bhāga*;

where the sonant *bh* has assimilated regressively the preceding unaspirated cerebral surd *ṣ* and has changed it to the corresponding sonant sound *d* (unaspirated cerebral sonant).

*tat + bibheti* > *tadbibheti*;

where the sonant *b* has assimilated regressively the preceding unaspirated dental surd *t* and has changed it to the corresponding sonant sound *d* (unaspirated dental sonant).

*anuṣṭup + babhūva* > *anuṣṭub babhūva*;

where the sonant *b* has assimilated regressively the preceding unaspirated labial surd *p* and has changed it to the corresponding sonant sound *b* (unaspirated labial sonant).

Pāṇini, however, interprets these combinations in a rather round-about way. He prescribes unaspirated sonant (*jaś*) for any sound of any class (*varga*) except nasals (*jhal*) standing finally in a 'grammatical' *pada*. *Cf.* *jhalām jaśo'nte* (VIII, 2, 39). And to avoid undesired results from the combinations like *dik + tathā*, *tat + tasmin*, etc., he enjoins another rule, viz., *khari ca* (VIII. 4. 55), which provides for the unaspirated surd of a class when a surd sound follows.

*tat + līlāyitam* > *tal līlāyitam*;

where the dental plosive sound *t* has assimilated itself to the following non-plosive dental *l*. Thus there is a change from plosive to non-plosive but the dental position of articulation is not changed. Similarly, in *mahān + lābhah* > *mahāl-lābhah*, the dental nasal assimilates itself to the following non-plosive dental *l* without changing its dental and nasal<sup>1</sup> position of articulation. The corresponding aphorism of Pāṇini is—

*tor li* (VIII. 4. 60).

## II—IN POSITION :

*tat + cintayati* > *tac cintayati*;

where the palatal *c* has assimilated regressively the preceding unaspirated dental surd sound *t* and has changed it to the corresponding palatal sound *c* (unaspirated palatal surd).

*tad + janya* > *taj-janya*;

where the palatal *j* has assimilated regressively the preceding unaspirated dental sonant sound *d* and has changed it to the corresponding palatal sound *j* (unaspirated palatal sonant).

*śārṅgīn + jaya* > *śārṅgiñ jaya*;

where the palatal *j* has assimilated regressively the preceding dental nasal and has changed it to the corresponding palatal sound (palatal nasal).

These combinations are covered by Pāṇini's aphorism—

*stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ* (VIII. 4. 40).

*tat + ṭikate* > *taṭ-ṭikate*;

where the cerebral *ṭ* has assimilated the preceding unaspirated dental surd and has changed it to the corresponding cerebral sound (unaspirated cerebral surd).

*cakrin + dhaukase* > *cakriñ dhaukase*;

where the cerebral *dh* has assimilated the preceding dental nasal and has changed it to the corresponding cerebral sound (cerebral nasal).

These combinations are covered by Pāṇini's aphorism—

*ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ* (VIII. 4. 41)

Other examples are *añcita*, *ahkita*, *kuṇṭhita*, *śānta*, *gumphita*, *kinhnute*, etc. for which Pāṇini aphorises—

*mo'nusvārah* (VIII. 3. 23),

*naś cāpadāntasya jhali* (VIII. 3. 24),

*anusvārasya yayi para savarṇah* (VIII. 4. 58),

*na-pare nah* (VIII. 3. 27).

## III—IN QUALITY AND POSITION :

*tat + jāyate* > *taj-jāyate*;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *na-kārasyañunāsiko lakārah* (Bhaṭṭoji in his *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, under rule No. 117, *tor li*).

where the palatal sonant *j* has assimilated regressively the preceding unaspirated dental surd *t* in quality and in position and has changed it to the unaspirated palatal sonant. Thus there is a change of quality from surd to sonant and of position from dental to palatal.

*tad + cintā > tac-cintā ;*

where the palatal surd *c* has assimilated the preceding unaspirated dental sonant both in quality and in position and has, accordingly, changed it to the unaspirated palatal surd.

These combinations are covered by Pāṇini's aphorism—

*stoh ścunā ścuḥ* (VIII. 4. 40).

*tat + dhaukate > taḍ dhaukate ;*

where the cerebral sonant *ḍh* has assimilated the preceding unaspirated dental surd both in quality and in position and has, accordingly, changed it to the unaspirated cerebral sonant. This combination comes under the purview of Pāṇini's aphorism—

*ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ* (VIII. 4. 41).

*dik + nāga > diḥ-nāga ;*

where the dental nasal has assimilated the preceding guttural surd *k* both in quality and in position and has, accordingly, changed it to the guttural nasal.

*nabhrāt + napāt > nabhrāṇ-napāt ;*

where the dental nasal has assimilated the preceding cerebral surd *ṭ* both in quality and in position and has, accordingly, changed it to the cerebral nasal.

*tat + na > tan na ;*

where the dental nasal has assimilated the preceding dental surd *t* both in quality and in position and has, accordingly, changed it to the dental nasal.

*triṣṭup + nāma > triṣṭum nāma ;*

where the dental nasal has assimilated the preceding labial surd *p* both in quality and in position and has, accordingly, changed it to the labial nasal. In all these combinations there is a change of quality from surd to sonant and of position from non-nasal to nasal.

The relevant rule of Pāṇini is—

*yaro 'nunāsike 'nunāsiko vā* (VIII. 4. 45).

The rule prescribes alternative forms with non-nasal sonant which ... evidently the cases of Regressive Assimilation in quality only. Thus we have two forms from each of the above combinations—

*diḡ-nāga, diḥ-nāga ;*

*nabhrāḍ-napāt, nabhrāṇ-napāt ;*

*taḍ na, taṇ na ;*  
*triṣṭub nāma, triṣṭum nāma.*

Other examples are—

*saṃ + yantā > saỹ-yantā,*  
*saṃ + vatsara > saṽ-vatsara,*  
*yaṃ + lokam > yal̃-lokam,*

for which Pāṇini aphorises—

*vā padāntasya* (VIII. 4. 59);  
*kim + hyah > kiṃ̃ hyah,*  
*kim + hvalayati > kiṃ̃ hvalayati,*  
*kim + hlādayati > kiṃ̃ hlādayati,*

for which Kātyāyana offers the rule—

*ya va-la-pare ya-va-lā veti vyaktavyam* (a *Vārttika* on Pāṇini, VIII. 8. 26)

#### C—MUTUAL ASSIMILATION

There are numerous examples of this type in Prakrit.

Cf. *adya* (Skt) > *ajja* (Pkt) [*dy* > *jy* > *jj*];  
*madhya* (Skt) > *majjha* (Pkt) [*dhy* > *jhy* > *jhh* > *jjh*];  
*satya* (Skt) > *sacca* (Pkt) [*ty* > *cy* > *cc*]

In Sanskrit Mutual Assimilation has played a prominent part in consonantal euphonic combinations. This is, as a matter of fact, an amalgamation of the Progressive and the Regressive types of which the following combinations are noted:—

#### TYPE I—REGRESSIVE + PROGRESSIVE

##### ASSIMILATIONS IN QUALITY ONLY:

*vāk + hari > vāg-gharī;*

where the voiced sound *h* has assimilated regressively the preceding unvoiced sound *k* (unvoiced unaspirated guttural) in quality and has, accordingly, changed it to the corresponding voiced sound *g* (voiced unaspirated guttural); this plosive sound, on the other hand, has assimilated progressively the following non-plosive voiced aspirated sound *h* in quality and has, accordingly, changed it to the corresponding plosive sound *gh* (voiced aspirated guttural). The two rules operating at these two stages are, according to Pāṇini—

*jhalām jaho 'nte* (VIII. 2. 89) and  
*jhayo ho 'nyatarāsyām* (VIII. 4. 62) respectively.



The alternative form *vāg-hari* is, however, obtained simply by Regressive Assimilation (in quality) where only the first of the two above-mentioned rules operates.

*ud + sthāna > ut-ththāna*;

where the unvoiced sound *s* has assimilated regressively the preceding voiced sound *d* (voiced unaspirated dental) in quality and has, accordingly, changed it to the corresponding unvoiced sound *t* (unvoiced unaspirated dental); this plosive sound, on the other hand, has assimilated progressively the following dental sibilant (which is aspirated and unvoiced) and has, accordingly, changed it to the corresponding plosive sound *th* (unvoiced aspirated dental). The rules of Pāṇini operating at these two stages are—

*khari ca* (VIII. 4. 55) and

*udaḥ sthā-stambhoḥ pūrvasya* (VIII. 4. 61)

respectively.

As it is very difficult to pronounce two consecutive aspirated sounds (*th th*) one is, for the ease of pronunciation, often elided (cf. *jharo jhari savarne* Pāṇini, VIII. 4. 65) and we get an alternative form, viz., *utthāna*. A third form *utththāna* is also possible by 'Dissimilation' of the two aspirates instead of the elision of one.

Similarly, we have three forms, viz.,

*ut-thtambhana*, *uttambhana* and *utttambhana*  
from *ud + stambhana*<sup>1</sup>

#### TYPE II—REGRESSIVE IN POSITION + PROGRESSIVE IN QUALITY:

*tat + śivam > tac-chivam*;

where the palatal sibilant has assimilated regressively the preceding dental sound *t* (unaspirated dental surd) in position and has changed it to the corresponding palatal sound *c* (unaspirated palatal surd); this plosive sound, again, has assimilated progressively the following palatal sibilant (which is unvoiced and aspirated) in quality and has changed it to

<sup>1</sup> It has to be noted here that Bhaṭṭoji, the author of the *Siddhāntakāumudī*, supports two forms only resulting from each of the above two combinations, one with the retention of the unvoiced aspirated dental which is obtained from the dental sibilant by way of Assimilation (i.e., *utththāna utthtambhana*) and the other with its elision (i.e., *utthāna uttambhana*). The third form (*utththāna, utttambhana*) obtained by Dissimilation is rejected by him in clear terms (Vide *Siddhāntakāumudī*, under rule N. 118, *udaḥ sthā*—) Nāgārja, on the other hand, supports the third form and not the first one (or the obvious reason of pronunciation) for which the rearrangement of the aphorisms of Pāṇini from VIII. 4. 58 to VIII. 4. 68, as sanctioned by Patañjali in the *Mahābhāṣya*, has got to be accepted. Vide *Laghuśabdendusekhara* under the rule *udaḥ sthāstambhoḥ pūrvasya*. The *Kāśikā*, however, records only one (and the simplest) form resulting from each of the combinations (by Mutual Assimilation and elision of the aspirate): *√sthā > utthitah, utthātum, utthā-targam, √stambh > uttambhitā, uttambhitum, uttambhitavyam*.

the corresponding plosive sound *ch* (unvoiced aspirated palatal). According to Pāṇini, the two rules operating at these two stages are :

*stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ* (VIII. 4. 40) and  
*śaś cho 'ṭi* (VIII. 4. 63) respectively.

The alternative form *tac-śivam* (where only the first rule applies) is by Regressive Assimilation (in position) only.

Similarly, we have *san + śambhuḥ* > *sañchambhuḥ*, *sañ-śambhuḥ*, where the first form is by Mutual Assimilation Type II, and the second form is by Regressive Assimilation in position only. Two other forms (*sañcchambhuḥ* and *sañcśambhuḥ*) with a transitional glide are also possible. Cf. *śi tuk* (Pāṇini, VIII. 3. 31).

TYPE III—REGRESSIVE IN QUALITY  
 + PROGRESSIVE IN POSITION :

*iḍ + te* > *iṭte* ;

where the surd sound *t* has assimilated regressively the preceding unaspirated cerebral sonant sound *ḍ* in quality and has changed it to the corresponding surd sound *ṭ* (unaspirated cerebral surd); this cerebral sound, again, has assimilated progressively the following unaspirated dental surd sound in position and has changed it to the corresponding cerebral sound *ṭ* (unaspirated cerebral surd). According to Pāṇini: the two rules operating at these two stages are—

*khari ca* (VIII. 4. 55) and  
*ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ* (VIII. 4. 41) respectively.

TYPE IV—REGRESSIVE IN POSITION AND  
 QUALITY + PROGRESSIVE IN QUALITY :

*ud + śvāsa* > *ucchvāsa* ;

where the palatal sibilant has assimilated regressively the preceding unaspirated dental sonant both in quality and in position and has changed it to the unaspirated palatal surd; thus there is a change of quality from sonant to surd and of position from dental to palatal; this plosive sound, again, has assimilated progressively the following palatal sibilant (which is unvoiced and aspirated) in quality and has changed it to the corresponding plosive sound *ch* (unvoiced aspirated palatal). The corresponding aphorisms of Pāṇini working here are—

*stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ* (VIII. 4. 40),  
*khari ca* (VIII. 4. 55) and  
*śaś cho 'ṭi* (VIII. 4. 63).

These are the different varieties of Assimilation on which the treatment of consonantal euphonic combinations are based. Even transitional glides<sup>1</sup> like *k* (*kuk*), *ṭ* (*ṭuk*), *dh* (*dhuk*), *t* (*tuṭ*) etc. have assimilated themselves to the sounds with which they are associated and *vice versa*. Thus we have :—

$$\begin{aligned} prāṇ + ṣaṣṭhaḥ &> prāṇ + k + ṣaṣṭhaḥ > prāṇkhṣaṣṭhaḥ ; \\ sugaṇ + ṣaṣṭhaḥ &> sugaṇ + ṭ + ṣaṣṭhaḥ > sugaṇṭh- \\ &\quad ṣaṣṭhaḥ ; \end{aligned}$$

Cf. *ṇṇoḥ kuk ṭuk śarī* (Pāṇini, VIII. 3. 28) and the  
*Vārttika*—*cayo dvitīyāḥ śarī pauṣkarasāder iti vācyaṃ* ;  
*san + śambhuḥ > san + t + śambhuḥ > sañcśambhuḥ* ;  
*> sañcchambhuḥ* ;

Cf. *śi tuk* (Pāṇini, VIII. 3. 31), *stoh ścunā ścuḥ* (VIII. 4. 40)  
 and *śaś cho 'ṭi* (VIII. 4. 63) ;

$$ṣaṭ + santaḥ > ṣaṭ + dh + santaḥ > ṣaṭtsantaḥ ;$$

Cf. *ḍaḥ si dhut* (Pāṇini VIII. 3. 29) and *khari ca* (VIII. 4. 55) ;  
*san + saḥ > san + dh + saḥ > santsaḥ*

Cf. *naś ca* (Pāṇini, VIII. 3. 30) and *khari ca* (VIII. 4. 55).

From the philological point of view we may say that the sound which we get after assimilation is itself the transitional glide and the process is not one of Assimilation after the insertion of the glide sound. However, we have followed here the line of treatment of the Indian grammarians.

Thus we see that the phenomenon of the Assimilation of sounds has worked largely in the case of euphonic combination in Sanskrit. The respective rules of grammar happen to be simply statement of facts and do not mention the actual linguistic operations. A question naturally arises, if the euphonic combinations are thus explained by the linguistic phenomenon of Assimilation, how are we to explain the exceptional cases? For instance, in the combinations like *ṣaṭ santaḥ*, *ṣaṭ te* etc., we have no assimilation (whereas in *taṭ-ṭikā*, *ṭṭe*, etc., we have it). So also in the combinations like *viśna*, *praśna*, etc., there is no assimilation (whereas in *yācñā*, *yajña*, etc., there is). The cases have been explained by Pāṇini with the help of a number of aphorisms (*apavāda-sūtra*) like *na padāntāṭ* (*for anām*, *śāt*, etc. Moreover, there are some cases where more than one forms are possible—of which some are with assimilation and some are without it. Cf. *prāṇk-ṣaṣṭhaḥ*, *sugaṇṭ-ṣaṣṭhaḥ*, etc. beside *prāṇkh-ṣaṣṭhaḥ*, *sugaṇṭh-ṣaṣṭhaḥ* etc. Grammarians have made alternative provisions (*vaikalpika-vidhāna*) for them. How would a philologist explain these cases? The answer is very simple. It is admitted by all that a philological law, unlike a natural law, is not absolute. Assimilation, it may be particularly noted, is meant for the ease of articulation. If a word can be smoothly pronounced without assimilation of consecutive

<sup>1</sup> According to some, some of these are historical survivals and some are analogical.

sounds, there is nothing to object to. Assimilation, however, makes its nunciation more smooth and easy.

Though the technical term Assimilation is used by the modern linguists,<sup>1</sup> the ancient Indian grammarians had a clear idea of this phenomenon. As already pointed out, the rules of grammar stating different changes of sound have a guiding principle which is the same as the principle of Assimilation admitted by the philologists. Nay, Pāṇini, the celebrated author of the most ancient of the extant texts on grammar, has actually referred to the phenomenon of the assimilation of dissimilar sounds in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. He uses the expression *parasavarṇa* in the aphorism *anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ* (VIII. 4. 58) and *pūrvasya* (i.e., *pūrvasavarṇa*) in the aphorism *udāḥ sthā-stambhoḥ pūrvasya* (VIII. 4. 61) which are exactly corresponding to the Regressive and the Progressive Assimilations of the philologists. These *parasavarṇa* and *pūrvasavarṇa* are also understood in a number of following aphorisms of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. So it is clear that while formulating these aphorisms the idea of the assimilation of dissimilar sounds (cf. *savarṇa*) worked in Pāṇini's mind. The aphorisms like *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ*, *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*, etc., where there is no reference to *para/paūrva-savarṇa*, also, as already discussed, speak of no other phenomenon than that of Assimilation. The remark of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita in his *Siddhānta-kāumudī* under VIII. 4. 45 of Pāṇini, *sthāna-prayatnābhyām antarātame sparśe caritārtho vidhir ayam rephe na pravartate caturmukhaḥ*, whereby he means to say that in a combination like *catur + mukha* the *r* sound is not nasalised by the rule *yaro'nunāsike 'nunāsiko vā* (VIII 4, 45) because it has got no corresponding nasal sound to which it is similar both in position (*uccāraṇa-sthāna*) and in effort of articulation (*ābhyantara-prayatna*) because no other sound than a plosive one can be so similar to a nasal sound (the effort or *ābhyantara-prayatna* of a non-plosive being different from that of a plosive nasal which may follow the former in a combination)—does really refer to the phenomenon of Assimilation. In a combination like *etad + murāri* > *etan-murāri* the *d* sound is nasalised by way of assimilation with the following labial nasal, but in *catur + mukha* the labial nasal cannot nasalise the preceding *r* sound because *r* has got no corresponding nasal sound (unlike *y*, *v*, *l*). The cerebral nasal (*ṇ*) cannot be taken as the corresponding nasal sound of *r* because belongs it to a quite different class (i.e., plosive).<sup>2</sup>

It has to be noted, in this connection, that the remark of Bhaṭṭoji, viz., *sparśe caritārtho vidhir ayam*, is going too far. As a matter of fact,

<sup>1</sup> The term *samīkaraṇa* or *samībhavana* (lit. making or being similar) is a modern Sanskrit rendering of the English word 'Assimilation'. The three types of Assimilation, viz., Progressive Regressive and Mutual are rendered into Sanskrit as *pragata*, *parāgata* and *anyonya* respectively.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *rephoḥmanāḥ savarṇā na santi* (*Mahābhāṣya*, II) and *anunāsika-parasavarṇa-vidhāne hi sthānentarātama-paribhāṣopasth-nād dogūbhāvah/na hi repḥasya ṇa-kāro 'ntarātamaḥ* (*Pradīpa* thereunder)—chowkhamba (Benares) Edition, p. 107.

in the combinations like *kamal + murāriḥ*, *vrkṣav + netā*, *l* and *v* can be easily nasalised by way of assimilation with the following nasal sounds because they do have corresponding nasal sounds (*l̃*, *ṽ*).<sup>1</sup> The general statement of Bhaṭṭoji, however, seems to be due to the fact that *kamal-murāriḥ*, *vrkṣav-netā*, etc., are not in use in the current language. Cf. .

*prasiddha-prayogābhiprāyeṇedam uktam | kamal murāriḥ, vrkṣav netā ityāḍau lakṣra-vakārayor anunāsika-pravṛttau bādhakābhāvāt | sparśa-syaivesyatu iti prāco granthānurodhena sparśa-bhinneṣu anunāsika-vidhir na pravartate, anabhidhānād iti vā yojyam ||*<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *anunāsikānanunāsika-bhedena ya-va l̃ dvidhā* (*Siddhāntakaumudī*, under rule No. 14, *an̐ udit savarṇasya*)

<sup>2</sup> The *Tattvabodhinī* Commentary on the *Siddhāntakaumudī*, under rule No. 116. *yaṛo nunāsikē*.

# ARNOLD'S CRITICAL THEORY

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“ To see the object as in itself it really is ”—that is the first duty of the critic in every branch of human life. In the exercise of this insight, the creative artist and the critic are alike. But the exercise of the creative power is not possible in all periods ; and “ labour may be vainly spent in attempting it, which might with more fruit be used in preparing for it, in rendering it possible.” This is the task of the critic, but for whose activity the great creative epochs are not likely to emerge. To save the national literature, Arnold felt that there should arise a sound and enlightened criticism. The function of criticism is then to introduce an atmosphere of sanity and wisdom for a proper growth of literature. The critic accordingly should ‘ keep aloof from practice,’ from practical problems of his own day. Strangely enough Arnold himself dabbled in these problems to such an extent that his outlook became biased and harsh, his expression turning ironical.

The elements or materials with which the creative power works are ideas, ‘ the best ideas.’ These ideas are set in motion by the critic who discovers and analyses them. And “ the grand work of literary genius is a work of synthesis and exposition.” In order to achieve this, the creative artist must be “ inspired by a certain intellectual and spiritual atmosphere, by a certain order of ideas, when it finds itself in them.” The atmosphere is the most important thing, for the production of the great work needs not merely ‘ the power of the man,’ but ‘ power of the moment.’ The moment is that surcharged with the best ideas which are not in the control of the creative power. It is criticism that “ tends to establish an order of ideas,” and it also tends “ to make the best ideas prevail.” Byron could not give enduring poetry like Goethe because only Goethe’s creative power was “ nourished by a great critical effort.” It is “ the free play of the mind upon all subjects that provides the necessary atmosphere.” Such an activity “must be sincere, simple, flexible, ardent, ever widening its knowledge.” And then alone can it have “ a joyful sense of creative activity.” The critical activity is thus a very important one, and the critic is a unique person charged with a serious responsibility.

In 1902 Herbert Paul wrote : " Arnold did not merely criticise books himself. He taught others how to criticise them. He laid down principles, if he did not always keep the principles he laid down." Arnold repudiated the duty of laying down abstract laws and principles. Still he offers a few principles to guide the critic in his task ; and to this extent he is the critic's critic. This function gave him a certain vantage point in that he relates the critic primarily to the society. Consequently he analyses not so much the work of art, as the critic himself.

The critic has a duty to perform. He must see that 'the best ideas' prevail ; and then will arise " an intellectual situation of which creative power can profitably avail itself." The critic has to prepare an atmosphere which the poet will fathom in answering the question ' how to live.' Criticism thus is a movement for social reform.

The critical and creative epochs are those of concentration and expansion. They presuppose one another. Since the Romantic movement did not have its proper data, since it lacked sufficient materials, Arnold argues that the poetry of this period " did not know enough." The French Revolution was only a great movement of feeling, while the Renaissance was one of mind. But the historical process is not so neatly simple as this. Whether the atmosphere of ideas is always necessary is debatable. Even though the French Revolution ended as a great movement of feeling, it did originate in the ideas spread by the Encyclopaedists and others. Nothing but an undue predilection in favour of the Elizabethan age can make one underrate the true character and influence of the French Revolution. When the accessibility to ideas and the supremacy of pure reason or intelligence are advocated, customs, habits and affections of a nation which mark the literature of the nation as specific are bound to be disregarded.

The critic has a mission. He has to bring literature out into the society. His duty is " disinterested endeavour to learn and propagate the best that is known and thought in the world, and thus to establish a current of fresh and true ideas." Here are three activities. First he must learn, he must " see things as they really are." Next he must " propagate " the ideas he thus acquires, he should " make the best ideas prevail." Finally, he must pave the way for an atmosphere suitable for the emergence and development of the future creative genius. He should promote " a current of ideas in the highest degree animating and nourishing to the creative power." In other words the critic's chief duty is to promote that aspect of culture which depends upon the knowledge of literature. This culture has two inseparable aspects. The first is " curiosity " which is a " desire after the things of the mind

simply for their own sakes and for the pleasure of seeing them as they are." Next it involves "the moral and social passion for doing good." It is a desire to spread this study of perfection. The culture of the critic makes him a propagandist.

What is the 'disinterested endeavour?' It is not merely seeing a thing as it is in itself. It is not an activity without any ulterior motive. This endeavour is activated by the desire of intellectual and moral perfection. The critic is to be disinterested in the sense that he must set his face against anything that goes counter to this perfection. As he said in his essay on *Heine*: "The enthusiast for the idea, for reason, values reason, the ideas, in and for themselves; he values them irrespectively of the practical conveniences which their triumph may obtain for him." In other words, this enthusiast is the opposite of the philistine. The critic has to emancipate himself from the interest of the philistine. And at the same time he should subject himself to the so-called noble interests of intellectual and moral perfection. This is not a 'disinterested endeavour.'

When Arnold appears to argue a case he does not depend so much on an appeal to reason as on an appeal to emotion or feeling. It makes his manner 'stagy.' This rhetorical pose is a mask he wore too often. And his disinterestedness looks like 'a critical strategy' which is meant to make his ideas acceptable.

As a disposition, disinterestedness means a number of things which Arnold sought to express in his own poems. It is 'the ideal of serenity, of the possession of one's own spirit.' He describes it as 'the Indian virtue of detachment' as outlined in the *Gita* (Letters to Clough of March 1, 4, 8 of 1884). This virtue, he says, consists of 'repose, dignity and inward clearness.' Because of this, he observes that "literary criticism takes no account of a doctrine's novelty or heterodoxy." And yet in October, 1863, he wrote that "everything turns upon one's exercising the power of *persuasion*, of *charm*, that without this all fury, energy, reasoning power, acquirement, are thrown away and only render their owner more miserable. Even in one's ridicule one must preserve a sweetness and good-humour." The art of persuasion is bound to have definite conclusion. But Arnold observes: "I wish to decide nothing as of my own authority; the great art of criticism is to get oneself out of the way and to let humanity decide." This is laudable. But throughout his life, Arnold strove after such a disinterestedness of disposition and yet dabbled in practical problems in which he could not remain a disinterested onlooker. The latter role culminated in his *Culture and Anarchy*.



The main business of the critic is to place himself at the point of view of the artist he is to study, to go through the work of art from within, to recreate for himself the artist's experience. But Arnold's critic has to study literature with certain preconceived ideas of perfection. These ideas are apt to interfere with his understanding and criticism of the work. Such an interference is evident in Arnold's essays on Byron and Shelley. He not only underestimated Shelley, but swept away a number of poets with the wand of high seriousness. He never sought to show the author as a living being.

The critic has to interpret his authors to the public. Here he functions as a social being who should reject the "ulterior, political, practical considerations about ideas" in order to "communicate fresh knowledge." This knowledge he has to acquire from "the best that is known and thought in the world." And yet we are told that "criticism is essentially the exercise" of the "disinterested love of a free play of the mind" on all subjects, for its own sake." In other words, Arnold's loyalties are divided between moral ideas and aesthetic values. This led him, in spite of his admirable estimate of Burns, to decry him because of his "scotch drink, scotch religion, and scotch manners."

"The English critic of literature, therefore, must dwell much on foreign thought, and with particular heed on any part of it, which while significant and fruitful in itself, is for any reason specially likely to escape him." In order to find "the best that is known and thought in the world," the critic "should try to possess one great literature, at least, besides his own; and the more unlike his own, the better." This will enable the critic to employ the comparative methods about which Longinus spoke in considerable detail. Such a method tends to give rise to certain principles of interpretation and criticism which can claim universality. This is best realised when the critic possesses the literature of at least two countries that differ from one another considerably.

Still there is no reason why we should believe that the critic alone prepares atmosphere necessary for the creative activity. There may be many others who participate in this endeavour. Winckelmann was no critic, and yet the awakening in Germany was due to him as much as it was due to others. The Renaissance in England was not the work of the critic entirely. Sometimes even the ideas which are not formally correct can give rise to the creative activity. As Eliot remarked, Arnold "was apt to think of the greatness of poetry rather than of its genuineness." Genuine poetry depends on the moment of poetic experience; and the poetic moment was Arnold's greatest enemy throughout his criticism.

2. Arnold's theory of poetry is sufficiently Aristotelian. Poetry, he observes, is a 'representation' 'which is consistently drawn' and which is 'interesting' because 'it gratifies the natural interest of man in knowledge of all kinds.' It 'adds to our knowledge only when it is particular, precise, and firm.' Not only should it interest us, it must also 'inspire and rejoice,' it must 'convey a charm, and infuse delight.'

The choice of an excellent action is necessary for great poetry. It has to be developed in such a way that the work of art exhibits an organic unity. The total impression produced by such an organic unity is a state of pleasure. Accordingly Arnold rejects the view that the poet should express his own personal or individual emotions and feelings. "No great poetical work has ever been produced with such an aim." On the other hand, "What distinguishes the artist from the mere amateur, says Goethe, is Architectonice in the highest sense; that power of execution, which creates, forms and constitutes; not the profoundness of single thoughts, not the richness of imagery, not the abundance of illustration."

As Aristotle said, the plot is the chief thing. The poet's primary task is 'to select an excellent action.' The actions to be selected are "those which most powerfully appeal to the great primary human affections; to those elementary feelings which subsist permanently in the race, and which are independent of time." "The eternal objects of poetry" are accordingly said to be 'human actions' which have 'an inherent interest in themselves.' By action he means with Aristotle that it is 'inward man' as revealed in 'feelings and behaviour.' The creative artist should know "the all importance of the choice of a subject, the necessity of accurate construction, and the subordinate character of expression." This is in happy opposition to Dryden's view that 'the story is the least part,' and that workmanship is the important one. Arnold also resurrected the unity of action. In a work of art "the action shall be vigorously one, and to that one action everything shall converge." Applying this Aristotelian dogma he finds himself unable to appreciate *Anna Karenina* where we are said to have 'two main actions.'

The preference for a 'total impression' is sadly given up in favour of 'brilliant' single lines and passages, when Arnold came to formulate his touchstone method. Moreover in the 1853 Volume there are plenty of instances showing Arnold's deviations from his principles. At the close of *Tristram and Iseult* there is the tale of Vivien's seduction of Merlin; and this has not only no connection with the main poem but it spoils the unity. It spoils that symmetry of design which Arnold deplored in his contemporaries. The expansive similes break the evolution of *Sohrab and Rustum* and *Balder Dead*. More specifically, the closing lines of

*Sohrab and Rustum* form an unnecessary appendage, thereby violating Arnold's classical principles. The thought in *The Scholar Gipsy* and *Thyrsis*, sayd Stuart Sherman, "is a bit too this to bear triumphantly the weight of all the flowers which Arnold had strung upon it." The last two stanzas of *The Scholar Gipsy* do not fit into the pattern of the poem.

The admirable image, expression, rhythm or construction is often combined with the impossible in Arnold's work. This unevenness which he complained in Wordsworth and Byron characterises his poems like *Balder Dead* and *The Church of Brou*. Such unevenness is the product of two rival theories influencing him. As against the theory outlined in the preface, he told Chough in February, 1849, that the specific feature of poetry lies in form ; and that the wealth and depth of matter are superfluous. The two aspects of form are style and structure, *i.e.* expression and conception. As he said in his own *Resignation*, "Not deep the Poet sees but wide." And yet *Empedocles on Etna* was written, published, withdrawn in 1853, and reprinted in 1867 if only "at the request of a man of genius, whom it had the favour and good fortune to interest,—Mr. Robert Browning."

The grand style "arises in poetry when a noble nature, poetically gifted, treats with simplicity or with severity a serious subject." The serious subject, however, cannot be found in an 'era of progress,' in the period of industrial development,' in an age wanting in moral grandeur.' Simplicity and severity may be virtues. But why should the artist exclude the complex ? Arnold finds simplicity in Homer, and severity in Milton. Severity means 'gorgeousness severely restrained.' As Saintsbury pointed out, this is "a fresh formulation of the Classical restraint, definiteness, proportion, form, against the Romantic vague, the Romantic fantasy." Such a view completely applicable only to Dante is raised to the status of an absolute principle of all great literature. The ideals Arnold places before us are European, not essentially English. The classic doctrine belongs to Latin and Greek cultures. His doctrine of ideas which is a doctrine of pure intelligence is one belonging to the citizens of the world.

"The mass of current literature," said Arnold, "is so much better disregarded." Evidently he wants only one kind of literature and that should be the greatest. This is expecting too much. Moreover, the classics do not need the critic's endeavours. It is the other works that ought to be examined by the critic so that the creative artists and the public alike may know how best such works can be improved. Arnold's taste is not comprehensive. Even the subjects he chose are those which are capable of eliciting his views about moral ideas and society. Such

are his studies of Wordsworth, Heine, Amiel, Guerin, Byron and Shelley. These essays are directed to find the nature of great literature which can admit no charlatanism.

3. In this light he offers a definition of literature. "Poetry is a criticism of life under the conditions fixed for such a criticism by the laws of poetic truth and beauty." These laws, he admits, apply only to poetry, not to the other forms of literature. The definition moves in a vicious circle. It defines poetry with reference to something poetic while we are not aware of the meaning of the term. Let us take the first part. "The greatness of a poet lies in his powerful and beautiful application of ideas to life." These are not any ideas but moral ideas. So he observes: "A poetry of revolt against moral ideas is a poetry of revolt against *life*, a poetry of indifference towards moral ideas is a poetry of indifference towards *life*." The expression 'moral idea' is wide enough to include everything that "bears upon the question, 'how to live.'" Life being no other than moral life, the business of literature appears to be an interpretation of life in the light of the moral ideas we have. "Morals" he argues, "are bound up with systems of thought and belief which have had their day," and they should be emancipated, for "Poetry is the reality, philosophy the illusion." This reality, however, is "a criticism of life"; and it is a criticism which is capable of superseding both religion and philosophy. That is, though Arnold rejects philosophy in poetry, he demands of it religious and philosophic satisfaction. And because it can offer this satisfaction he observes that "the future of poetry is immense." Consequently by 'criticism of life' Arnold seeks to reaffirm the importance of the so-called *poetic subject* as against the claims of the *poetic moment*. Consequently he observes: "More and more mankind will discover that we have to turn to poetry to interpret life for us, to console us, to sustain us." But he tells a different tale when he finds this interpretation in a novel.

In the essay on Tolstoy we read: "The truth is we are not to take *Anna Karenina* as a work of art; we are to take it as piece of life. A piece of life it is. The author has not invented and combined it, he has seen it; it has all happened before his inward eye, and it was in this wise that it happened.... The author saw it all happening—saw it, and therefore relates it; and what his novel in this way loses in art it gains in reality." It is not possible to know how the art of the novel loses just when it gains in reality. Arnold seems to argue that the artist should reject those very elements which would make the work a success; and it succeeds in presenting life. If the presentation of life is not the excellent material, where can we have the materials for art?

But elsewhere when he takes up an author whom he likes, he forgets his own strictures on Tolstoy. Thus we find him stating: "Wordsworth's poetry is great because of the extraordinary power with which Wordsworth feels the joy offered to us in nature, the joy offered to us in the simple primary affections and duties; and because of the extraordinary power with which, in case after case, he shows us this joy, and renders it so as to make us share in it." Wordsworth's feeling of joy by itself is not enough. It is the joy "in the simple primary affections and duties" that raises his poetry. And in his ability to make us participate in this joy, his poetry acquires its value. Here the criticism of life is no longer a moral interpretation of life, no longer a powerful poetic application of moral ideas to life. Conveniently enough he forgets the moral ideas and hypostasizes the "joy in the widest commonally spread." In the same light he speaks of the ideas as those "on man, on nature, and on human life."

Poetry thus exists as 'a criticism of life' at two different levels. At one level it is an application of moral ideas and consequently it emphasizes the value of the poetic subject. At the other level it is a communication of joy felt in the primary affections and duties, and then it emphasizes the value of the poetic moment. Because it is found in Wordsworth, Arnold seems to tolerate the latter in Wordsworth's poetry. But in others it is not allowable since Arnold has not progressed in his views after his preface of 1853.

Moreover, Arnold observes that "poetry is nothing less than the most perfect speech of man, that in which he comes nearest to being able to utter the truth." By truth Arnold does not mean that intangible something which the critics from Aristotle onwards designated poetic truth. As a typical Greek in his outlook, Arnold would insist on the inseparability of wisdom from virtue; he would even prefer to equate the two. Then the so-called poetic truth is that wisdom which has its counterpart in virtue. And since he interpreted life as moral life, the laws of poetic truth are a mere enphuism for a moral interpretation. Such an interpretation characterises the great work according to Arnold.

Accordingly we are informed that poetry presents 'the powerful application of ideas to life.' This is "an application under the conditions fixed by the laws of poetic truth and poetic beauty." Now "those laws fix as an essential condition.....high seriousness which comes from absolute sincerity." Out of the laws of poetic truth and poetic beauty, he derives sincerity; and this sincerity begets high seriousness which can evidently refer only to the poet's subject matter. However, in his essay on Keats we find Arnold observing that "to see things in their beauty is to know

things in their truth," and that joy too goes with beauty. Truth, beauty, and joy are inseparable. When they are severed, there might arise a certain want of high seriousness. Consequently we find him stating : "The language of genuine poetry is the language of one composing with his eye on the subject ; its evolution is that of a thing which has been plunged in the poet's soul until it comes forth naturally and necessarily." This is a valuable principle in itself, and it tells again of the value of sincerity. But he is delightfully vague when he seeks to explain the laws of poetic beauty. The 'fascinating felicity,' the 'perfection of loveliness' as far as it concerns expression, is "one of the two great modes by which poetry interprets." This is the 'naturalistic interpretation' or 'natural magic.' The second great mode is said to be the 'faculty of moral interpretation.' Poetry thus is a moral interpretation, and at the same time it is an interpretation charged with natural magic, whatever the expression might mean. It should be beautiful and moralistic.

4. How are we to know that a work is the best one ? We have to depend on the views of critics whom we acclaim and believe. Why we should believe if their judgment is left unexplained. If he is pressed to explain, Arnold answers that the high qualities of literature lie both in the matter and substance of the poetry, and in the manner and style, and that these have "a mark, an accent, of high beauty, worth and power." The substance and matter of a great poem possesses "truth and seriousness." This feature is "inseparable from the superiority of diction and movement." Arnold admits that this is all Aristotelian. Quoting Aristotle, he remarks that "the superiority of poetry over history consists in its possessing a higher truth and a higher seriousness."

By high seriousness Aristotle may have meant grand, elevated or lofty. But in the hands of Arnold this concept appears to refer to moral ideas. He convicts Chaucer and Burns of a certain absence of high seriousness, evidently because they do not present a rigorous moralising vein. 'Chaucer's poetry,' he observes, 'has truth of substance' ; and it has the 'divine liquidness of diction,' 'divine fluidity of movement.' And yet Chaucer is not a great classic because he does not have the accent of the great classics. To prove this Arnold compares him with Dante and correctly notes Chaucer's inferiority. And yet on this point of high seriousness Arnold does not compare Chaucer with Wordsworth, nor does he contrast Wordsworth with Dante. When Gray can be viewed as a classic and not Chaucer, one wonders whether Arnold is offering a real estimate.

Arnold cautions us against the historic and personal estimates. The historic estimate praises a work not for what it really is, but for what it is in the course of the development of language and literature. The personal

estimate is equally faulty. "Our personal affinities, likings, and circumstances, have great power to sway our estimate of this or that poet's work." And Arnold's battle against the philistines accordingly made him admire Byron. His personal prejudices in favour of Gray made him over estimate Gray's poetical worth, and his anti-mystic and anti-philosophic bias coupled with his moralising attitude made him put down Shelley. Even his study of Wordsworth presents the poet as very much similar to Arnold himself. In his essay on Shelley he seeks "to mark firmly what is ridiculous and odious in the Shelley brought to our knowledge by the new materials, and then to show that our former beautiful and lovable Shelley nevertheless survives." It is a queer real estimate which does not show the survival of the 'beautiful and lovable Shelley'; for, there has arisen 'an ineffectual angel' and no Shelley.

Arnold emphasises the value of total impression; and yet he rejects the personal estimate. The personal likes and dislikes may not enable one to determine the real value of a work. But if the value is determined by, or revealed in, the total impression, there is no way out; for, the total impression is a personal experience. And the evaluation resulting from it is a personal estimate. It becomes one with the real estimate when it is universal.

Sometimes the historic estimate might be of value for it tends to expose an imitator or a follower. The comparison of *Christabel* with the *Lay of Last Minstrel* is a case in point. Similarly do we make comparisons between Spenser and his imitators, between the blank verse of Shakespeare and that of Milton. The historical method is imperceptibly present in the comparative method.

In arguing his point Arnold employs 'the powerful rhythms, the delicate balance, the repetitions, the sense for climax.' These contrivances appeal to the reader's feeling or emotion, not to his reason. A similar rhetorical prose he decried when he found it in Macaulay. Garrod calls it his 'stagy' manner. A great many of his poems and notably his *Empedocles*, *Scholar Gipsy* and *Thyrsis*, express his discontent with intellectualism. And when he says that the 'grand style simple' is superior to the 'grand style severe,' we have the same note. This dominant strain makes him dogmatic in his assertions. He mentions four specific qualities of Homer, and gives no reason why they are specific or why the number cannot be increased or decreased.

Yet in arguing for the real estimate Arnold was in effect telling the English critic realise that he is first a European. Accordingly he holds up Goethe as an ideal and he constantly praises France. He speaks of the German and Jewish excellence in his essays on Heine and Spinoza; and

he gave lectures on Celtic Literature, Underneath all this is his praise of form, of the "passion for perfection." The real estimate arises out of an awareness of the absolute beauty and truth of the work. The sense of form merging in truth and beauty once again reveals the contribution of the disinterested endeavour. But in this it is hard to dissociate the personal estimate from the real one. In his essay on Wordsworth Arnold tried to face this difficulty, well aware of the situation.

5. How should the critic discover 'the best that is known and thought in the world?' In answering this question Arnold is true to the empiricist tradition of Britain. He asks us to depend on the taste that emerges after a prolonged and continuous experience with beautiful poems and ideas. As he observes: "Critics give themselves great labour to draw out what in the abstract constitutes the characteristic of a high quality of poetry. It is much better simply to have recourse to concrete examples;—to take specimens of poetry of the high, the very highest quality, and to say: The characters of a high Quality of poetry are what is expressed *there*." This is the only way to arrive at the 'real estimate.' It eliminates the false valuation offered by the historical and personal estimates. This touchstone method comes from Longinus who spoke of passages wherein we recognise "the beauty and truth of the sublime" because such passages "always please and please all readers," because they make "the utmost demand on the attention," because their sweep is so irresistible that they "take so strong a hold on the memory that they cannot be forgotten." He further went on to say that we should ask, how Homer would have expressed it, and how Homer would have reacted to it. Likewise, Arnold observes that the best way of discovering the best poetry is "to have always in one's mind lines and expressions of the great masters, and to apply them as touchstone to other poetry."

So long as we have the really best passages of poetry as our models, their method will work well. Such are the lines:

"if thou didst ever hold me in thy heart,  
Absent thee from felicity a while,  
And in this harsh world draw thy breath in pain  
To tell my story."

Arnold gives some of the finest lines from Homer, Dante and Shakespeare. He omits Virgil. And he gives, beside other passages, from Milton:

"And courage never to submit or yield  
And what is else not to be overcome."

Whatever may be the nature of the moral or of the sentiment, these lines do not have that diction and movement necessary for a great passage. These lines have redundant words and phrases. This choice of the poeti-



cally weakest passage as the best one betrays Arnold's preconceptions in the choice. He chose this passage not for its poetry, but for its moral value. If the best poetry were to be no other than a bald or indifferent statement of a moral idea, then surely Arnold has missed the right use of the touchstone method. After all Arnold himself said that the choice of the best passages depends upon judgment and tact ; and here he reveals a defect of a tact and judgment.

6. Arnold applies the cosmopolitan point of view to English literature. A purely European standard is bound to be unjust when applied to an intensely national product. As Raleigh said, " In a certain sense, Matthew Arnold's attitude to English literature was that of a foreigner." When he wants to show how poetry ought to be written, he prefers to give a line of Homer, or Dante, or Goethe. With these lines, in his armoury, he proceeds to pronounce his dogmatic judgments. But he does not realise the part played by 'differences of language, of aim, of circumstance.' He does not offer his arguments. " He believed in dogma and authority as engines of practical good, and in an academy as a means of literary salvation." Nothing is more dogmatic and whimsical than the attempt to judge the value of two different poets by comparing simple lines. When he takes up a line of Chaucer and sets it against one of Dante, he chooses an indifferent line from Chaucer. Determined to place Dante above Chaucer, he lets his personal whim to make an arbitrary selection. And all this Arnold does quite seriously, and as Raleigh said, he " is willing to write a whole dissertation on the two poets by the light of these two lines."

7. Arnold extends the domain of criticism. The first series of *Essays in Criticism* abounds in essays which have a religious interest. All this is said to be literary criticism, for the literary critic has "to try books as to the influence which they are calculated to have upon the general culture of single nations or of the world at large." The two Guerins and Marcus Aurelius appealed to him because they are deeply religious and because they are characterised by melancholy. Joubert is an intensely spiritual being with a high and calm intelligence. Doubt and passion, seriousness and melancholy appear in Heine. All these qualities have their echoes in Arnold. Arnold's personal likes are determinants in the choice of these subjects. In each essay again there appears Goethe in some form or other ; and Goethe was Arnold's ideal along with Homer, Sophocles, Dante and Shakespeare. These subjects represent certain ideals which Arnold earlier portrayed in his poems,

Guerin's life has an ideal meaning like that of the *Scholar Gipsy*. Joubert resembles *Balder* in embodying the spirit of culture and in his aversion to

controversy. Marcus Aurelius recalls his *Iseult*. All these represent the aspects of disinterestedness which Arnold wants the critic to cultivate. These are, as E. K. Brown remarked, "the unity of aim, generous elevation of feeling, the love of light and of calm, the devotion to nature, the predominance of spirit over all else."

This is a self-imposed limitation on the exercise of his critical faculty. The other limitation is outlined in the essay on Joubert. He does not take up authors of great genius whose fame agrees with their powers, because the critic here can only talk of himself. "The interest one's readers receive has to do, in general, rather with the treatment than with the subject." For a similar reason he rejects the authors whose powers fell short of genius and who yet won more fame than they deserved. And so he chose authors of genius who have not yet won a recognition equal to their powers. Here the interest of the reader will be in the subject and the reader will have "a sense of an immediate contact with genius itself." While the authors of the first two varieties provoke criticism of judgement in the third variety we find judgment which "almost insensibly forms itself in a fair and clear mind, along with fresh knowledge." In other words, the critic here ceases to be a law-giver, and becomes a 'companion and clue.' Thereby he can exhibit a 'disinterested endeavour.'

8. When the second series of the *Essays in Criticism* are considered, we find this endeavour more acutely. He pleads for justice to Wordsworth who was till then rated lower than what he deserves. And yet he endeavours not to appear as an ardent Wordsworthian. He seeks to show that his is not a personal estimate. By rejecting the claims advanced by the ardent Wordsworthians, he wants to tell the reader that his is a discriminating admiration. The disinterested disposition here appears as "flexibility, perceptiveness, and judgment, which are the best fruits of letters."

In his essays on Heine he remarks that Byron "was an ordinary nineteenth century English gentleman, with little culture and with no ideas." But in the essay on Byron he presents a crusader against the sham in the political and social life about him. He came to his essay on Shelley fresh from his political writing on the Irish Question. Edward Dowden's *Life of Shelley* provoked the essay; and Arnold's Irish politics did not leave him unbiased. So he asks: "Is it that the Home Rulers have so loaded the language that even an Irishman who is not one of them catches something of their full habit of style?" He refers to a servant of Shelley's and greets him as "bearing the prophetic name of Healy." Only eight pages in forty-eight are devoted to revealing the "former beautiful and lovable Shelley" and in these pages he shows no trace of the enthusiasm

that he needed in arriving at the real estimate. The entire essay is the product of a biased conservative annoyed by the exploits of Gladstone. The generosity that he showed in his handling of Byron is gone ; and he was aware of it. He thought of writing another essay on the poetry of Shelley, and he was willing to contribute the volume on Shelley for the 'English Men of Letters' series.

More than the principles he enunciated, Arnold is valuable for his critical studies. Where he erred grievously, he shows the likely pitfalls to be carefully avoided by the critic.

# AS MEN HAVE PLEDGED

TREVOR GOODGER-HILL

As men have pledged  
action to elusive coin  
and tempered pleasure  
stains chiselled nights  
so am I the curved bone  
of the destined children  
and discharged spume.

The paradox opens to  
countless interpretation.

Sire me my children  
and sicken me well  
till I transcend you.  
In the long room  
dripping degeneration  
of crumbling pedestals  
where dayfall passes  
all misunderstanding  
and seasons scratch  
the scattered fragments  
the arched robin's throat  
echoes to the marble cry  
of dying worms.

With conflict absent  
there is no reconciliation  
and the running ochre  
under carved fingernails  
slides free like water  
through the sieve's nostrils.  
Will you love me  
as the day you die  
so I can take you there.

## Reviews and Notices of Books

**Jumbo Spencer**—By Helen Cresswell. Published by Brockhampton Press, Leicester, U.K. [Pages 119. Price 8/6. Illustrated by Clixby Watson.

A refreshing contribution to juvenile literature, the first in a series of adventures of the splendid character of a school boy. Jumbo, an ingenious 'leader of men', must always be doing something, lest he would die of boredom. He is 'to do something pretty big' with a school holiday. His first plan is to reform his village, 'to sweep it clean of vice and poverty, to turn out the darkest corners and let in the light',—to put Shoredale on the map.

The episodes are followed with breathless interest. The funniest scene is that of the baby kidnapped by Bert Stiggins (the villain of the piece, ultimately reformed though), who desperately tries to feed it with buns and lemonade, and sings, with his associates, the chorus of a lullaby, 'Baa baa black sheep'! They wonder 'that its mouth occupies half its face'. Cyril, holding the wailing baby, cries out in consternation: "I can't hold it! It wriggles. I might drop it and break it".

Equally enjoyable is the sight of the small boy rehearsing the role of 'Foxy Fred the Poultry Thief', with little legs locked in the stocks, and inviting rotten eggs and tomatoes to be thrown at him, and getting his hair matted with egg yolk running in rich yellow streams down the front of his white shirt, just for the fun of it all.

Mrs. Cresswell shows perfect understanding of the mind of little boys and girls, their curiosity, their ambition, and their adventurous spirit. The common rivalry between groups of village boys has been healthily worked up.

**Jumbo Spencer** will be a hitting success on the screen.

K. Labiri

## **Ourselves**

### **MEMBERS TO THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION**

Professor S N. Bose, National Professor of Physics, attached to the University of Calcutta and Dr. S. M. Sarkar, University Professor of Botany, have been appointed as members of the Regional Advisory Committee of the Board of Agricultural Education for Region No. III of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research under the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Government of India.

### **PROMOTION OF THE STUDY OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU'S TEACHINGS**

The Ministry of Education, Government of India, has formulated a scheme for the promotion of the study of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru's Teachings in all Universities in India. Accordingly the Assistant Educational Adviser to the Government in the Ministry of Education has enquired if universities are interested in implementing the scheme during the current financial year. The scheme is as follows :—

#### **I—THE SCHEME**

The Indian Universities that decide to participate in this scheme may arrange each year on their own a series of three lectures of about one hour each on Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Philosophy and Teachings. They may choose any speaker that they think best for the purpose. The topic, as well as the time for the lectures, may be settled by the University concerned direct with the speaker selected by it. In due course, the Government of India may consider printing these lectures if found suitable, in a series of volumes in order to enable other universities, institutions and persons to benefit from the same. The copyright of these lectures will, therefore, vest in the Government of India. To facilitate this, it would be preferable if the lecturer is requested by the University to write out the manuscript of the lectures before these are delivered. The manuscripts should be forwarded to the Ministry of Education as soon as possible after the series of lectures has been delivered.

## II—FINANCIAL OBLIGATIONS

The Government of India will pay to each participating University the actual expenditure incurred up to a ceiling of Rs. 1,400 for series of lectures to cover the honorarium, T.A. and D.A. to the lecturer. Local hospitality for the purpose, and any other expenditure involved, will have to be borne entirely by the University concerned.

## III—DURATION OF THE SCHEME

For the present, the scheme will operate for the duration of the remaining period (1965-66) of the Third Five-Year Plan. It is likely to be continued during the Fourth Plan Period.

## IV—PROCEDURE FOR APPLYING FOR A GRANT

Each participating university should intimate to the Ministry of Education by November, 1965, the name of the speaker, proposed by it for delivering the series of lectures during the following financial year, along with the estimate of expenditure to be incurred on the same, to enable the Ministry to make necessary provision in its budget. After lectures have been delivered, the University should send to the Ministry a duly certified statement of account indicating the actual expenditure incurred on the payment of honorarium and T.A. and D.A. to the lecturer. On receipt of this, the requisite amount will be reimbursed to the university.



## Notifications

### UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification No. C/T58/79 (Affl.)

It is hereby notified for general information that in extension of the affiliation already granted, the Berhampore Girls' College has been affiliated in Political Science to the B.A. Hons. standard with effect from the commencement of the session 1965-66 i.e. with permission to present candidates in the abovementioned subject at the B.A. Part I Examination in 1967 and B.A. Part II examination in 1968 and not earlier.

Senate House,  
Calcutta.  
*The 21st September, 1965.*

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
*Registrar.*

### UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

NOTIFICATION  
No. C/750/123(Affl.)

It is hereby notified for general information that in extension of the affiliation already granted, the Uluberia College has been affiliated in Elective Bengali to the Pre-University Arts standard and in Alternative Bengali to the B.A. Pass standard, Bengali to the B.A. Honours standard with effect from the commencement of the session 1965-66 i.e. with permission to present candidates in the above mentioned subjects at the Pre-University examination in 1966, B.A. Part I examination in 1967 and B.A. Part II examination in 1968 and not earlier.

Senate House,  
Calcutta.  
*The 25th September, 1965.*

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
*Registrar.*

### List of debarred candidates from various Universities and Boards

#### ANDHRA UNIVERSITY

Name of Candidate	Examination	Action taken
Sri Chintalapudi Appala Raju	Pre-University	Debarred for 1 year

#### MYSORE UNIVERSITY

Sri K. A. Jose	B.E. (I.C.)	Results announced
Sri Parasuramappa Tenjil	Do.	The candidate is warned and results announced.
Sri Srinivasan Shivakumar	Do.	Results announced
Sri T. M. Haleshi	P.P.C. in Medicine	Do.
Sri P. N. Aswatha Naik	Pre-University	Do.
Sri K. G. Bheemachar	Pre-University	The candidate is not guilty of malpractice, Results announced.
Sm. M. Suphala	M.A. (Sociology)	The candidate is warned and results announced.



## M.S. UNIVERSITY OF BARODA

Sri Satish Chimanlal Mehta	3rd M.B.B.S., April, 1965.	Excluded from appearing at any examination before 31st December, 1965.
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## ROORKEE UNIVERSITY

Sri Chetan Lal	B.E. (Civil) Suppl. Exam., 1965.	Cancelled. Allowed to repeat the course during 1965-66.
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## SAUGAR UNIVERSITY

Sri R. K. Jain	B.Sc. (Pre.), 1965	Debarred for 5 years K H
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## UDAIPUR UNIVERSITY

Madan Lal Porwal	Pre-University (Arts)	For 1 year
Nand Lal Porwal	1st-year TDC (Arts)	Do.
Radhey Shyam Vyas	Final Year (Arts)	Do.
Bhanwar Singh Shakwat	Do.	Do.
Mahendra Kumar Babel	Pre-Univ. Science	Do.
Bharat Kumar Khandari	1st-year TDC (Sc.)	Do.
Anandilal Hiral	LL.B. (Prev.)	Do.

## TAKAL UNIVERSITY

Sri Tapangopal De	B.Sc. & B.Ed. (Technology) Part II.	Debarred for 1 year
Sri Srimanta Mukherjee	Do.	Do.
Sri Paramananda Naik	Annual Pre-Profes- sional Examina- tion, 1965.	Debarred for 2 years
Sri Kasinath Sahu	Do.	Debarred for 1 year
Sri Ramchandra Sahu	Do.	Do.
Sri Abhas Khan	Do.	Do.
Sri Balakrishna Rajguru	Annual Pre-Pro- fessional Exa- mination, 1965.	Debarred for 1 year
Sri Girish Chandra Pradhan	Do.	Do.
Sri Guruprasad Chhotrai	1st-Year Degree in Science.	Do.
Sri Ganapati Ghanduwal	Do.	Do.
Sri Gudraprasanna Mahapatra	Do.	Do.
Sri Basanta Kumar Panda	Do.	Do.
Sri Sibascharan Panda	Do.	Do.
Sri Tahali Charan Mohanty	Do.	Do.
Sri Ganeswar Rath	Do.	Do.
Sri Brundaban Bohera	1st-Year Degree Arts Examination, 1965.	Do.
Sri Nanda Kishore Das	Do.	Do.
Sri Alok Prasad Sahu	Do.	Do.
Sri Dharendra Kumar Sahu	Do.	Do.
Sri Nidhiram Sahu	Do.	Do.
Sri Pratap Kumar Chaudhuri	Do.	Do.
Sri Kalyankumar Ghosh	Do.	Do.
Sri Subash Chandra Jona	Do.	Do.
Sri Bhinaya Kumar Sahani	Do.	Do.
Sri Sitakanta Mohanty	Do.	Do.
Sri Suryamani Rout	Annual Final Part II Examination, 1965.	Do.
Sri Ananda Chandra Misra	Do.	Do.
Sri Pramod Chandra Tripathy	Do.	Do.
Sri Jagabandhu Das	Do.	Do.
Sri Muralidhar Mohanty	Do.	Do.
Sri Jayakrishna Jona	Do.	Do.

Sri Lakhminarayan Misra	Annual Final Part II Examination, 1965.	Debarred for 1 year
Sri Nilmani Naik	Do.	Do.
Sri Amulyakrishna Mohanty	Do.	Do.
Sri Prafulla Chandra Mahapatra	Do.	Do.
Sri Rammohan Patnaik	Do.	Do.
Sri Purnendubhusan Misra	Do.	Do.
Sri Biranchi Narayan Misra	Do.	Do.
Sri Purna Chandra Sahu	Do.	Do.
Sri Rabinarayan Mohapatra	Do.	Do.
Sri Ananta Prasad Saha	Do.	Result of the Annual Final Part II Examination, 1965, is cancelled.
Sri Rajkishore Das	Final Part II in Commerce Examination, 1965.	Debarred for 1 year
Sri Sarangdhar Bhuyan	Do.	Do.
Sri Bimalendu Hota	Do.	Do.
Sri Mangal Kangri	Do.	Do.
Sri Krishna Chandra Mohajana	Do.	Do.

## CENTRAL BOARD OF SECONDARY EDUCATION, NEW DELHI

Sri Man Singh Sharawat	Higher Secondary Examination, 1965.	Debarred for 1 year
Sri Om Prakash Bharadwaj	Do.	Do.
Sri Krishan Kumar Sethi	Do.	Examination of the candidate for the year 1965 cancelled.
Sri Sudesh Kumar Prabhakar	Do.	Do.
Sri Gautam Ray	Do.	Do.
Sri Francis James	Do.	Debarred for 1 year
Sri Ramesh Kumar Arora	Higher Secondary Examination, 1965.	Debarred for two years
Sri Purshottam Dass	Do.	Examination of the candidate for the year 1965 is cancelled.
Sri Sushil Kumar Singhal	Do.	Debarred for one year
Sri Bishan Swaroop	Do.	Examination of the candidate for the year 1965 is cancelled.
Sri Dharam Pal Singh	Do.	Do.
Sri Hitendra Kumar Jhamb	Do.	Debarred for one year
Sri Jai Singh	Do.	Examination of the candidate for the year 1965 is cancelled.
Sri Kishan Lal Narsani	Do.	Debarred for one year
Sri Shotam Kumar Saxena	Do.	Do.
Sri Govind Ram Gupta	Do.	Do.
Sri Satish Kumar Nigam	Do.	Examination of the candidate for the year 1965 is cancelled.
Sri Pyara Singh Matharoo	Do.	Do.
Sri Prit Pal Singh Oberoi	Do.	Debarred for one year
Sri Narain Dass Taneja	Do.	Examination of the candidate for the year 1965 be cancelled.
Sri Dhera Singh	Do.	Debarred for one year
Sri Priy Mohan Katyal	Do.	Do.
Sri Kailash Chand	Do.	Examination of the candidate for the year 1965 be cancelled.
Sri Om Parkash Gupta	Do.	Do.
Sri Barinder Lal Duggal	Do.	Do.
Sri Ketki Kiran	Do.	Do.
Sri Kuldeep Malik	Do.	Do.
Sri Manjeet Singh	Do.	Do.
Sri Nareesh Chand	Do.	Do.
Sri Dharam Parkash Sharma	Do.	Do.
Sri Baljit Singh	Do.	Do.
Sri Ram Pal	Do.	Do.
Sri Ran Dhir Singh	Do.	Do.
Sri Jagdish Chandra Yadava	Higher Secondary Examination, 1965.	Examination of the candidate for the year 1965 be cancelled.
Sri Rajindra Singh	Do.	Do.
Sri Mahan Singh Mann	Do.	Debarred for two years

Sri Jagdish Singh Varma	Higher Secondary Examination, 1965	Examination of the candidate for the year 1965 be cancelled.
Miss Veena Kalra	Do.	Do.
Sri Ranjit Singh Gupta	Do.	Debarred for two years
Sri Raj Pal	Do.	Debarred for one year
Miss Surinder Bala	Do.	Examination of the candidate for the year 1965 be cancelled.
Miss Brajesh Kumar Dewan	Do.	Do.
Sri Ramesh Kumar Sawhney	Higher Secondary (One-year) Course Examination, 1965.	Debarred for one year

## CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

## NOTIFICATION NO. CSR/17/65

It is notified for general information that the Vice-Chancellor, in exercise of the power conferred on him by section 10(4) of the Calcutta University Act, 1951, has been pleased to approve of the following changes in the Transitory Regulations, adopted by the Academic Council on 11th September, 1965, regarding 2-year B.A., B.Sc. or B.Com. students to appear at the 3-Year Degree Examination (Pass Course) and notified to students under Notification No. CSR/13/65, dated the 13th September, 1965 :—

“ That the sentence beginning with the words ‘ The students offering Science Subjects ’ and ending with ‘ preceding the examination ’ occurring in the first para of the Transitory Regulations be deleted.”

The above changes in the regulations would take immediate effect.

Senate House, Calcutta.  
The 2nd December, 1965.

J. C. MUKHERJEE,  
Assistant Registrar.

## UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

NOTIFICATION  
No. C/1030/121(Affl.)

It is hereby notified for general information that in extension of the affiliation already granted, the Taki Government College has been affiliated in Elective Bengali to the B.A. Pass standard of the Three-Year Degree Course with effect from the commencement of the session 1965-66 i.e. with permission to present candidates in the abovementioned subjects at the B.A. Part I Examination in 1967 and B.A. Part II Examination in 1968 and not earlier.

Senate House, Calcutta.  
The 11th December, 1965.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
Registrar.

## UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

NOTIFICATION  
No. C/1206/129(Affl.)

It is hereby notified for general information that in extension of the affiliation already granted, the New Alipore College has been affiliated in Political Science to the B.A. Hons. standard with effect from the commencement of the session 1965-66 i.e. with permission to present candidates in the above mentioned subject at the B.A. Part I examination in 1967 and B.A. Part II examination in 1968 and not earlier.

Senate House, Calcutta.  
The 23rd December, 1965.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
Registrar.

## UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

NOTIFICATION  
No. C/1268/96(Affl.)

It is hereby notified for general information that in extension of the affiliation already granted, the Krishnagar Girls' College has been affiliated in Economics to the B.A. Honours standard with effect from the commencement of the session 1965-66 i.e. with permission to present candidates in the above mentioned subject at the B.A. Honours Part I examination in 1967 and B.A. Honours Part II examination in 1968 and not earlier.

Senate House, Calcutta.  
The 4th January, 1966.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI,  
Registrar.

## UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

NOTIFICATION  
No. CSR/18/65

It is notified for general information that the Vice-Chancellor in exercise of the power conferred on him by Section 10(4) of the Calcutta University Act, 1951, has been pleased to approve of the regulations relating to Diploma in Health Education (D.H.E.) as set out in the accompanying papers.

The regulations would take effect from the next academic session.

Senate House, Calcutta.  
The 27th December, 1965.

J. C. MUKHERJEE,  
Asst. Registrar.

## CHAPTER XLIX-S

## DIPLOMA IN HEALTH EDUCATION (DHE)

1. An examination for the Diploma in Health Education shall be held twice in every year in Calcutta and shall commence at such time as the Syndicate shall determine, the approximate date to be notified in the Calendar.

2. Any graduate in medicine, or a person with a Bachelor's degree in Arts, Science, Education, or Nursing of a recognised Indian University followed by two years' experience in community work or a person with Master degree in any of the above subjects may be admitted to this examination on production of a certificate of having, subsequent to obtaining the qualifications mentioned above :

(i) Attended during a period of not less than four months, approved courses of instruction, both theoretical and practical in (a) Public Health Administration including mental health and public health nursing, (b) Maternal and Child Health including family planning and school health, (c) Environmental Sanitation, (d) Occupational health, (e) Epidemiology and Communicable diseases, and (h) Principles of human anatomy and physiology.

(ii) Attended during a period of not less than five months approved courses of instruction in (a) Social and behavioural sciences and educational process, (b) Community health education, (c) Communication, (d) Evaluation and research, (e) Public Health Programmes and Educational Opportunities, (f) Health education in schools and teaching institutions, (g) Health education as a profession and roles thereof, and (h) Field project assignment.

(Note.—Instructions in the subjects specified above shall also include attendances and visits to institutions, hospitals, schools, health centres, community centres, clinics and premises concerned etc.)

3. Candidates, who already hold the Diploma in Public Health or the Diploma in Industrial Health or the Diploma in Maternity and Child Welfare of the Calcutta University shall be exempted from attending the first four months of the Diploma in Health Education course.

4. Every candidate for admission to the examination shall send in his application to the Registrar with a certificate in the form prescribed by the Syndicate and a fee of Rs. 100 at least a fortnight before the date fixed for the commencement of the examination.

5. A candidate who fails to pass or present himself for the examination shall not be entitled to claim a refund of the fee. A candidate may be admitted to one or more subsequent examinations on payment of Rs. 50 on each occasion and will have to appear in all the subjects for the examination.

The examination shall consist of the following :

		Full marks
Paper I	.. (a) Public Health Administration including statistics and mental health ;	100
	(b) Maternal and Child Health including school health, family planning and nutrition.	
Paper II	.. (a) Environmental Sanitation ; Occupational Health	100
	(b) Epidemiology and control of communicable diseases including microbiology.	
Paper III	.. Community Health Education principles, concepts and practices.	100
Paper IV	.. Social and behavioural sciences, evaluation, research studies.	100
Paper V	.. (a) Communication ; Media .. .. .	100
	(b) School Health Education .. .. .	
Paper VI	.. Health Education in relation to various programmes	100
Viva voce I	.. Based on subjects included in Papers I and II .. .. .	100
Viva voce II	.. Based on subjects included in Papers III to VI .. .. .	100
Sessional work	.. Field project assignment .. .. .	100
	Term papers .. .. .	200

7. In order to pass the examination a candidate must obtain 40 per cent. of the marks in each of the above and at least 50 per cent. on the aggregate.

8. As soon as possible after the examination, the Syndicate shall publish a list of successful candidates arranged in alphabetical order.

9. The Diploma will be awarded on the recommendation of the Head of the institution after candidate has passed the examination and has in addition fulfilled satisfactorily the requirement of field work for a period of two months.

10. Limits of the subjects for the course of studies are as follows :

*I Term :*

1. Public Health Administrations including Public Health Nursing and Mental Health :

1.1. Changing concepts in public health—principles of social and preventive medicine—organisation for health work, international, national, state, district and periphery—community development and *panchayati raj*—National health programmes—Medical social work—rehabilitation—voluntary organizations—Legislature—general administration.

1.2. History and development of public health nursing—philosophy, methods and techniques—role in a health education—preparation of a public health nurse.

1.3. Mental health—mental sickness—personality development—Adaptability.

2. Maternal and Child Health including School Health and Family Planning :

2.1. History and development—maternal health—morbidity and mortality—prevention, treatment and rehabilitation—mother craft classes—training activities.

2.2. Child health—growth and development—prematurity—infant mortality—infant and pre-school child care, problems—well child conferences/clinics—handicapped children, services, education—programme evaluation.

2.3. School health—history and development—future plans—school health services—school lunch—school health education.

2.4. Population growth—problems—family welfare and family planning—methods—procedures—education—family planning programmes, present pattern and future trends.

2.5. Role of health education in each aspect of MCH and family planning programmes—community resources—women's organisations.

3. Environmental Sanitation :

Introduction—National Status—Social and religious factors—Water supply—latrines—waste water disposal—refuse and garbage collection and disposal—housing—school sanitation—factory sanitation—sanitation of camps, fairs and festivals—insect and rodent control—disinfection and disinfection—food and milk sanitation—swimming pools—air pollution—role of education in control of environmental sanitation.

4. Occupational Health :

Physiological Hygiene—scope—climate and health—thermal environment and health, occupational environment—occupational health hazards—industrial psychology—industrial health legislation.

5. Epidemiology and Communicable Diseases :

5.1. Principles of epidemiology—investigation—organisation for epidemic control.

5.2. Elementary bacteriology, immunology and serology—viruses—medical entomology—protozoology—helminthology.

5.3. Communicable diseases—causes—national disease control and eradication programmes.

5.4. Chronic and degenerative diseases.

5.5. Role of education in control of communicable and chronic diseases.

6. Nutrition :

Basic principles of nutrition—deficiency disease—principles of dietetics and dietotherapy—cultural factors affecting nutrition—nutrition and diet surveys—Applied nutrition programme—School feeding—role of education in nutrition.

7. Bio-Statistics :

Statistical methods—collection and interpretation of statistics—Sample surveys—Vital statistics—role of education in promoting registration—use of statistics in educational programmes.

8. Human anatomy and physiology :

Elementary anatomy and physiology—personal hygiene—first aid.

*II Term :*

9. Social and behavioural sciences :

Social sciences—concepts—scope in public health work—individual, group and mass psychology—social organisation—social values—social control—leadership—social and cultural patterns of rural and urban and urban India—social disorganisation—social case and group work.

10. Education process :

Educational psychology—theories of learning—learning process—factors in ~~educational learning~~ barriers to learning.

11. Community health education :  
History, development and modern trends—nature and scope principles and methods—functions of a health educator and professional responsibilities—interviewing—group process—programme planning and administration—in service and preservice training—curriculum development—health education in curricula of professional and auxiliary personnel.
12. Communication :  
Theory and research—methods of communication—principles planning and organizing conferences, seminars, group discussion, etc.—media—for individual, group and mass use—planning, preparation, evaluation and use—printing process—journalism, publicity and public relations.
13. Health Education in school and teaching institutions :  
Opportunities and scope—healthful school living—health teaching in schools—curriculum planning—teacher training—home-school-community relationship—role of health educator in the programme.
14. Evaluation and Research .  
Simple research and study methods in health education—research studies in health education—evaluation and research of methods and material in health education.
15. Public health programmes and educational opportunities :  
Nature and scope of health education in various national and state health programmes—programme planning for health education in other and situations like hospitals etc.
16. Health education as a profession and roles thereof :  
Health education as a profession—world bodies, international agencies, voluntary bodies—health education specialists and health education extension workers—role of other specialists and workers in health education—health education programmes.
17. Field project assignment—Planning, implementation and evaluation of an educational programme in the Rural or Urban Health Centres in respect of any one of the health problems of the communities.

### ANDHRA UNIVERSITY

No. S4/1864/65

Waltair, 9th August, 1965

### ORDER

#### Proceedings of the Syndicate

The results of the following candidates who have been found guilty of resorting to unfair means at the University Examinations held in March-April, 1965, are cancelled and they are permitted to appear for the University Examinations to be held in September, 1965, or thereafter.

Name of candidate				Examination	Reg. Nos.
1.	J. Luther	..	..	B.A. (N.R.)	1635
2.	P. Ramachandra Raju	.	..	B.E. II (O.R.)	1538

By order

P. V. V. SELLAGIRI,

Registrar.

Encl: 1 Statement.

Sub.: Misconduct at the University Examinations—March/April, 1965.

Ref.: Sydicate Resolution, Dated the 22nd May, 1965.

No. S4/1864/65.

Waltair, The 26th July, 1965

### ORDER

The results of the candidates with the following Reg. Nos. who have been found guilty of resorting to unfair means at the University Examinations held in March-April, 1965, are cancelled and they are debarred from appearing for any of the University Examinations for the period noted against each:—

Name of the candidate	Examination	Reg. No.	Period of rustication
1. P. Raghavarasasad	Matriculation	1849	Debarred for one year and permitted to sit for the University Examination to be held in March-April, 1966, or thereafter.
2. Nallamothe Venka- teswara Rao.	Do.	1947	Do.
3. N. Bhyravaswami	Pre-University	472	Do.
4. M. Bhaskara Ammi Raju.	Do.	552	Do.
5. D. C. Appa Rao	Do.	802	Do.
6. M. Venkateswara Rao	Do.	990	Do.
7. S. V. P. Tamam Dora	Do.	1013	Do.
8. D. Venkateswarlu	Do.	1036	Do.
9. D. Ananda Rao	Do.	1533	Do.
10. G. Krishna Rao	Do.	2562	Do.
11. S. Rama Rao	Do.	4550	Do.
12. T. John Noble	Do.	4879	Do.
13. O. Neelakantha Sarma	Do.	7386	Do.
14. A. V. R. L. Nara- simhamurti.	Do.	7623	Do.
15. D. Sathies Babu	Do.	7694	Do.
16. G. P. Raghurama Rao	Do.	7803	Do.
17. R. Bhaskara Rao	Do.	8051	Do.
18. S. Udaya Sankara Reddi.	Do.	9025	Do.
19. Syed Ahamed Ali	Do.	10129	Do.
20. V. Raghukumar	Do.	12952	Do.
21. V. Sambasiva Rao	Do.	12972-A	Do.
22. C. Venkateswarlu	Do.	13010	Do.
23. P. Ravindra Babu	Do.	13110	Do.
24. K. Hanumantha Rao	Do.	13229	Do.
25. M. V. D. Narasimha Reddi.	Do.	14933	Do.

Name of the candidate	Examination	Reg. No.	Period of rustication
26. G. Satyanarayana	Pre-University	14984	Debarred for one year and permitted to sit for the University Examination to be held in March-April, 1966, or thereafter.
27. S. Raja Rao	Do.	15665	Do.
28. S. V. Subba Rao	Do	15389	Do.
29. M. Appa Rao	Do.	15971	Do.
30. G. Ramachandra Rao	B.A. (O.R.)	5179	Do
31. P. Lakshmipathy Sastry.	Do	5820	Do.
32. Komadra Appa Rao	B.A. (N.R.)	899	Do.
33. A. S. Mohana Rao	B.A. (R.R.)	4294	Do
34. U. Surya Rao	B.Com. (N.R.)	555	Do.
35. B. Prabhakara Rao	Do.	790	Do.
36. B. Krishna Rao	Do.	812	Do.
37. K. Satthi Raju	B.Com. (R.R.)	1085	Do.
38. A. V. Kasiviswanadham	Do	1360	Do.
39. M. Raja Rao	Do	1918	Do.
40. V. Appa Rao	Do	2199	Do.
41. G. Nagabhushana Rao.	Do.	2299	Do.
42. Narasimha Rao	B.Sc. (N.R.)	3085	Do.
43. Radhakrishna Murty	Do.	3099	Do.
44. T. Saibaba	B.Sc. (N.R.)	3100	Do
45. P. Gopala Rao	Do.	3455	Do
46. M. Koteswara Rao	Do	3628	Do
47. T. Gurunadha Rao	Do	3717	Do.
48. V. Hanumanta Rao	Do.	4012	Do
49. V. Sreeramachandra Murty.	B.Sc. (R.R.)	4919	Do.
50. D. Veerabrahman	Do.	5414	Do.
51. N. Venkata Ramana	Do.	5722	Do
52. N. Nagasesha Reddi	Do.	6248	Do.
53. K. Ramesbabu	Do.	6883	Do.
54. D. Narasimha Rao	Do.	8116	Do
55. K. Sriramamurti	Do.	9167	Do.
56. P. Vishnumurti	Do.	9223	Do.
57. M. Gopalakrishna Rao.	B.Sc. IV (Int.)	1009	Do.
58. B. Muralimohana Rao	Pre-University	8903	Do.
59. P. Prabhakara Rao	B.Sc. (R.R.)	9281	Do.

By Order

P. V. V. SESHAGIRI,

Registrar



## Proceedings of the Syndicate

No. S4/1864/65.

Waltair, The 26th July, 1966

Encl. : One Statement.

Sub. : Misconduct at University Examinations, March, 1965.

Ref. : Syndicate Resolution, dated the 6th April, 1965.

## ORDER

The results of the candidates with the following Register Numbers who have been found guilty of resorting to unfair means at the University examinations held in March, 1965, are cancelled and they are debarred from appearing for any of the University Examinations for the period noted against each :

		Reg. No.	Period of rustication
1. A. Narasimha Prasad	Matriculation	2	Debarred for one year and permitted to appear for the University Examination to be held in March, 1966, or thereafter.
2. V. Krishnamurti	Do.	61	Do.
3. Mirza Abbas Saheb	Do.	67	Do.
4. P. Rajendra Prasad	Do.	849	Do.
5. Hameedulla Khan	Do.	5192	Do.
6. V. Rajeswari (W)	Do.	5618	Do.
7. K. Ratnavalli (W)	Do.	5902	Do.
8. G. N. V. Siva Reddi	Do.	5682	Do.
9. V. Gandhi (Hindu College, Masulipatam).	Do.	Reg. No. not given	Do.
10. T. Lakshminarayana	Do.	6312	Do.
11. L. V. Satyanarayana	Do.	6348	Do.
12. B. Srihari Rao	Do.	7175	Do.
13. T. Chandra Rao	Do.	7884	Do.
14. S. Govardhan Rao	Do.	8325	Do.
15. V. Muniswara Rao	Do.	9653	Do.
16. V. Suryaprakas	Do.	9872	Do.
17. N. Sanyasi Rao	Do.	10200	Do.
18. P. A. S. Prakasa Rao	Do.	10285	Do.
19. I. Tirumalachari	Do.	10298	Do.
20. K. Rama Rao	Do.	10570	Do.
21. P. Ramamohan	Do.	10775	Do.
22. B. Subadra Raju	Do.	10867	Do.
23. P. V. P. Subramanyam.	Do.	10870	Do.
24. K. Venkataramana	Pre-University	515	Do.
25. K. V. S. S. R. K. Raju.	Do.	2344	Do.
26. G. Venkateswara Rao	Do.	3861	Do.
27. N. Vijayabhaskar	Do.	4687	Do.
28. P. V. Gopalakrishna-murti.	Do.	7660	Do.

1965]

## NOTIFICATION

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Name of the candidate	Examination	Reg. No.	Period of rustication
29. N. Srikrishna Sai	Pre-University	7789	Debarred for one year and permitted to appear for the University Examination to be held in March, 1966, or thereafter.
30. G. Sowbhagya Rao	Do.	8532	Do.
31. C. Bhiksham	Do.	8535	Do.
32. K. Raja Rao	Do.	10957	Do.
33. Shaik Imam Hussain	Do.	11170	Do.
34. C. Venkataramana	Do.	11533	Do.
35. S. Homeswara Babu	Do.	12912	Do.
36. P. Baby Sorijini (W)	Do.	13031	Do.
37. T. Chiranjivi	Do.	13040	Do.
38. K. Durga Prasad	Do.	13043	Do.
39. S. Satyanarayana	Do.	13391	Do.
40. L. Subba Rao	Do.	14092	Do.
41. K. Malleswara Rao	Do.	14184	Do.
42. N. Sadananda Suri	Do.	14721	Do.
43. K. P. Azad	Matriculation	15161	Do.
44. Y. Dhaneswara Rao	Do.	15790	Do.
45. I. Prasada Rao	Do.	15857	Do.
46. P. Appalanayudu	Do.	16165	Do.
47. Ch. Dasa Rao	Do.	16176	Do.
48. T. Demudu	Do.	16177	Do.
49. D. Satyanarayana	Do.	16216	Do.
50. B. Surya Rao	Do.	16335	Do.
51. K. P. V. Lakshmana Rao.	Do.	17081	Do.
52. P. Murali Mohan Rao Patnaik.	Do.	17211	Do.
53. G. Venkata Rao	Do.	11536	Permitted to sit for P.U.C. examination to be held in September, 1965, or thereafter.

By order

P. V. V. Seshagiri,

Registrar.





# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

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DECEMBER, 1965

[No. 3

## THE TEACHING OF PHILOSOPHY

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*Calcutta University*

(This article is written in the light of the discussion on the teaching of philosophy at the All-India Seminar of Social Sciences held at Asutosh Hall.)

### WHAT IS PHILOSOPHY ?

According to some, if we want to discuss how to teach philosophy, we should begin by defining it. But the difficulty is that there is no definition of philosophy which is acceptable to all philosophers. Philosophy is indeed unlike any other subject. Sociology, for instance, is fairly intelligible to us, because it has a fact or phenomenon for its subject matter, namely, society. There is no fact, however, with which all philosophers are agreedly concerned. Although there are not as many definitions of philosophy as there are philosophers, there are, to be sure, several definitions which differ widely from each other. It is rather paradoxical to say that after three thousand years of philosophy, philosophers of today are hotly discussing what philosophy is about. In the circumstances, if we lay stress on definition in the matter of teaching philosophy, there would obviously be several kinds of teaching according to the different definitions of philosophy. In that case, there is nothing to discuss about the teaching of philosophy. The fact we must consider is, however, this : the word " philosophy " in the phrase " the teaching of philosophy " means a subject which consists of some connected

courses of study, such as History of philosophy, Logic, Epistemology, Metaphysics, Ethics and the rest. And the question is : how teach such a subject ?

### HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY AND HISTORY

Some suggest that History of philosophy should occupy an important place in the teaching of philosophy. Most teachers would agree, I believe, that philosophy students should begin with this subject, which shows how philosophy as a human pursuit originated in the past and how philosophic thought developed over the centuries. It goes without saying that History of philosophy is different from plain history. Unlike the latter, History of philosophy is history of ideas. In consequence, by the study of the History of philosophy the beginners would understand how philosophy itself was conceived differently by different philosophers. We agree with those who hold that the teaching of the History of philosophy must not be merely descriptive. Positive history itself is no cataloguing of events, but involves deep interpretation. History of philosophy, being history of ideas, involves by far deeper interpretation, also analysis and comparison.

The question is often discussed whether History of philosophy should be taught and studied with or without reference to the historical background. I think I am not far wrong when I say that in the Indian universities History of philosophy is taught in abstraction from the history of the period in question. As a result, philosophy students, generally speaking, do not know what centuries the philosophers they study belonged to. This is ridiculous. There is no doubt that in teaching History of philosophy the teacher concerned must reckon with the relevant socio-political history in order to make it effective.

### MATHEMATICAL LOGIC AND SCIENTIFIC PHILOSOPHY

Many teachers are of the opinion that more and more of mathematical logic and scientific philosophy should be included in the philosophy curriculum. At the present time, logic is taught at three stages—primary, secondary, and higher. Elementary logic is taught at school and at the pre-university level : higher logic is taught at the B.A. and is continued up to the M.A. stage. The emphasis is now being increasingly laid on mathematical and scientific philosophy. Some go to the length of suggesting that traditional logic, which is

being taught at school, should be replaced by elementary mathematical and symbolic logic in order to train the students so as to enable them to take up mathematical *cum* symbolic logic at the B.A. stage. This is a great issue, and much can be said on both sides. The fact, however, remains that mathematical logic presupposes some training in mathematics. To refer to the London School of Economics, there is a post-graduate course in philosophy at this institute. And there are two branches of the study, namely, mathematical logic and scientific philosophy. One woman student of Calcutta University with a First Class in Philosophy has gone to London and is admitted into the School. She goes in for a Post-graduate Course in Philosophy but she finds to her surprise that in one branch practically science and in the other pure mathematics is taught. She is dumbfounded ; she lacks the requisite background. This is a pointer to the fact that if we want to teach mathematical logic and scientific philosophy in the full sense at the higher stages, we have to prepare the ground by making mathematics as well as science compulsory right from the preliminary stage. We have to overhaul the whole system of education in order to give it a scientific bias. But we should not do anything at haphazard. If we administer an overdose of mathematical logic and scientific philosophy to our system at random, it may kill it outright. They say that the eleven-year and three-year Degree courses have already unhinged the system. If it is that all is well with the new courses, we should be cautious what damage we do to it by any rash action of ours.

#### THE METHOD OF TEACHING

We are told that the teacher of philosophy should follow the right method of teaching. Up till now there is not much talk about it ; it is, as a matter of fact, left to the teacher himself. But educationists have begun to consider how best to teach philosophy. However differently philosophers may define philosophy, we may describe it as speculative understanding of the things to study. If so, philosophy teaching must have its characteristic method. Some suggest that in teaching philosophy we should follow the Socratic dialectic. But the point is that Socrates employed this method in philosophizing and that this method was in the form of a dialogue. At all events, under the present system of education this method is not applicable in teaching big classes. The teacher is to impart ideas, and make analysis and criticism to this end. Criticism is verily

conducive to clarification. Some nevertheless suggest the word "discussion" to cover these processes. We agree to the view that the teaching of philosophy must be done by discussion. But this view is not a new one. It would not be out of place to mention here that Abelard, the rationalist philosopher, in the eleventh century proposed and practised this method of discussion in the University of Paris. It was a great innovation indeed. But how far we have adopted it is a question to answer.

#### INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

Immediately after independence, a teacher of philosophy told me that it was time to Indianize the philosophy syllabus. He perhaps meant something similar to the Indianization of the military forces.. When power was transferred to the Indians all three arms of the military were Indianized. And there was an absolute need for it : the defence of the country could not without contradiction be entrusted to foreigners. But what exactly is meant by "Indianization of the philosophy syllabus" ? Is it meant that as we are now an independent nation, our students shall study, if ever, only Indian philosophy ? Here "Indian philosophy" means the philosophy or philosophies developed in India in the past. But intellectual culture has no frontiers. History is a witness to the fact that there has been an exchange of ideas between one country and another. In the contemporary situation, because of the development of science and technology the nations have come so close together that they cannot avoid cultural contact between them. It is indeed true that our students should know of our past achievements in the realm of thought. Still, we, Indians, cannot confine ourselves to Indian philosophy of the past and shut out ideas that come from outside. No nation can thrive simply by ruminating over its past.

#### INDIAN PHILOSOPHY AND CREATIVE THOUGHT

Some nevertheless in their overzeal for Indian philosophy contends that contemporary philosophy in India could be created only by way of a proper assessment and a critical study of Indian philosophy of the past. As they point out, Bacon in England created his philosophy by criticism of mediaeval thought. But we cannot afford to forget that Bacon was a creative genius and that mediaeval thought was only an occasion for him. Unfortunately, however, an Indian Bacon is not yet come. Even if a genius comes,

we cannot say that he would necessarily create out of, or on the basis of, Indian philosophy of the past. As Bosanquet, the British philosopher, says, "Philosophy may begin anywhere." Perhaps creative thinkers are already come in India, and we believe contemporary Indian philosophy would take shape presently.

#### TEACHING BY SYLLABUS

There must indeed be a syllabus to make the teaching systematic. But the framing of the detailed syllabus should be left to the philosophy Departments of the universities. But one cannot expect that they would all agree about the matter. They would certainly differ within a certain area. Yet, if there is the question of the universities having a uniform philosophy syllabus for the B.A. as well as for the M.A. stage, the representatives of the philosophy Departments of the universities must meet and put their heads together to hammer out a common programme. Such an effort is worth while as it would help co-ordination between the universities.

#### TEACHING AND THE TEACHER

There is one last point to consider. Teaching involves the teacher. We may perfect the syllabus and also the method of teaching. But it all would be of no avail if there be no teachers to work it. So we have to concentrate on the teacher. But the problem of the teacher is not a problem peculiar to the Philosophy Departments. It is indeed one of the major problems that beset our educational system. We, teachers, discuss subjects, syllabi, the method of teaching and all that, but we do not discuss ourselves. It may be that we are shy of discussing ourselves, or that we think we are above discussion. If the teacher really needs to be discussed, I do not know how to discuss him. It is a delicate matter. We may nevertheless do one thing. We may draw the attention of the relevant authorities to the fact that there is no reliable machinery in the universities to select able, efficient teachers and to appreciate efficient teaching. Universities are springing up around us. But where are the teachers to work them, let alone working them well?



# APPLICATION OF GOODENOUGH TEST TO U.P. CHILDREN OF AGES 3+ to 10+

DR. (KM) M. GHOSH

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On account of its non-verbal character, Goodenough Draw-A-Man Test has an appeal for children and has been found to be fairly reliable and valid for assessing intelligence of children in U.S.A. and other countries. In the opinion of investigators, this language free test material and scale is superior to other language free measures of intelligence for children upto 10+ years.

In India E. W. Menzel in C.P. (5), P. L. Shrimali in Mewar (10), P. D. Patel in Gujrat (7), T. N. Dhar (1), B. L. Joshi (4) and A. Mukherji (6) in Delhi have worked with more or less unmodified scoring scale of Goodenough, and are of the opinion that the test is fairly reliable and valid for measuring mental maturity of Indian children but that it is less sensitive and descriptive for Indian children than for American children.

Attempts were made by A. S. Pillai (9) in Madras, and P. Pathak in Baroda (8) to evolve a valid measuring scale by making suitable modifications with a view to increasing its sensitivity for Indian children. These attempts do not appear to have met with much marked success and the results are not very conclusive.

The present study aimed primarily at evolving norms on the Goodenough Draw-A-Man Test of intelligence for children of Indian homes of U.P., with special reference to children attending nursery schools and primary schools attached to Girls' Higher Secondary Schools in Allahabad, and secondarily to find out the extent to which the Goodenough Scale is suited for investigating the mental development of children from different environments.

The sample for my study was drawn from the city of Allahabad

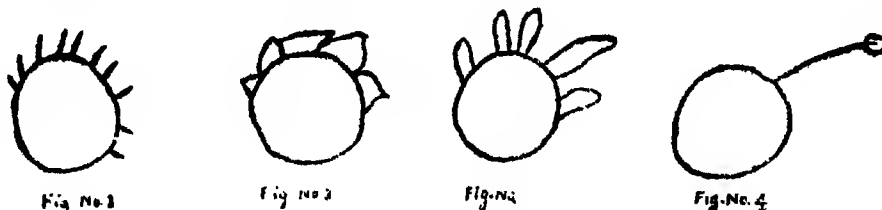
A study based on the analysis of drawings of children of nursery schools and of Primary classes of Higher Secondary schools for girls in Allahabad, U.P. The study was undertaken under a Fulbright Alumni Research Grant made by USEFI, New Delhi, for the year 1963-65. The following account is abridged from the report submitted to USEFI on the investigation made by her.

—an urban area of Uttar Pradesh. The subjects belonged to the primary classes from classes I to V attached mainly to Higher Secondary schools for girls and to pre-primary classes of the principal nursery schools of the city.

The total number of drawings collected from classes I to V was 2,000 and that from nursery classes was 927. Eight drawings from primary classes were rejected, for the papers were almost blank with such remarks as 'I do not get it', or they contained something else than a human figure. In the nursery classes 151 drawings were not considered, for they belonged to the preliminary stage of drawings, i.e., A—class\* drawings that are not recognizable as human figure. Only B—class drawings\*, which are attempts to represent human figure and can be recognized as such, were taken into account for my purpose. Seven drawings belonging to the age-group 2+ were excluded. The total number of children in the final sample for norms was 1,992 drawn from classes I to V, and 769 belonging to pre-primary classes.

The scoring of drawings in my study was done on the original 51-point scale of Goodenough strictly according to the directions given in her Manual (8).

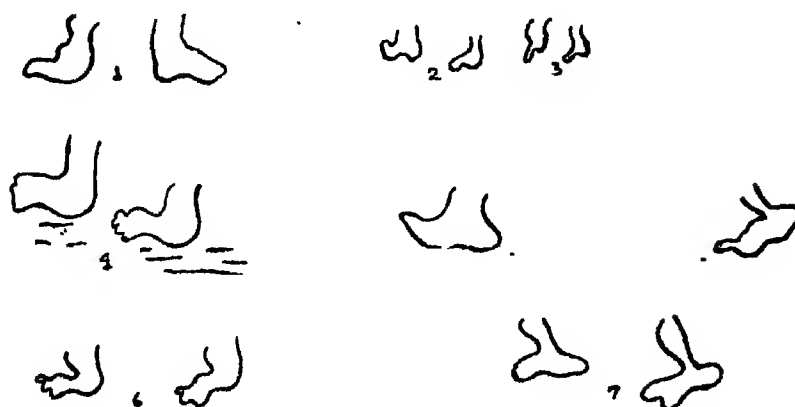
A few points viz., point No. 8a (hair), point No. 13 (heel) needed a slight moderation. Our children show the 'hair' not only with a number of straight lines and/or scribbled lines on the top of the head (illustration No. 1) but they indicate the hair in the manner shown in figure Nos. 2, 3 and 4 illustrated below. Perception of our children regarding the hair seems to be influenced by the varieties of decorative Indian hair styles.



In scoring point No. 13, in addition to the illustrated heels of the shoes as in the text of Goodenough (8), a clear indication of the heel of a bare foot (considering the shape) was also taken into account. Children have shown both bare feet and booted feet in their drawings.

\*For A and B class drawings, refer Goodenough, F. L. *Measurement of Intelligence by Drawings* (2), page 21-22.

For bare feet, credit has been given for heels drawn as illustrated below :—



While scoring the drawings, the points in the clothing area, viz., points 9a to 9e, had to be scored on the basis of Indian clothing also. On the whole, the area of clothing was marked leniently regarding the style and the number of clothing, as done by previous Indian workers.

Norms have been derived separately for ages 3+ to 10+, and classes I to V. The Table No. 1 below gives the frequency distribution of scores, the means, and the standard deviations for each

TABLE No. 1  
Distribution of Scores by Classes (Classes I to V only)

Class Score Interval	I	II	III	IV		Total
1-3	11	7	..	1	..	19
4-6	48	27	21	3	3	102
7-9	61	72	57	28	23	241
10-12	102	119	103	80	37	441
13-15	41	68	126	101	81	417
16-18	13	33	68	103	106	323
19-21	5	17	34	58	85	199
22-24	0	7	16	28	52	103
25-27	1	1	6	16	30	54
28-30	..	1	3	12	25	41
31-33	..	0	1	1	19	21
34-36	..	1	2	2	14	19
37-39	..	..	..	2	5	7
40-42	..	..	..	..	5	5
43-45	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total Number	282	353	437	435	485	1992
Mean score	12.92	14.73	16.75	19.18	22.46	
S.D.	3.91	4.55	4.90	5.41	6.86	
C.V.	.302	.308	.292	.282	.305	

of the classes from I to V. In this table the nursery classes have been excluded owing to the lack of uniformity in the grade classification.

Rounding off the decimal figures and taking the means to the nearest whole members, the class-norms were obtained as given below :

Age Average (Upto January, 1964, to the nearest whole no. of years)	Class	Mean (Obtained)	Mean (After smoothing the curve)
6	I	13	13
7	II	15	15
8	III	17	17
9	IV	19	19
10	V	22	21

*Comparison of Age-norms and Class-norms*

The drawings were obtained in January, 1963, of the session 1962-63 (July, 1962—June, 1963), i.e., six months after the schools had started the sessions work. Actual age average of each class in January, 1963, was calculated and taken to the nearest whole number of years ; they are found to be 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 years in January, 1963, for classes I, II, III, IV and V respectively. Hence, from the above figures of class-norms, it is obvious that the norms at  $6\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $7\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $8\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $9\frac{1}{2}$  and  $10\frac{1}{2}$  years will be 14, 16, 18, 20 and 22 respectively. This shows a complete agreement between the age-norms and the class-norms, and would point to the possibility of computing the mental age and I.Q. of a child from his/her score on the Draw-A-Man test.

The test-retest reliability coefficients are found to be quite satisfactory. Reliability coefficients of the test by the split-half method for various age-groups vary from .84 to .97, which is very highly satisfactory. The Coefficients of Variation of different classes are close to one another, fluctuating between .91 to 1.09 (.18) only. This fluctuation is small and the ratio between the Coefficients of variation of any two classes may be regarded as remaining very nearly constant and equal to 1. Variation Coefficients obtained for age-groups 5+ to 10+, when examined in terms of mental age, fluctuated between .32 to .38 (.06) only. This indicates that the Coefficient of Variation is very nearly constant from age to age also and the test can be taken to be reliable from ages 5+ to 10+. The age-groups 4+, 5+, and 10+ of the sample studied are more variable than the remaining age-groups 6+ to 9+. The 3+ age-group has been found to be the most variable, V being .48.

The order of difficulty of the separate points as found by my subjects correlates with that found by Goodenough subjects to the extent of .89 on an average. Hence no fresh item validation of the test seemed necessary. The degree of validity of the items is almost the same for Indian children of Allahabad as for American sample of Goodenough.

For validity of Draw-A-Man, tested against school examination marks, the correlations between I.Q. and the aggregate of school examination marks of classes II (52 children), III (51 children) and IV (71 children), were found to be .33, .28 and .20 respectively. The correlation .20 is positive but slight and rather uncertain. The other two correlations .33 and .28 are significant at .02 and .05 levels. These correlations are significant but not high. Validity of the scores tested against teachers' ratings of the same classes are found to be significant at .01 level.

## 5

The tentative norms arrived at by various Indian workers who have used the original Goodenough scale of scoring are shown in Table No. 2.

In general, the mean score of each age-group found by me and different investigators in India falls much short of the corresponding Goodenough norms. Also, it may be noted that the norms obtained for age 6+ in the present investigation is 14 points which is equal to the Goodenough norm and is much higher than the norm obtained by any other previous worker in India; but the regular increase for successive ages up to 10+ remains the same (*i.e.*, increase of 2 points) as found by others, instead of Goodenough's successive increase of 4 points, consequently lowering the mean scores for the following ages from 7+ to 10+ in comparison to American norms. Thus, the test appears to be less sensitive and discriminative for Indian children than for American children.

On the other hand, the norms found by me for the nursery age-groups 3+, 4+, and 5+ respectively are higher than the corresponding American norms, which may be due to the effects of social status of the children concerned and probably also to the discrepancy of one/two years between the recorded age and real age (recorded age being less than the real age). A difference of even six months at this stage has a much greater effect on the mental development than at a later stage. It may be noted here that the nursery group of children is a very selective group on socio-economic grounds,

TABLE NO. 2  
Norms Arrived at by different Indian investigators

Age	Norms						
	Menzel (C.P.) 1935	Shrimala (Mewar) 1947	Joshi (Delhi) 1955	Mukerji (Delhi) 1956	Dhar (Delhi) 1956	Patel (Gujrat) 1955	Goodenough 1926
3					3 (45)		7 (91)
4					6 (98)	5 (23)	9 (314)
5					9 (143)	7 (98)	12 (393)
6	8 (128)	10 (44)	10 (122)		11 (86)	5 (220)	14 (436)
7	10 (244)	12 (101)	12 (145)		12 (111)	9 (254)	16 (402)
8	12 (341)	14 (169)	13 (128)		13 (85)	10.75 (258)	18 (415)
9	14 (344)	16 (243)	15 (93)			11.75 (248)	20 (326)
10	16 (321)	18 (276)	17 (106)			12.5 (117)	22 (221)
11	18 (297)	20 (345)		28.90 (118)		13.5 (15)	
12	20 (276)	22 (370)		31.65 (128)			
13	22 (166)	24 (295)		33.50 (121)			
14	24 (155)	26 (227)		35.40 (122)			
15	26 (332)	28 (304)					
Total cases	2604	2374	594	489	568	1233	2398

Note : The figures within brackets ( ) show the number of subjects used in obtaining the mean.

the educational expense at this stage being fairly high and somewhat beyond the reach of common public. Only affluent parents having an awareness for the need of pre-school education of children send the children to nursery schools. Effects of cultural and higher social status might have been shown by a higher average score in the performance of children.

A comparative study of the results of various school suggests that the performance of children varies according to environment. Children from good environments give better performance on Draw-A-Man than children from less favourable environments. The study reveals that the differences in educational opportunities and environmental background affect the average score ; the better the educational facilities and opportunities and more favourable the environmental background, the higher the average score.

The analysis of the available data shows also that under circumstances of better educational facilities and opportunities and better environmental background, the difference between the average score of two successive ages tends to increase, indicating greater sensitivity of the test.

In the nursery age-groups 4+ and 5+, the performance of girls appears to be superior to that of boys ; the boys are more variable in their performance than girls. This tendency of girls being superior, and the boys being more variable, is in agreement with the findings of Goodenough.

The Goodenough items, on which Indian children score significantly much less than the American subjects, generally involve a better perception of location of parts, proportion, and motor co-ordination. In this connection special mention may be made of the points 14f, 15b, 16d, 18a and 18b(2).

The claim that the Goodenough Test is entirely culture-free does not seem to be borne out by the results of this and other investigations. However, it is culture-free on a majority of items.

The items pertaining to the area of clothing need modifications in their requirements as well as the method of scoring them according to the environmental background of culture and social customs.

Items like Goodenough points 14f, 15b, 16d, 18a, 18b, which are covered by Harris point-scale (3) also and on which practically no score has been made by the children tested in the present study, seem to require suitable substitution by some other items.

The clothing area has to be considered from the point of view of our children whose concepts are influenced by our different patterns of dress and modes of living. The points involving the sense of location, proportion and motor coordination will depend on the level of education of our children and the educational environment and training that we provide to them at the nursery and primary stages of learning experience.

Again, some points, especially those involving the perception of body parts, may not have the same emphasis and meaning for Indian children as for American children on account of a difference in the social and cultural set-up.

A rescoring of the drawings of a sample of children of classes III and IV of one school, according to the revised Man-point scale of D. B. Harris (3), was done. The very brief preliminary exploration made by the present investigator indicates that not only the mean raw score from age to age on the Harris scale tends to be greater than that on Goodenough scale, but also the differences in the mean raw scores of successive ages are greater. The results seem to be suggestive of the Harris Scale being equally reliable and valid for the sample of Indian children of the present study.

Harris Scale has not made any changes, qualitative or quantitative, in the points of clothing area of the original Goodenough Scale, and does not obviate the difficulty experienced in scoring the drawings of children so far as the 'clothing area' is concerned. Also, no changes or modifications have been made by Harris in the Goodenough points 14f, 15b, 16d, 18a and 18b mentioned above. Hence, no help is afforded by the Harris Scale in marking these items.

The very brief preliminary exploration made by the present investigator indicates that the Harris revision (Man- and Woman-point scale) is likely to be more suitable to and give a more effective measure of intelligence than the original Goodenough scale if the modifications and substitutions pointed out above are carefully thought and carried out.

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## IMPLICATION OF NADI STUTI BY SINDHU- KSHIT PRAIYAMEDHA RISHI (R.V.X. 75)

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For a century that has passed a good deal of interest was exhibited on the Vedas and Vedic literature inasmuch as they were deemed as the earliest testimony in writing of the human race. Hence it was found necessary to delimit its age and territory and hold to light the cultural condition of the Vedic people. To do this the scholars had to understand the Vedic literature which had to be done through Yaska, Sayana and other commentators, though some thought that the help of the commentators was unnecessary and some thought the Brahmana texts to be puerile, but today with the spectacular advance of archaeology and the abrogation of the Biblical date of creation not much interest for the Vedas is to be seen. Archaeology has revealed many cultures far beyond the Biblical date of creation and has taught much about the progress of civilisation from very ancient times far older than the Vedic age as worked out by the Western scholars.

Orthodox Hindus of India believe the Vedas to be eternal. This has, of course, been taught by orthodox Vedic scholars like Yaska, Sayana and others. But this idea has been rejected by the Western scholars as also by some Indian scholars following the Europeans. Even late Umesh-chandra Vidyaratna in his introduction (Upodghata) to the Vedas has very ironically asked, "how did the Vedas arrive? Were they sent through the post office of God?" This, unfortunately, exhibits a lamentable ignorance of the respected scholar regarding the Brahmanical faith as embodied in the Vedas. The Brahmins believed and still believe that there is one and only one principle, call it Atma, Paramatma, Brahma, Brahmanaspati, Tat or Prana or Sat, or whatever you may like, which is the pervasive and eternal first principle originating all life and objects in the Universe, being itself the material thereof and inspiring every living thing to activity. As the Vedas depict activities hence they have originated from this first principle. The Rishis (sages) only discerned them and enjoined them upon the people. They are the Visionaries-Drashtā. In this sense the Vedas are eternal. The eternal aspect of the Vedas has been enjoined upon the people as they are never to forget this basic First principle. It may be said that this basic principle of life runs counter to the idea of free will which is rather difficult to be refuted. To this

the answer is that the so-called Free will is a relative term. As a big fish freely moves about in this water but cannot do so in the absence of water, so our freedom is relative. But as we all are after happiness and pleasure and want to avoid misery and as we have little foresight so we are enjoined upon to follow a particular course of action avoiding sin which is nothing but misery. All injunctions or beliefs or superstitions, as you may call them, are based on this principle. Without complicating references we may say that the Ishopanishat exhibits this view. A proper understanding, of course, is necessary. But as we are concerned with works of the Vedic exegesis, we, probably, cannot quarrel with the view of the Western scholars in trying to discover a chronological structure of the culture and traditions of the Vedas in a territorial background. In this connection we may state that we reject the opinions of those who ascribe the age of the Vedas to 1,20,000 or 30,000 B.C. inasmuch as the opinions stand on very flimsy or unworthy grounds. Even though we accept the age of the Vedas as calculated by Jacobi, Tilak and Jogeshchandra Roy, we cannot start our arguments from them inasmuch as these dates do not indicate if they are the origin or only a stage in the Vedic chronology.

In the fixation of the chronology of the Vedas, the most point is whether we are to date it from its writing down or the testimony of the traditions as embodied in the Mantras. Here it may be postulated that the Veda Samhitas are a body of compilations collected from different class or families in which the Mantras were handed down from generation to generation, so even a single collection cannot show a positive approximate date. So we find some scholars ascribing priority to some mantras and to others a later date. This, of course, excludes the previous compilations of which we hear from the Puranas, but relates to the compilation that we have said to be made by Vyasa. Moreover, Philosophy tells us that a language in regard to Orthography, Phonetics and inflexion changes more in the centre of origin than in the periphery. So a philological computation of the date of the Vedas is not possible without the knowledge of the centre of origin of the language if at all it was a single language. All such calculations are mere conjectures which have worked back from the almost fixed date of the birth of Buddha. These are conjectures from insufficient data. A mere consideration of the advent of classical Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit will possibly force into the mind that there must have been a serious and long gap between these and Vedic Language (if at all a single Language) which we cannot call Sanskrit or modified language. A consideration of the Sutras of Panini will possibly prove this contention, if we consider his age to be the 8th Century B.C. In many places Panini appears to have lost orientation. Such cases are

Dampati, Manusya, Kanina, Patni etc. Pati and Patni mean controller or overlord. One is not derived from the other. Dampati means master or mistress of the house. Manusya is not derived from Manu but from Manus. Kānina is derived from Kani or Kanā and not as Panini directs. This apparent loss of orientation of words is possibly due to a vast gap of time and not merely of eight or seven hundred years. So this backward calculation must necessarily be faulty. But Mak Muller and others have precisely made faulty calculations. They have conjectured the Vedic culture to have originated in India round about 1500 B.C. Moreover, as they found that the Vedic people were a white race with golden hair in some cases, whereas most of the people in India are black and mixed race and as the words Arya and Ārya are strewn over in many places in the mantras and as the Vedic Language is similar to the Persian, Greek and Germanic Languages, they formulated that the Vedic people were aryaans and must have come into India from Europe and called them Indo-Europeans in the absence of a positive proof of their origin in India. They have not also found a clear solution to the centum satem divagation of speech. Various attempts have been made to locate the origin of the Indo-European language which starting from Norway has come to rest in central Turkeystan. We are under the painful necessity to state that all these arguments are conjectures. There is not a single positive evidence. The reason of this is that the Vedas have not been as scientifically studied as is necessary. As in illustration we may state that it has been very strongly stated that there is absolutely no evidence that Dhanya (Paddy-Rice) was known in the Rig Vedic times. But unfortunately enough the word is to be found at least in three places (R.V.V. 53, 13, VI, 13, 4.X,94, 13) carrying a sense which cannot be other than Paddy or Rice. In that admirable book, Pre-historic India (pelican), Mr. Stuart Piggott, upto the end of Ch. vi, has from archaeological data very excellently established the invasion and devastation of the country by marauding horsemen from the west round about the first half of the second millenium B.C.—specifically 1500 B.C.—and has jumped to the conclusion that these marauding hordes were the Vedic Aryans in the next and last chapter of the book.

Though his conclusion is centred about Sind and Beluchistan and not the northern regions of India to which, according to the opinion of Western scholars, the so-called Aryans or Indo-Europeans migrated, we are startled with the illogicality of his argument. The excellent reasoning that he has pursued all through out the six chapters of his book is not to be found in the remaining chapter. In all fairness to him we must say that he has admitted that he has not made a first hand study of the Vedas.

But what he has not stated is that his view is based on the consensus of conjectures by the earlier European scholars. Thus a good deal of inductive reasoning has been sacrificed at the altar of conjectures. In his book, edition of 1950, chapter IV facing page 102, he has supplied us with a picture, Fig. 7, reportedly belonging to kulli culture of about 3000 B.C., which positively depicts the Agnishomiya yagna as described in Aitareya Brahman vi, 3. In the picture there are a cow and an ox with certain other animals and objects. On the top of the picture there are four creeper like things, a few strainer like objects and in between the horns two triangles, one white and another black. The creepers are of course some plants and the triangles are symbols of fire one belonging to the Ahargana and the other to Rātrigana (R.V. vi. 9.1. and 1,95,1.).

The eyes depict Surya. All the animals are of two colours as required in the Agnishomiya sacrifice. The ox and the cow are tethered to posts of which only one is seen. It is clearly the Yupa which is crowned with an object which Mr. Piggott calls a brazier but which is nothing but the Chashāla, a sort of crown. In between the cow and the ox there is the symbol of a peepul tree (*Ficus Religiosa*) the symbol of Vishva Karmā in the Yagna. This peepul tree stands for the people who performed Asvamedha or horse sacrifice. So this picture depicts an age when there was a complete amalgamation of cultures.

A living example of this can be found in R.V.I, 100,16. where it is stated that the sons of Brishāgirā, Ṛgishwā, Ambarisha, Sahadev and others used horses of two colours—red and grey. As in the 18th mantra Shimju is mentioned whom, from R.V. VII, 18,5, we know to be a denizen of the banks of Sindhu *i.e.*, Parushui (Ravi) and as Chayamānu or Chaman in Baluchistan and Nāhusisu which we take for the railway station Nushki in the vicinity of Pishin-Lora. We take the locality of Ambarisha and others in the region of Kuki culture. From mention of domes or place names in R.V. VII, 18,7 we are confined in our convictions of the locality in as much as Paktha is easily Deva Bugti, Votansa or Votans is Bolan (Bolan Pass), Alināsu the Alai, Bishanina is Pishiu and Sivas is Sibi or Sivas all in proximity of Quetta and can be easily located today in contiguity of Chaman and river Ravi or Parushui. This is rather a testimony of Vedic culture previous to Mahenjo Daro and Harappa. Mentions of canals in and about Parushui and what was later on Harappa is also made.

By way of digression we may here mention that while exploring the course of Indus, Seylan of Caryanda, as mentioned by Herodotus in Bk. IV, 44, must have sailed in 6th century B.C. from Kashmir in Dera Bugti. Herodotus calls it Cashatyros in the district of Pactyea. In Markandeya Puran Ch. 57, 52 we also find the mention of Kashmir in the

Aparānta country. The place can still today be located. So Bugti is Pactyca of the Greeks and Paktha of the Rig Veda as mentioned here. This Kashmir is not the province of Kashmir as interpreted by scholars.

Space and occasion do not allow us to discuss this amalgamation of cultures. What we want to emphasise here is that here about 3000 B.C., we have a complete amalgamation of cultures which must have taken place far earlier. So we cannot say that the Vedic people entered India round about 1500 B.C. There are more instances of this in the same book though unknown to the writer. There is one more feature in the picture that we have missed. On the bodies of the ox and the cow there are certain marks which appear very much like husked rice or barley. This is another testimony that this figure, an instance of Kulli culture of 3000 B.C., exhibits a positive instance of the influence of Vedic culture as described in Aitareya Brāhmaṇa vi, 3. In the same context of the Brāhmaṇa it is said that there was a controversy if the animal was to be sacrificed and eaten or only Puroḍaśh, a kind of bread prepared from barley or rice. Some were in favour of eating the flesh and some were against this. This can be taken as a starting point of arguments regarding the origin of Jainism and other religions. The picture is possibly related to Gavāmayana Sātra also (Aitareya Brahmana xviii, 7 and 8).

By this time we have possibly succeeded, if not in refuting the postulates of the Western scholars, at least in impressing on the scholars a need for rethinking over the issue.

Macdonell, Keith and others, though they believe in the migration of the so-called Aryans or Indo-Europeans into India, have described the Vedic affairs in a way which brings into our mind that they believe that the Vedic culture developed in India. That is why they have tried to pack all place names in British India, as it was called in their time. But to maintain their belief they have discovered certain mythologies in the Vedas. This feature is to be discussed.

Darmesteter, Hillebraudt, Luduig, Bollenstein etc. have tried to extend the places in Afganisthan as well. Whether they have done it in order to further establish the Indo-European migration theory (migratory people must leave some traces behind) or they have followed the statement of the Arab writer Al-Masudi (953 A.D.), who says that the Hindu nation extends from Khorassan to Tibet is rather difficult to understand.

From the Commentary of Sāyana it is quite evident that he takes almost the whole of India as the field of Vedic culture. But as his commentary is based on rituals only he cares very little for time and place. The same may be spoken of Yāska. Late Umeshchandra Vidyāratna presumed the Pamir plateau to be origin of the Vedic culture. Tilak's

opinion of the arctic home of the Aryans is rather well-known. There are some who think the Yablonoi and Stanovoi mountains to be the original home of the Aryans. A. C. Das, Srikanta Shastri and Dr. Lakshman Swarup think that the Vedic culture was autochthonous. But as we do not accept the word Aryan as representative of the Vedic people we think the truth lies between all these opinions. But this is not the place to discuss this question. The truth must be established by rethinking on an inductive basis. So we rather try to proceed from a nucleus about which there is practically very little divergence of views. But before proceeding with the subject matter on hand we must discuss one or two things more.

We have already mentioned that there are some who think that the Vedas contain history as well as mythology. But what is meant by mythology? Does it mean fictions and as such unbelievable tales containing exaggeration and incongruous details? If this has been meant then we must say that the Vedas vitiated by mythology can not be accepted as history. In such a case all this labour is useless unless we take it as a source of amusement. But the entire tradition of the Hindus stands against this view. So we must accept the Vedas as historical. Mythology to our view is nothing but a historical event happening long ago, how long none can tell, the broad outlines of which are carried down to us, the details being forgotten. So it is either exaggerated or symbolical or both. Sometimes this is so because we do not understand the Language and mistake one object for another or, the matter being esoteric, the event is covered in allegory or symbol. In this our sentiments play a great part. Now we have two contradictory sentiments. Most of us ascribe all good and moral acts to our forefathers. This might be due to our innate pride and craving for a recognised place in society as also to training by our guardians in our infancy. Obedience is said to be the bond of rule. So in order to maintain an ordered society this obedience is to be cultivated. This unquestioning obedience is shattered whenever there is the process of comparison and contrast or process of knowledge in our mind. Probably the story of the fall of Adam and Eve from the garden of Eden on account of eating the fruit of the tree of knowledge is an illustration of this aspect of life. On the other hand we want to progress and establish ourselves which can only be achieved through knowledge. There is a thin connecting link between these two apparently contradictory sentiments, our pride and ambition. So this ambition recreates a story which we call mythology. Mythologies may have another motive. They may be employed in educating children who have the greatest amount of wonder element in them. So interest generated in children through exaggerations and symbols which

are unravelled later on with the attainment of maturity. This is essentially connected with culture and religion. But when it is only for beguiling time it is fiction. Religion has no such motive. In the Vedas we find very little exaggeration as in the Puranas.

The Puranas exhibit a highly exaggerated presentation of stories in general. But generally the Vedas do not present any exaggeration. Time and again it is enjoined in the Vedas that truth and forth right truth (Satya and Rita) must be the aim of a man's life. So when there are some apparent exaggerations, it is because we do not understand the language and thus misinterpret it. In fact the Vedas have been much misinterpreted. Starting from a ritualistic stand point it was Yāska, who through grammatical acrobatics, introduced many mistakes and Sāyana followed suit. But if we think that these rituals must have been based on some realities (*vide* R.V. VIII, 89, 6 etc.) which were later on substituted into symbols we can say that under such circumstances mistakes were inevitable. Thus we find that to these commentators the condition and geographical details of heaven are very minutely known, which details cannot be retraced now, they know very little of mundane conditions and geographical details. There may be some who may fail foul on this argument quoting experiences of yogā. As this is not the place to discuss this we may summarily say that Yogic experiences are not uniform in nature and are very much like dreams. Moreover these experiences are not to be divulged. So there is no possibility of ascertaining the truth. We, of course, refer to the Yogic experiences based on a dual or objective respect. Over and above this we may say that whenever there are alternative meanings given by these commentators we may say that they are not sure of their ground. And this is often to be met with. In this connection we may say that the words Agni, Dyaus, Āpas, Martiya, Marya, Nakis, Sichan and others, to quote at random, have been positively misinterpreted. Over and above this we may say that while dealing with the Vedas we are dealing with movement of peoples we have not taken notice of duplication of names of places. We hope it will be readily admitted that a people on the move carry their tradition and associations with them and replant them at the place of adoption. This is so obvious that it requires no proof. In the absence of regard for this duplication many mistakes have crept in. For fear of lengthening our article we give only one instance. It is the case of Yamuna, an important river. We shall discuss these whenever necessary. So these considerations automatically lead us to a sense of growing need for re-thinking matters pertaining to the Vedas. As in establishing a theory or discovering a truth, one has to start, in one's inductions, from a nucleus which every body or most persons admit to be true, we start



our arguments from the Nadistuti of Sindhukshit Praiyamedha Rishi in order to discover a further jumping ground.

## II

While discussing the Nadi-stuti, praise of rivers, by Sindhukshit Praiyamedha Rishi (R.V.X. 75) we shall only dwell upon the implications of the hymn as there are many interpretations and translations of it.

The name Sindhukshit is probably descriptive as we find in many instances of the Vedas. It means a person who dwells by the Sindhu or Indus. In the Vedas any and every river is called Sindhu. But here, as we find that by the word Sindhu a particular chief river is meant, we have no other option than to mean the Indus. These descriptive proper names in the Vedas demonstrate the love for truth and realism and not hollow idealisms as are to be found now a days in India.

Priyamedha has been interpreted by Sāyana as the son of Priyamedha. Priyamedha is a Rishi who has been mentioned many times in the Rig Veda and who is in part the Rishi (seer) of the hymn viii, 2 in the Rig Veda. He is called an Angirasha, (elsewhere as a Vashistha) a person belonging to the clan of Angiras. But, according to Vedic custom, Praiyamedha may mean belonging to the clan of Priyamedhas who in turn descended from the clan of Angiras. We think so because the hymn under discussion appears to be a later one. In this hymn there are nine mantras of which seven are devoted to the praise of the particular chief river known as Sindhu or Indus. So the name of the Rishi (seer) appears to be descriptive.

As to the Viniyoga or application of the hymn, from the ritualistic stand point, it is said to be "go to Viniyogah." Whether it means that the Viniyoga or application is according to the foregoing hymn, *i.e.* 'Marut-vatiya Nivid' or otherwise is rather difficult for us to understand. In all the dialogue hymns where the Vinoyoga is said to be (Gatih or "Gatah" it refers to tradition and not to be the foregoing hymn. As all the hymns are ritualistic substitutions (*vide* R.V.1,80, 16,v,45,6) and as in the hymns with Viniyogas Gatih or Gatah some facts are reproduced, stated or described and no invocation for aid is specifically mentioned, we can make hold to accept the Viniyoga as traditional, based on reproduction and mimesis. If our view is accepted then we can say that these hymns are the seeds or beginnings of dramatic literature. An enquiry ought to be conducted in this direction.

In the first mantra the Rishi speaks of three groups of rivers, seven in each group, and says that the Sindhu, whether in force or expanse, is greater than any of them. The Rishi evidently excludes the Sindhu from

each group but takes it to be the centre of the groups. The Sindhu is the river about which or with which the other rivers flow. Now about these three groups of rivers Sāyana says that each group flows through Dyaus (heaven?), Prithivi (earth) and Antariksha (atmosphere?). Though the Rishi speaks of three groups of rivers with Sindhu as the centre, in this hymn he has given us the names of rivers belonging only to two groups. The third group is not to be found. Why this is so is not stated. Then the Rishi states that he is invoking the rivers from Sadane Vivasvatah—the residence (Sadana) of Vivaswan. This expression is to be found strewn over in many places in the Rig Veda. Sāyana explains this expression as 'yajamāna griham,' the house (griham) of the person for whose benefit the ritual is performed '(yajamanah). But the word Yajamana is derived from root-yaj. Now the root-yaj, now a days, means the mere offerings of libations etc. to a deity particularly on sacrificial fire. Probably Sāyana means this. But the Vedic root carries a sense of union, the act of conjoining and as such it is equivalent to the root-yu as to be found in Yuvan, Yuvati, Yuvamāna, Yoshā etc. In the Somayāg and other Yagnas the Yajamāna has to go through certain processes symbolical of new birth. It is so because of unity in a community is through birth and traditional faith peculiar to the community. Probably baptism in other religions has also the same base. In Bhagabad Gitā the word Yagna is probably used in this sense of union. The uses of root-yaj and root-Bhaj in 7/23 and root-yaj in 9/25 of the same book will possibly explain our stand. Then again in the same book, Bhagavad Gita, in 6/31, it is said that Bhajana (the act of meditation)—from root-Bhaj—should be based on Ekatvam or unity or oneness. In colloquial Bengali, in certain parts of the country, there are such words Yajalo, Yajācche, Yajie etc.—all derived from root-yaj—are in use. These words are used in a bad sense. They mean the act of reducing men and things to the same standard of impurity. In the Hindu community a man is deemed impure when he returns from the latrine. If such a man touches other usable things, which are deemed pure, then those things turn impure, that is reduced to the same standard of impurity. Such a man is purified by ablution. So we see that root-yaj, though having a partial application here conveys the sense of unity. Hence yajamāna is a person with whom union is being made as such Sadane Vivasvatah cannot mean the house of the Yajmāna but a sanctum where unification through rituals is made. As Vedic rituals are symbolical, we have discussed it earlier, so such a sanctum must be representative of the community or nation. Probably from this stand point we may deem the Vivasvatah Sadanam or Yagnasālā or the house of sacrifice representative of the territory under the rule of

Vivasvān generally called Surva translated as the Sun. The rivers, that are invoked, stand in the territories ruled by Vivasvān. As the rule of Vivasvat belongs to the third period of the Vedic culture, we may take this hymn to be a later one. We have no opportunity to discuss the periods of Vedic culture here. Suffice it to say that the Prāchīna, Madhyama and Nutana Rishis describe the three stages of Vedic culture. The third group of seven rivers has not been mentioned by Sindhukshit possibly because they did not lie in the territory of Vivasvat at the time of this hymn.

The second mantra states that the path of Sindhu was carved out by Varuna, a God, and the river goes over a sloping down tableland upto Bhumi or earth where sacrifices are performed or food grains are produced (the word used is Vājān). As Varuna is said to be the God of sea or water it is apparently reasonable to state that Varuna carved out a path for Sindhu. But then Varuna is also the lord of the West. Under this condition it becomes rather difficult to understand. In R.V. iii, 33, 6 it is said that Indra carved out the paths of the rivers particularly of Sutudri or Sutlej. Now Indra is said to rule the East. So there is an apparent conflict in these two Vedic texts. It is upto us to reconcile them. It takes its rise from a place near the lake Manas Sarovar modern Tibet. According to Tradition it was somewhere here that Indra resided. In the Uttar Kanda of Ramayana ch. 32 sloka we find that Ravana went to conquer Indra after crossing the Kailasha mountain. In Kalidasa (Kumar Sambhava and Meghaduta) we find that the Deva Kingdoms were here by the side of the Himalayas. So if it is said that Indra carved the path for Sutudri or Sutlej we are to understand that Indra resided at a place whence the Sutudri took its rise. This position is further strengthened by the mention of Kalāpa, heaven, in Skanda Purana, Maheswara Kumārīka Khanda, sixth chapter 33, 34. Similarly if it is said that Varuna carved the path for Sindhu we are to understand that Varuna lived at a place whence the Sindhu took its rise. Now we have to decide what place it was. We must not forget that this must be in the west as Varuna was the ruler of the West. In Aitareya Brahman 38/3 we learn that the Adityas made Indra ruler of the west. As Varuna was one of the original six Adityas so we have no conflict here in the statement that Varuna ruled the West. These factors lead us to believe that Sindhu took its rise from the arms of the Hindu Kush known as Koh-i-Baba and Koh-i-safed, the Paropanisadae or Parapamisos of the ancient Greek Writers. Or in other words the Kabul river happened to be the first half of the Indus and that portion which is to the north of Peshwar was either not there or was slender stream joining this Vedic Sindhu. Probably this northern

stream was called Tristāma in the sixth mantra of this hymn. In this speculation we are rather emboldened by the mention of the town of Dyrta in Arrian's life of Alexander Book iv 30. There is also a possibility of equating Dyrta with Dardrei of Ptolemy or Daradas of Mahabharat. Dyrta may be Trishta as well. If this is accepted then many arguments regarding the location of rivers Choes or Khoes, Cophas or Cophen or Khoaspes and Kubha will be altered. Moreover the meaning of the term Sapta-Sindhavah or Hapta-Hindava as also of Hindu-Kush will be decided for ever. Before proceeding further we must say that we are discussing the change of a traditional name—Sindhu flowing from West to Sindhu flowing from North and East as we see now-a-days. Such a change of tradition must have followed after a great natural Catastrophe changing the volume and importance of a river. Probably a tectonic disturbance or series of such disturbances followed by great avalanches etc. must have connected the cooped up northern river rising from the Manas Saravar area with the Sindhu as we find in the Vedas and have changed the aspect of the Sindhu the Kabul part of which dwindled in importance and was given a separate name. Before the earthquake of 1897 A.D. the Sango-po of Tibet, which is now considered to be a part of the Brahmaputra in the upper reaches, did not flow into the Brahmaputra but went eastward to join the Salween in Burma and as such the Brahmaputra was a smaller river and previous to that it was a still smaller river and was connected with the Karatoya in North-Bengal (*vide* River system of Bengal by S. Majumdar). It is well-known geographical fact that the salt range in the Punjab crosses the Indus at Kalabagh and goes up to the Safed Koh Mountain in the North Western Frontier Province in Western Pakisthan. To the north of this salt range is the Soan or Sohan river and to its south is the Kurram river. Now the American Archaeological expedition head by De Terra found that at one time the Sohan was a very broad river, but it was reduced lately. This indicates that at one time the waters of the Sohan must have been cooped up by a natural mountainous barrage which was at Kalabagh. To the south of this barrage the Indus must have flown for a little distance, met the Kurram and then entered the sea. That there was a sea in the western part of the Punjab can be known from R.V. 3.33, 2, the Mahabharat (where it has been variously described) and from the name Sindh-Sagar Doab of that part of the territory. That the Sindhu or Indus met the sea not very far from the Kurram river is to be assumed from Mantras 2 and 4 of the hymn under discussion, wherein it is stated that the Sindhu went in front of the other streams. Now how can a river go before other rivers unless by entering the sea before others ?

That there was a natural catastrophe can be gathered from various testimonies. First of all the archaeological testimony of the contraction in the volume of the Sohan. The contraction in the volume of the Indus which even Arrian in the Life of Alexander states to have been thirteen or twelve miles in breadth and in the south to have been more like a lake than a river (Arrian-Anabasis Book vi 13-15. Tr. Selincourt-Penguins). In the contraction of the Sohan we indirectly understand the breaking of the barrage at Kalabagh and in the contraction of the Indus we understand a tectonic disturbance by which a path was made for this inland sea, we are speaking of, to drain out its waters into the Arabian sea thus causing an inundation and devastation of Dwārakā as described in the Maushal Parva of the Mahabharata as also in other books, and also of the inundations in Mahen-jo-daro as have been found by the archaeologists.

We have digressed far from the main point of our argument. But this digression was necessary not only for coming to an indirect guess as to the age of this hymn but also for creating a suitable atmosphere for understanding the subject matter and also to leave a thorough impression of it.

In Book vi ch. 11 relating to Baktriane, Ptolemy speaks of a territory of the Ovarnoi (Varnoi) near the Paropanisadae. This must be related to Varuna of the Vedas. Arrian in Bk. v, 3-5 (p. 166 of selincourt's translation of the Life of Alexander in the Penguin series) of his Anabasis writes about the Indus " it rises somewhere west of the Parapamisus or (Caucasus) range and flows in to the Indian Ocean to the south ward. This is also to be found in the book of Mela, strabo and curtius as mentioned by Mc Crindle in p. 85 of his geography of Ptolemy.

We thank these are sufficient arguments in favour of the instrumentality of Varuna in carving out a path for the Sindhu as to be found in this hymn.

In this connection we must refer the readers to the conquests of Rāvana in the Uttar Kanda of the Ramayana in canto xxiii of Uttar Kanda Ravana's war in the Kingdom of Varuna has been described. The kingdom of Varuna lay next to Surabhi Loka, which to us appears to have been the Sariphi Range as described by Ptolemy to have been in the territory of Margiane. After this Ravana returned to Lankā, his capital city through the kingdom of Gods, evidently Ouarnoi and others. Sariphe range is to the west of Fara in Afganistan.

In the Krishna Yajurveda many times oblations are made in the name of Samudra, Sāgara and Sindhu (Samudrāya tvā, Sindhave tvā). This manta very clearly shows that these three are proper names. In the Vedas we often find that what we take for class nouns are used as proper nouns. These three being separate must be three distinct objects. Samudra must

be the Hamund occupying part of Afganisthan and part of Beluchisthan. According to many archaeologists this was a vast inland sea somewhere near 4000 B.C. which had subsequently dried up leaving the desert lands of Dasht-i-kavir, Dast-i-Lut, Dast-i-Margo and others. The Sagar must have been the sea we are describing, whose only remanant is in the name Sindhu Sāgar Doāb. Probably this has been mentioned in R.V.X. 155, 3. But enough of it. In the third mantra the expression 'Divi Svano Yatate' requires some attention. The word Divi is in the locative singular. But Sayana takes it for accusative singular and gives the meaning of 'yatate' as 'gachchati,' goes. So what we understand as "the roaring of Sindhu begins (Yatate) in dyaus (divi)"—dyaus is translated by all as heaven but we take it for a territory on the earth resided by Devas, a community of men—Sāyana gives the meaning as "your roars reach upto heaven." We take the meaning of 'Yatate' as chestate tries to begin. So what we find for a fact that the Sindhu originates from the region of Varuna, which is Dyaus, we think the meaning of Yatate as given by us is an improvement upon Sāyana. There are two words according to grammar—Dyo and Div, declined differently. In our opinion Div, meaning heaven, indicates the Western territories of Afganisthan and northern territories comprising parts of Uzbekisthan, Kirghizia and Tajikisthan. The 'Tau mountains and several place names indicate this. Dyo in our opinion refers to the heaven to the east, as has been discussed in connection with Suttlej, that is the territory of Tibet the ancient name of which was Tabotte very similar to Dyāvah as to be found in the Vedas. The locative singular of Div is 'divi' and of 'Dyo is Dyavi.' So this 'divi' in this mantra appears to be correctly interpreted by us. Bhumi is of course earth which is Mahi, Prithivi, Rasa etc. comprising a territory traversed by the Sindhu in its course to the south.

Here it is advisable to state that the third group of Sapta Sindhavah (Hapta Hindavah in Avesta) as stated by Sāyana to belong to Antariksha (atmosphere as translated by all) must be the group of seven rivers called Saraswatyah or Haraswatyah as described in different places in the Rig Veda. These seven rivers are the Helmond group of rivers flowing into the Hamund in Afganisthan which, we have every reason to believe, was called the Antariksha. We shall discuss it else where. As in our present interpretation we find the Helmond group of rivers proceeding from the basin of the Sindhu we do not find any objection to call them Sapta Sindhavah. But sindhukshit has not described them except mentioning the fact that the Sindhus are three groups of rivers with seven in each group.

So from these discussions we come to understand that the word Sin-

dhavah included a territory from Fara in Afganisthan to Tibet, at least up to Manas Sarovar.

Hindu kush or Hind koh clearly means the mountain (koh) by the Sindhu.

The fourth mantra works out a beautiful simile. In it, it is again said that the Sindhu goes in front of all other rivers. We have discussed it earlier in connection with the second mantra. In this fourth mantra the 'sichau' causes some difficulty. Sāyana takes it to mean 'Sichyamanau Bhatau' two warriors or groups of warriors (Bhatau) being wetted (Sichyamanau) with flood as in a battlefield. But here the objects wetted can not be the rivers whom Sindhu leads to war. The waters of the rivers wet the land about. So by 'Bhatau' of Sāyana we ultimately come to the land or lands and not the different rivers. The 'ni' in Nayashi here means to lead or causing to get. From the trend of the speech 'to lead' is rather acceptable to us. So by 'Sichau' we mean 'Sechana Samarthau' or 'Sechana Karinyau'—the two river systems that wet. But even this is not entirely satisfactory. This only refers to the benefactory effects of the rivers and does not include any sense of the territory thus benefited.

In R.V. 1,95,7 Sayana interprets 'Sichau' as "Dyāvā-Prithivyau"—the Dyaus and Prithivi or heaven and earth as interpreted commonly. We think that this is a better interpretation. The eastern set of seven streams help the Dyaus to achieve her end and the middle set, as described by Sindhukshit here, help the Prithivi. This interpretation helps us to locate Dyans and Prithivi. In many mantras the order of the three territories of Dyaus, Prithivi and Antariksha are given in the order as we give here. If for Dyaus we take heaven and for Antariksha Atmosphere the order ought to have been different. This quite falls in line with our earlier argument in connection with Sutudri and Indra. So we come to the conclusion that the territories now known as the Punjab, the Himachal Pradesh etc. were known as Dyaus or Dyavah. Even today Kashmir is called Bhuswarga, earthly (Bhuh) paradise (Swarga or Dyaus). The North Western Frontier territories along with some territories of Afganisthan along with the Kama or Kunhar river were known as Bhuh or Mahi or Prithivi or Prithivi or Rasa etc.

The fifth and sixth mantras are to be taken together. It is to be noticed that whereas the rivers in the east along with certain tributaries are in the vocative case, the rivers to the west of this system are in the instrumental case. The tributaries of the eastern rivers are also in the instrumental case. So by the instrumental case we are to understand tributaries.

In fact the Western rivers are described as 'Saratham Yabhiriyaśa'

("with whom you, Sindhu, proceed in the same chariot"). We think it better to take the word Ratha in the Babylonian sense of channel and not as taken by Sāyana as a chariot. There are occasions to think that these Vedic people had associations with the Babylonians.

Therefore the vocative case indicates the independence of the eastern rivers. This rather strengthens our argument regarding the existence of a sea to the west of the Punjab.

The order of the description of the rivers is beginning from south and east going to north and west and then from North and West to South. This is extremely important in the identification of the rivers.

Regarding these two sets of rivers in the east and the west we have further attestations in Chāndogyopanishad vi, 10, 1 the eastern and western rivers are mentioned. But, what is peculiar, it is said that they go from Samudra to Samudra and become Samudra and nothing else. What are we to make of the two Samudras? Sankaracharya in his commentary takes Samudrāt (from Samudra-ablative case) to mean from the clouds (Jaladharaiḥ). The accusative case is taken by him to mean the sea. With due respect to the great sage we say that we are unable to accept this interpretation.

Because from apparent or common view the rains do not supply the rivers all throughout the year. There must be some other source. The storage of water in the earth or the mountains is that source. So we think by Samudrāt 'Antariksha' is meant. Samudra is a name of Antariksha in the Nighantu. So this is another proof of a sea in the Punjab as indicated by Samudram in the accusative case. We have discussed Antariksha earlier.

In Brihadāranyakopanishad iii, 8, 9 it is said that it is according to the rule of this Akshara that the eastern rivers flow and the Western rivers from the Sveta mountains flow. Now the expression Svetebhyah Parvatebhyah is a distinct reference in connection with the western rivers. This Sveta mountains cannot be other than the Safed Koh (Safed-Sveta) in the North Western Frontier Province of West Pakistan. The plural may mean both Safed Koh and Koh-i-Safed (in Afganistan near Koh-i-Baba). In this case the upper reaches of the Sindhu as described by us are also meant.

The enumeration of the eastern rivers in the fifth Mantra begins from the south and ends in the north. The first river to be mentioned is Gangā. Gangā is mentioned only once in the Rig Veda. There is another reference to Gangā, but unfortunately we cannot trace it now. In R.V. vi. 45.31 in connection with Bribu there is a mention of Gāngyah which evidently means pertaining to Gangā. But we are not quite sure if this Gangyah



refers to the Ganga of Sindhukshit. In Classical Sanskrit Jahnvi (Vedic Jahnāvi) is a synonym for Gangā. But we do not think that the Jahnāvi of R.V. I, 116. 19 is synonymous with the Gangā of Sindhukshit. It is to be noticed that the Drishadvati, which scholars definitely assert to have been somewhere near modern Delhi, is not mentioned. In R.V. III, 23.4 we learn that the Bharatas performed many Asvamedha Yagnas on the banks of Drishadvati, Āpaya and Saraswati rivers. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa in 39.9 mentions that Bharata performed Asvamedha to the tune of seventy eight on the Ganges and fifty five on the Yamunā. In Bhāgavata 9.20.25, 26, the account tallies exactly with that of the Aitareya Brahmana. In Mahabharat, Drona Parva 16.66.8, it is stated that Bharata performed Asvamedha to the tune of one hundred on the bank of Yamunā, three hundred on the Saraswati and four hundred on the Gangā. From these we are led to believe that Gangā and Drishadvati were one and the same. We are further confirmed in our belief when we find that the Bhāgavata (5.19.17) while enumerating the rivers of northern India mentions Drishadvati along with Yamuna and Saraswati and not Ganga. Of course Mandākinī is mentioned, but we think that the streams Mandākinī, Alakānandā and Bhāgirathi unite in different Prayagas in the Himalayas and ultimately come out into the plains as Gangā. Therefore Drishadvati and Ganga were one and the same. This fact also occurred in the mind of Ludwig ; but he took Apaya for Ganga (*vide* Vedic Index by Mac Donell and Keith under Apaya). We take Apaya for Jamuna. The coincidences of the different texts force us to believe this. By way of digression we may say that the Mashnār country in Aitarey Brahman 39/9 in connection with Bharat might have been Manchar in Sind. From mantra four of the hymn under consideration we have no alternative to the belief that Gangā, Yamunā and Saraswati flowed westwards, joined together and formed a single stream, the dry bed of which is today known as Hakra. It is of particular interest that Hakra can be equated as Sāgara as we have discussed earlier. Ghaggar may also be equated with Sāgar. These names were given by the Arabs.

From Ramayan also we come to know that there was a place in ancient times known as the confluence of Ganga and Saraswati. Bharata while returning from his maternal uncle's house bathed in this confluence and after a long passage crossed the Yamuna and the Ganga. The geography of Mahābhārata has not been very carefully worked out. If we trace the path followed by Yudhisthira and others after the burning of Yatugriha and crossing of the Gangā we cannot but accept the fact that the Gangā at the period flowed west wards. The mention of their visiting the countries of Matsya and Trigarta are a sufficient testimony to that.

This is to be found in *Adi Parva*. In the *Ramayana* the confluence of Ganga and Sarasvati shows Ganga to be either a dying or dead river, the place retaining the tradition of santily only. This is because the *Ramayana* as we get it today was most probably re-written in the Gupta period of Indian history.

Rajsekharā, in his *Kavya Mimansha*, 910 A.D. while describing the rivers of *Uttarāpatha*, the path going to the north, begins with *Gangā*, *Sindhu* and *Sarasvati* starting from *Prithudaka*, which Cunningham and others take for *Pehoa* near Delhi. But we think it must have been *Pataudi*, a place south west of Delhi where in the ancient times the Ganga and the *Yamunā* joined each other. This is another proof of the westward flow of the Ganges. If this was so then *Yamunā* could not have any other course. From the testimony of the *Mahābhārat* the *Dwaita Vana* and the *Kāmyak Vana* were in the northern parts of Rajasthan and partly also in the south west of the Punjab. The archaeological remains in the *Ganganagar Taluka* in north Rajasthan are a proof of the westward flow of the Ganges. The *Bhogavati* of the Ganges is also traditional proof of the westward flow of the Ganges, because *Bhogavati* was the capital of the snake king *Vāsuki* in *Pātala*. *Yamuna* has been mentioned thrice in the *Rig Veda* V. 52.17 ; VII. 18.19 and in this hymn under discussion. Of these, the references to V.52 17 and VII.18.19 do not refer to the *Yamuna* under the present hymn. This *Yamuna* must have been a river in the northern part of *Afganisthan*, probably the *Kundus* of the present day. The reference in *Panchavimse Brahman*, IX.4.11, to the *Pārāvatas* living by the *Yamuna* is a proof of that. In the XIV chapter of *Brihat Samhita* by *Varahamihir* and also in the *Parasar Samhita* as quoted by *Bhattotpala* we find the mention of two *Yamunas* or *Yāmuna* people in slokas 2, and 25 relating to *Madhyadesa* and *Uttaradesa* respectively. In *Markandeya Purana* Ch. 58, sloka 42 we have a mention of *Yamuna* country in the *Udichya* or north country. So here we have a duplication of name. Similarly *Sarasvati* is duplicated. The *Sarasvati* of *Bharadvaj* and *Vashistha* having seven sisters and named the slayer of *Pārāvatas*, is assuredly the *Helmand* river in *Afganisthan* (*vide* R.V. VI. 61 and VII. 95 and 96).

After the three rivers *Sutudri* or *Sutlej* is mentioned. But *Vipāshā* or *Hyphasis* of the Greeks is not mentioned. Why this is so is difficult to conjecture. In hymn 33 of the 3rd Mandala of the *Rig Veda* it is said that the two streams joined each other and went by one name, evidently *Sutudri* (mantras 2 and 3). Then the name of *Parushni* is made. It is the *Ravi* of present day, *Iravati* of *Pauranic* fame and *Hydraotes* of the Greeks. This *Parushni* is possibly connected with the *Rishi*. *Iravan*

of Rig Veda and Airavata of the Puranas. The Asikne is mentioned. It is the modern Chenab or Chandrabhāgā and the Akesines of the Greeks. But Asikni is not mentioned here as the chief river. This name is in instrumental case singular denoting the fact that it is a tributary. It is a tributary to Marudbridhā which is the main stream. This Marudbridhā was connected with the Maruta of the Vedas.

Next to this Ārjikiyā is mentioned as the chief river. This Ārjikiyā was possibly connected with the Ārjika country connected with Saryanāvati said to be an alternative name for Kurukshetra. The mention of Ārjikiyā can be found in R.V. VIII. 64.1 and Ārjika can be found in R.V. VIII. 7.29 ; IX. 65.23 and IX. 113.1. This Saryanāvati, as described by Sāyana at different places of his commentary of the Rig. Veda, tallies very much with the description of Sagala, the capital of the Madra nation as given by Mc Crindle in his Ancient India of Ptolemy, Book VII article 46. With this Ārjikiyā are mentioned two tributaries—Bitasta and Susoma. Susoma has been taken by many European scholars as Soma and has been thus identified with Soamos or Soanos of the Greek writers and so has been taken for the Soan or Sohan river which falls into the Indus. These scholars did not take care of the fact that the name is Susoma and that it is a tributary of Ārjikiyā in this hymn. Susoma has been mentioned several times in the Rig Veda along with Ārjikiyā and Ārjika and in the Bhagavata in 5.19.17, probably there is also a reference to Susoma in Mahābhārata. Then Bitastā is mentioned. This Bitastā has been called Hydaspes or Bidaspes by the Greeks and Zailun by the Arabs. Its present name is Jhelum and is known as the chief current. Probably to Sindhukshit the upper part that flows by Srinagar was known as Bitasta and the tributary flowing by Punch to the west of the Pir-Paojal mountain was known as Susomā. The conjoined stream downwards was known as Ārjikiyā. In this speculation we are emboldened by the Rig Vedic hymns quoted by us in connection with Ārjika and Ārjikiyā.

With this we finish the eastern streams and take up the sixth mantra which describes the second set of seven streams beginning from north and joining to the south—three on the eastern bank and four on the western bank.

The first river is Trishtāmā which cannot be located unless it is as we have stated in connection with our discussions of the second mantra of the hymn. Sushartu, the second stream must be Sushan of the present day in the Hazara district. The third stream is Rasā. There are many references in the Rig Veda about this Rasa with which most other rivers, as to be found in this hymn, are also mentioned. So we think the location is not misplaced. As Rasa also means prithivi, the earth, which we have

discussed in connection with the first and second mantras of this hymn, and as in R.V.X. 108.1,2 we find Rasa to be a great stream difficult to be crossed and as the American Archaeological Expedition found the Sohan to have been a vast stream in the past so we take Rasa as the present day Sohan. This identification fulfils all the conditions. With this the tributaries on the eastern bank are finished. The fourth river Sveti begins enumeration from the western bank. It is to our opinion a small stream flowing the Safed Koh near Dwe Toi which in sound value is very much like Sveti ('d' having the value of 'j'). In this connection it is of particular interest that the word Khyber where we locate this river can be equated with Sanskrit Shubhrā or Shubhra thereby denoting its association with the Svet of Safed mountain.

Next to this the fifth river in the list of Kubha. We identify this with the river that flows by the town of Kohat in the Bannu district. There has been a good deal of controversy regarding the identification of cophen, khoes, kophes, khoaspes, koa, kubha etc. The Koa in Ptolemy is evidently the Panjkora river to which flows the Swat or Suvastu or Suastos of Ptolemy. This Koa has not been included in the list. In the sixth mantra the Rishi uses the word 'Yātabe,' for going, in connection with the river Trishtāmā. Now, why is this word used? And then 'Prathamam Yātabe', for going at first? In whatever way we construct it, we can not take it as the beginning of the stream. So it must mean the new turn of the course of Sindhu. Now it is a fact that the Sindhu proceeds southwards from somewhere near Peshwar and it is here that Trishtāmā joins it. So it is very likely that the rishi considers the Sindhu from this point. That is why he does not treat of the other tributaries of the Sindhu in the West. That is possibly why he does not describe the third set of seven rivers, though he mentions it in the beginning. It was also possible that the Rishi was a resident on the bank of the Sindhu, Sindhukshit, in the present day district of Bannu, why he takes no count of other tributaries. But most possibly as the other tributaries of Sindhu do not fall in the region of Bhuh or earth in the territorial divisions of Dyaus, Prithivi and Antariksha and as the Rishi is concerned with the first two divisions of territories, so there is no mention of other tributaries of Sindhu. Be that as it may Sindhukshit has left out Koa of Ptolemy, in our opinion, tempting though it is to equate Koa with Kubha. Koa is the Panjkora of the present day, which is the Gureus of the Greeks, wrongly identified by some as the Gauri of Mahābhārat. Even Gureus, according to our opinion, has wrongly been located by the scholars simply because they have wrongly interpreted the campaigns of Alexander, as given by Arrian, in Andaca, Bazira, or a Massaga, Rock of Aornos and other places beginning from

Choes river. Now Panjkora is evidently connected with Kuru Panchal countries. But unfortunately this is not the time or place for such a discussion. We desist from this with mentioning the fact that according to various authorities there was a Kuru country somewhere in Badakshan. There is an interesting fact regarding this Koa of Ptolemy. Though he mentions that the Indus takes its rise from the Dardrei country in the north, he mentions the confluence of Koa and Indus at a longitude westward. Scholars have taken it as a mistake. But we think that as Ptolemy gathered his informations from people visiting his place and as the accepted custom was, to at least a section of people, that the Kabul was nothing but Sindhu, some people must have told him of the Koa falling into the Indus and some other must have told him of the descent of the Indus from Dardrei. So this is another testimony of the fact that the custom in ancient times was to think of the Sindhu flowing from the Koh-i-Bab a in the west.

From Book IV 22-24 of Arrian's Life of Alexander we learn of Cophen or Kophen and Choes or Khoes. This Kophen must have been that river which flowing from the Bamian pass joins the present day Kabul river, called Sindhu by us, somewhere near Kabul, the capital of Afganisthan today and possibly Nicea or Nikea of the Greeks and Nichya of Aitareya Brahmana 38.3 mentioned earlier as a western territory in connection with the second mantra. Near about Kabul two forks of streams join together, one coming from northwest, which we call Cophen, and the other coming from south west which according to us is the Sindhu. This Cophen, in our view, is connected with Kubhanya in R.V. 52.12. The actual word used is Kubhanyavah which is the plural form of Kubhanyu. Kubhanyavah is evidently a reference to a people. Sāyana explains this as people desiring water, as he explains Vanku in R.V.V. 45.6. As in the Case of Vanku or Vankhu we take it to be river Oxus, so also we take Kubhanyu to be a river. In both cases Sāyana could not dispense with the association of water. Moreover Kubhanyavah is also very possibly associated with Parāvata. As regards choes or khoes we take it to be the Panjshir river which flowing from the khawak pass joins the present day Kabul river. In this connection we must say that Alexander and Hephaestion must have taken two different courses, the latter following the Kabul river eastward. If we do not accept this then Alexander's campaigns beginning from the Choes river cannot have any difference with the battles of Hephaestion. If Alexander followed the Kabul river eastward then a vast territory in the Hindukush and the north of Afganisthan including Badakshan would have been left unconquered. Students of Alexander's campaigns must have noticed that these were quite planned and Alexander

captured the countries, as it were with a dragnet. We are sorry that we cannot discuss it here. Suffice it to say that Alexander followed the choes, conquered the northern parts of Afganisthan, Badakshan and the Panjkore valley and Hephaestion traversed the Kabul river, entered the Bannu district and then went up to Peshawar etc. At this time very possibly there was no such thing as Khyberpass. C. V. Vaidya in his downfall of Hindu India, Vol. III, ch. xi, p. 66, writes "The old road to Hindusthan from Ghazni was via modern Bannu and the Kurram and it fell into disuse when the Khyber pass was opened." This is also according to the Bannu Gazetteer. Even so late as 1398 A.D. Timur followed this path while entering modern India.

The Choes or Khoes as it is connected with the Khawak pass must have been the Begram Kappici of the Satrapies of Darius Hystaspes and the Kāpisha of the classical literature and Pali texts of the Kāvya or Kāpya country of the Vedic texts. Regarding Khospes we are unfortunately much in the dark. Probably this can be equated with Su-asva and as such it stands as a synonym for Sindhu which we find in the eighth mantra of the hymn we are discussing. Here Sindhu is described as Svasva or Su-Asva. Kubha is also mentioned in R.V.V. 53.9 almost in the same association. Regarding the Kunnar or Kama river we have very little to say.

After Kubha we come across Krumu and Gomati. European scholars have taken these as two different rivers identifying them with the Kurram and the Gomal respectively. But Sāyana has eliminated one, taking Krumu as the adjective of Gomati. The Rishi is giving the second set of seven rivers only. So if we take both Krumu and Gomati as distinct rivers and set exceeds by one and as such Sāyana is correct in eliminating one. But we think Sāyana is mistaken here. The word Gomati comes before Krumu. Therefore Gomati should be the adjective and not Krumu. In the Rig Veda the word Gomati occurs thrice, in R.V.V. 61.19 ; VIII 24.30 and in the present hymn. In the previous two cases most probably a river is not meant but a place where cows abound. In this case also we may take Gomatim Krumum as Krumu abounding in cows. Moreover we do not think Gomal can be equated with Gomati. At the time, which we are discussing, the Gomal pass was possibly a creek of the sea and the Gomal river did not fall in the Sindhu but in the Sāgara or Sea. So we reject Gomati as a river. Then the special feature about Krumu in this hymn is that it is in the accusative case where as all other rivers are in the instrumental case and Sindhu in the vocative case. Does it not indicate something ? To us it appears that Krumu is in the accusative case because it indicates the end of the journey of Sindhu. It is here that

the Sindhu enters the sea. Well, if this is, so it indicates a time of the composition of this hymn. The last river to name is mehatnu. We have not found it elsewhere in the Rig Veda. Whether we are to take it as the Matun, a tributary of the Kurram, or the Teritoi below the river of Kohat and to the north of Kurram we fail to understand. The last three Mantras relate to the cultural activities of the people on the banks of the Sindhu. There is a mention of the Asvins in the ninth Mantra.

Thus we finish the hymn and we hope we have succeeded in creating a fair impression of the Vedic territories and their names. This will help us a good deal in explaining many implications in the Rig Veda.

A belated word about Yamunā in the north of Afganisthan. It is said that on account of lushgrass on the bank of Anshumati or Yamunā the kine there were big and fat. This brings to our mind the Gavyāh, a people in the north country as mentioned in Brihat Samhitā of Varāhamihir and Gavala, a people in the north, of Mārkanḍeya Purāna. Along with this when we learn that in his battle near Erigaeum Alexander captured 230,000 oxen of uncommon size and beauty and wished to send some of them to Macedonia and the fact that near this place were Massaga, (Matsyaka), and Andaca, (Agnidhra or Agnijya) (d) being sometimes equal to (j) we think we stand on strong grounds. (Life of Alexander by Arrian Book IV-24-26). The Matsyas are to be found in R.V. VII 18.6, Erigaeum is of course Arjunāyana in the northern country in Mārkanḍeya Purāna ch. 58.

## THE ESSENTIAL KEATS

SRI KANAILAL GOSWAMI, M.A.

The one great mark which, more than anything else, distinguishes 'modern' poetry from its romantic counterpart is the fact that while in appreciating the former you need a scholarly introduction, the latter needs no interpretation provided the reader is bred in the traditional reaction to beauty in a work of art. Romantic poetry appeals directly to the senses or emotions. It tingles along the veins and gives rise to an emotional reaction. This direct appeal is what makes it enjoyable by the man in the street. As regards Keats, we can appreciate his poetry fairly well even without the aid of his own interpretation as set down casually in his letters. In poetry, it may be said, the poet's instinct is often better than or different from his reason. Hence our reference, if need be, should lie from Keats' letters to his poetry, and not vice versa. Keats's poetry is the authority to which an appeal ought to be preferred in cases of doubt or misapprehension. Nothing succeeds like success. It is the actual execution which counts rather than the theory which gives it birth. In other words, the poetry of Keats is a living interpretation of his letters. His letters are 'emotion recollected in tranquillity', and to be regarded as such. In his letters are gathered together at haphazard the dry leaves plucked from 'the tender greening of April meadows'. He himself says of his letters.

'... .. not one word I ever utter can be taken for granted as an opinion growing out of my identical Nature.'

The letters of Keats present a parallel creation along side of his poetry. They are literature to be enjoyed in itself or as an ancillary study. There is, of course, no gainsaying the fact that they stand in their own right. They constitute his soul's confessions, and sometimes no doubt they throw a flood of illumination on the interpretation of his poetry. But one cannot say that in them one has found the masterkey to all one's works. The letters represent an attempt at self-analysis on the part of the poet himself. He is not, however, out to interpret his work of art. He likes to unbosom himself to his friends and acquaintances, dropping casual remarks regarding his aesthetic reaction to literature.

The opinions of Keats vary, but he does have an identical nature, which imposes a kind of uniformity on all the varying strains of his poetic pattern. This identical nature underlies all his reaction to literature. Beauty is that thing which lures him on to fresh fields and pastures new; a kind of melancholy Beauty. That memorable dictum, 'Beauty is truth, truth beauty', has been instrumental in releasing an array of interpretations which makes it difficult for one to strike out a path for oneself. One has to



of Keats. The key of Beauty unlocks his heart. Beauty is truth, he says; the latter half is merely an emphasis. It carries no philosophical implication, for Keats was not inclined that way. His 'negative capability' is a notable phrase used as a handy weapon against Coleridge's 'irritable reaching after fact and reason'. For one so allergic to metaphysics and scarcely able to understand 'the Burden of the Mystery', it is not possible to hazard the luxury of a conceit which sits well on a profound poet like Wordsworth. Keats lived in and for poetry and he identified it with Beauty. Not that he was unaware of the silent call of eternity. But eternity with him was an emotion or a sentiment, and not a metaphysical thesis. To turn the dictum into a formula, as some critics have done, and to read into it an abstruse system of philosophical correlation is to do injustice to an adolescent poet who was confessedly innocent of such speculation. It was beyond the tether of a poetic poet whose sole concern was with Beauty, with melancholy Beauty.

Those who are in the secret of poetic creation in the romantic vein are aware of the fact that there is a psychological complex behind it which is not amenable to scientific analysis. The whole personality passes through an alembic and an essence is distilled in terms of spiritual delight. Words and imagery come pat to the purpose by an inexplicable process of association. Similes and metaphors tumble into the work, the luck of genius linking them into shape. The spontaneity attaching to this process precludes the possibility of rational deliberation. The resultant poem comes out hot from a throbbing heart. Reason compounds with surging emotion, leaving to the latter everything except a pattern of sanity. Sometimes, however, when the poet aligns himself with the lover and the lunatic, he is on the brink of overstepping the bounds of reason, and sanity is coaxed into abnormal expression. It is 'fine frenzy' with him which gives to airy nothing a local habitation and a name.

If we are to appreciate romantic poetry, we are to judge it by an outworn standard. Modern criticism would err miserably if it wants to deal with that variety according to the standard which has grown out of the modern literary zeitgeist. Keats was romantic to the tips of his fingers, and his cult of Beauty was, to all intents and purposes, synonymous with his poetry.

Now, what was his cult of Beauty? Beauty is nothing but that which is a joy for ever. It is a fleeting thing, and with Keats especially, it is a melancholy thing too. The poetry of Keats was conceived

Deep in the shady sadness of a vale.

The song of the nightingale sparks off a drunken delight, but

Fled is that music.

The Grecian Urn teases him out of thought, and beauty appears to be crystallized into permanent shapes of art. There is nothing here to toll him back to his own worried self. But there are many other things to

attend to. They keep impinging on his senses, and the moment he turns his gaze away, he is confronted with a beautiful vale of tears. There is permanent beauty in art, but life tells a different tale. The poet escapes. He harks back to the Middle Ages, to ancient mythological Greece, but his eyes fall on remarkable spots of failure, disappointment, sadness.

His 'Lamia' sloughs off her feminine charm, and the rainbow is divested of its heavenly romance. In a dreamighted December, it is the benumbed tree which forgets its green felicity. But a human child cannot help being sad and repining.

But were there ever any  
Writh'd not at passed joy ?

Even 'To Autumn', that cornucopia of mellow fruitfulness, does not fail to notice

Then in a wailful choir the small gnats mourn  
Among the silver salallows.

Sweet fancy has to be let loose in search of pleasure. But  
At a touch sweet pleasure melteth  
Like to bubbles when rain pelteth.

Pleasure again has to be sought in a fanciful equivalent of art :  
Dulcet-eyed as Ceres' daughter,  
Ere the God of Torment taught her  
How to frown and how to chide ;  
With a waist and with a side  
White as Hebe's, when her zone  
Slipt its golden clasp, and down  
Fell her kirtle to her feet,  
While she held the goblet sweet,  
And Jove grew languid.

But these things of beauty cannot satisfy for long. So  
Let the winged Fancy roam  
Pleasure never is at home.

The poet's eye glances from heaven to earth and from earth to heaven, but beauty is eternal seeking. Hence the melancholy which arises from a sense of continual dissatisfaction. Not only does Melancholy dwell with Beauty that must die and with Joy whose hand is ever at his lips bidding adieu, but

Ay, in the very temple of Delight  
Veil'd Melancholy has her sovran shrine.

So Keats's conception of Beauty is inseparable from Melancholy. All kinds of beauty must pass away, and by the same token all kinds of delight must slide into gloom. What is suggested at first has been clinched beyond doubt. It is not merely fleeting beauty that is associated with melancholy, but beauty of all kinds. His Apollo 'anguished' as one who should 'die

into life'. Keats set out in quest of the sad human heart, but landed at the shore of melancholy beauty.

What is beauty to thought is joy to feeling. They interpenetrate each other so that the one is invariably accompanied by the other. Keats calls his ideal Beauty, sometimes he calls it Pleasure, sometimes Joy or Delight. They all come to the same thing. Beauty is actually far more feeling than thought. The sights and sounds of the world provide sense-feeling, while ideas provide feeling on an abstract plane. But feeling is there. And the feeling engendered by beauty is joy or delight. What is joy in terms of feeling is beauty in terms of thinking. They lie cheek by jowl, or even closer than that. They represent the convex and concave of organic reaction. Keats's cult of Beauty is thus his cult of Joy. With Keats poetry, beauty, and joy coalesce in his spiritual life, and any attempt at scientific analysis on the part of critics would involve them in critical disaster. Unlike Wordsworth Keats did not dare attain to a serene, blessed mood and see into the life of things. It was not a state of beautitude that he aimed at. He was too much of the earth to take cognizance of the intimations of immortality.

Here, in one very important respect, Rabindranath resembles Keats. Rabindranath has spiritual affinity with Wordsworth and Shelley, but his heart is with Keats. He was early enamoured of Beauty as Keats was, and he remained a votary of Beauty all his life. Early in life he regretted his refuge in an ivory tower where Beauty held him in duress. The bid-dings of social conscience inclined him to turn his gaze to the world of misery. He listened eagerly to the clarion-call. But he stopped just short of taking the plunge. He experienced a nostalgia, looked back and found Beauty enthroned, far from the reach of struggle and misery. But Keats had no scruples to repair, and he was busy seeking a niche in the temple of Delight. The scenes of strife and misery flitted like phantoms across the hall of drunken delight, and Beauty remained inviolate. In 'Sleep and Poetry' he writes :

And can I bid these joys farewell ?  
Yes, I must pass them for nobler life,  
Where I may find the agonies, the strife,  
Of human hearts.

In spite of these effusions, and they are more visions of poetical prospect than twinges of conscience, Keats could not bring himself to dwell on the misery and sufferings which were gnawing at the heart of contemporary society. Keats died premature, and conjectures regarding what he might have done had he been granted a longer life are not quite out of place, though utterly fruitless. But it is remarkable that Rabindranath who lived to a ripe old age could never disengage himself from romantic ties. He maintained his tenor of worship, which was only

sporadically disturbed by his submission to the clamant cries of contemporary criticism. What establishes his affinity with Keats is not the number of occasions on which he yielded to critical persuasion but the unswerving devotion to the ideal of romantic beauty which dominates the poetic personality or both the poets.

Keats's 'negative capability', that much-abused phrase, wrenched from its context and juggled into an imposing variety of interpretations, points in the direction determined by his sense of poetic value. The phrase, originally, is pitted against rational analysis which is abhorrent to Keats's nature. And why? Because Keats does not feel like taking things to pieces. As a worshipper of beauty, he is averse to analysis. For beauty defies analysis, logical or scientific. The strands making up the pattern of beauty are beyond cold enumeration, and they are blended into a single essence by a feeling-tone which can be enjoyed rather than dissected. Only a few of the strands are picked up by the poet, and the obscure suggestions of imagery, in trying to satisfy the reasoning faculty, succeed in doping the intellect into uncritical acquiescence.

The 'immortal bird' of Keats is another apple of discord. The nightingale of Nature is born for death, but the nightingale of Keats is not. It shares the same fate with the Tennysonian 'brook'. Both the poets are caught tripping, and some critics exult over their prostrated guinea-pigs. But Keats harped on the same string all his life, whether in his poetry or in his letters. The 'immortal bird' conveys an emotional appeal, and the phrase cannot be appraised without having regard to the emotional content which constitutes the essence of romantic poetry. When beauty throws the poet into an ecstasy, the moment is eternalized. Love at so high a pitch cannot think otherwise. It is a sort of unreasoning reason, a kind of special pleading which is blind to the realities of existence. It is a sort of identification with the object of love. The nightingale is so essential to his self that the poet cannot think of his existence otherwise than with the bird. And as his rapturous delight spreads itself into an emotional haze of eternity, he descends into a bathos of expression which never represents the whole dissonance of his soul's harmony. This bathetic cinder thrown out of the creative furnace is unfortunately taken to be a perfect representative of the poet's philosophy of life.

To say that Keats was not devoid of interest in contemporary life or to seek traces of his political sympathies is an attempt on the part of admiring critics to bring him into line with the other poets of the period. It is remarkable that the French Revolution left him poetically cold. The millennial dreams of Shelley could not stir him into poetical activity. He owes to Leigh Hunt a spirit of liberalism which found expression in his resolve to shake off the restraints put, in the name of classicism, on the spontaneous flights of imagination. 'Beauty was awake.' But a thousand handicraftsmen who wore the mask of poetry did not awake to it. Here

again is struck the keynote of Keats's poetic endeavour. Only a free imagination can awake to and appreciate beauty. And Keats's imagination is free. It is freer than it usually is. It carries no load of theories, no ideal other than Beauty. It goes with Beauty which is ever fleeting and ever eluding the grasp of line and colour. It is only a free imagination which can woo a free ideal. Keats's imagination is ever on the point of merging in beauty, having nothing except a sad fatality to clog its excursions into realms of delight.

Keats 'Hyperion' stops short of its expected finale. The fragment appears to make more for Apollo than for Hyperion. Judging from the achievement as it stands, Hyperion, the sun-god, plays a subordinate part in the drama of god-like passion where everything tends to the birth of a new order with Apollo as its centre. In 'Hyperion',

Apollo is once more the golden theme.

Keats returns to Apollo. For his Muse does not feel equal to describing the Titans.

O Leave them, Muse ! O leave them to their woes ;

For thou art weak to sing such tumults dire ;

A solitary sorrow best befits

Thy lips, and antheming a lonely grief.

Hyperion gleams for a moment or two, then fades out just when he is emerging into the picture.

Keats's heart is with the 'awful Goddess', Mnemosyne

Who hath forsaken old and sacred thrones

For prophecies of thee, and for the sake

Of loveliness new born.

His sneaking affection for Apollo upsets the epic plan, with the result that the theme fizzles out.

The nature of Endymion is of a piece with that of Keats. But it cannot be said of Hyperion that the poet chose the name because it suited his nature. He stopped, presumably because he had nothing more to enlarge upon after the enthronement of Apollo, 'the bright Lyrist.' Beauty is the alpha and omega of Keats's poetic life:

..... 'tis the eternal law,

That first in beauty should be first in might.

The theme of human misery which the poet had suggested for later treatment led him into a mythological vale of sadness 'far sunken from the healthy breath of morn'. He tasted the bitters of life, 'the weariness, the fever, and the fret', and hesitated to go in for the human scene around him. He fled the precincts of the society only to find himself in situations as melancholy as the world of reality. He found beauty though it was no joy for ever. But beauty he must seek, however disappointing the search might prove. It was Apollo, his first love, that he returned to after long wanderings in search of that essence of delight diffused over his world of vision.

# SANSKRIT SOUNDS UNCHANGED IN OTHER LANGUAGES

RABINDRAKUMAR SIDDHANTASHASTREE

The popular theory is that the Aryans were not an indigenous people of India, but they came to this sub-continent from a foreign land, and that the language in which they spoke in the hoariest antiquity, was different from Sanskrit. I, for myself cannot hold the above theory as correct. An attempt has been made by me in an article entitled 'The Earliest Abode of the Āryas' published in three different instalments in the Calcutta Review<sup>1</sup> that the Aryans or the Āryas were an indigenous people of Northern India, and that they migrated to other countries from this earliest abode of their's. It is for the scholarly readers to decide whether the above attempt was successful or not.

As regards the original language of the Aryans, I hold that it was an early form of Sanskrit, not much different from the Vedic Sanskrit, in which they used to speak in the remotest past. The so-called Indo-European language having its foundation on a sheer imagination, as I understand, cannot be held as a reality.

It has been discussed by me in some of my previous articles that the sections of the Āryas or Aryans, while migrating to other countries, generally moved through Persia, and that after living there for a few hundred years or so, they felt it necessary to send some groups of them to different European countries. This fact can be easily proved by a comparison of the basically common words existing till today in different Aryan languages of the modern time, and the process of phonetic changes they have naturally undergone.

The Sanskrit word *kirāṇa* (meaning 'ray'<sup>2</sup>) assumed the form *kirān* in Persian, where the word was later used in the sense of a star or a heavenly body. It is presumable that a star or heavenly body was so called, because of its possession of *kirāṇa* or ray. The same word in Greek was shortened into *rīna* with its Sanskrit meaning quite unchanged. In English the word was shortened to a longer extent into 'ray'. The fact has been admitted by Prof. Max Müller<sup>3</sup> that the people has a tendency for shortening the sounds. For

1 In the issues of August, 1963, December, 1963, and May, 1965.

2 Lectures on the Science of Language, Vol. II, Lecture IV.

example, he referred to the French sounds *pere* and *mere* for the Latin *pater* and *māter* and the modern English lord and lady for the Anglo-Saxon *plaford* and *phaefdige*. In Sanskrit also we find the use of the words *Devadatta* and *Satyabhāmā* in their shorter forms sometimes as *Deva* and *Satyā* respectively and on other occasions as *Datta* and *Bhāmā* respectively. Moreover the *nāmadhātus*, *sandhis* and *samāsas* in Sanskrit give us innumerable shortened forms of different words. The examples of the Sanskrit word *kirāṇa* and its equivalents in other languages prove that the Sanskrit word first went to Persian, then to Greek, and then to English.

If the so-called Indo-European language would be a reality, and if the Greek sounds, as the modern philologists hold, would be its nearest form, then the changes in sounds of the word *kirāṇa*, as shown above, could not take place in the above way. Similarly, the Sanskrit word *jānu* (meaning 'knee') having been almost unchanged in Persian *zānu* and having slight changes in its sounds in Greek *gonu* Latin *genua*, German *knie* and English *knee*, establishes the Sanskrit origin of the word. The Sanskrit word *chāga* (meaning 'goat') underwent the natural change of *varṇa-viparyaya* (exchange of sounds) in Persian *guch*, which in Greek was changed into *gida* and in modern English into 'goat'. There are innumerable common words of this kind, which undoubtedly prove their Sanskrit origin.

In Persian, many of the Sanskrit words remain quite unchanged, and many others have been shortened. The shortened forms are extremely useful in establishing their Sanskrit origin. Sanskrit *māsa* (meaning month) was shortened in Persian into *māh*, Sanskrit *rathyā* (road) into *rah*, Skt. *mūṣika* (mouse) into *muṣ* or *mush*, Skt. *vṛhat* (big) into *hadd*, Skt. *sundarī* (beautiful woman) into *tauri*, and Skt. *pada* (foot) into *pā*. What is more important is that, some of the Sanskrit words exist in Persian in two or more different forms, one retaining the first consonant sound only of the original word, and the other the last or the central original consonant sound. For example :

Sanskrit		Persian
uru (thigh)	...	ustak ; ran
dasyu (thief, enemy)	...	duzd ; sarik
nadī (river)	...	nahar ; dariyā
pada (foot)	...	pā, dam
pūrvva (former)	..	pis ; avvāh
mānuṣa (man)	...	mard ; nās
śiras (head)	...	śar (or 'shar') ; ras
svarga (heaven)	...	somā ; gardun
harmya (mansion)	...	hārem ; manjil

If Persian would not be an offspring of Sanskrit, then the different words formed of a single Sanskrit word as shown above, under no circumstances, could have their existence in Persian. It is therefore clear that Persian originated from Sanskrit and not the *vice versa*.

As regards Greek, there also many important examples are found. The Sanskrit sentence "*mā gāh*" (don't go) is used for strong protestation. The Greek sentence "*mā gar*" also is used in the same sense. The Sanskrit participles *kīrṇa* (scattered), *naṣṭa* (lost; ruined), *pratta* (offered) and *protā* (fastened) are found almost unchanged in Greek *kīrnō*, *nostas*, *prattō* and *protou* respectively, indicating the Sanskrit origin of the sounds. The Sanskrit verbs *asmi* (I am), *asti* (he is), *smah* (we are), and *āsan* (they were) are found in Greek respectively as *eimi*, *esti*, *esmen*, and *ēsan*. The following Greek words which are undoubtedly the shortened forms of the original Sanskrit sounds prove that Greek originated from Sanskrit and not from any other hypothetical language.

<i>Sanskrit</i>	<i>Greek</i>
asantoṣa (anguish, disgust)	... asē
kutra (where)	... kai
tasya (his)	... tou
paścāt (back, after)	... piso
barccas or varccas (force)	... bia
mama (my)	... mou
lavaṇa (salt)	... alas
adhunā (now)	... nun
anupreraṇā (impulse)	... orme
asau (he)	... sou
ārogya (cure)	... koura (g changed into k and has exchanged its place with r).

There are many other sounds of the same kind, which are potent enough to prove the Sanskrit origin of the Greek words.

It is interesting to note that the word for knowledge or language in Greek is *eidesis*, which, as I understand, is a corrupt form of the Sanskrit term *vaideśika* meaning foreign. This indicates that language for the first time was introduced in Greece by some Sanskrit-speaking foreign people. Who other than Indians could have Sanskrit as their own language?

As regards Latin, German and some other European languages, they also have adequate evidences in themselves for establishing the fact that each of them mainly originated from Sanskrit. I have an



intention to write different articles dealing with all the impacts of different Aryan languages, for establishing their Sanskrit origin.

As most of the original Sanskrit words underwent their natural phonetic changes, not according to the so-called phonetic laws of Grimm, Verner, Grassmann or the like ; but under the phonetic laws, prescribed by our ancient grammarian Pāṇini (discussed by the present author in an article entitled "Phonetic Laws as Prescribed by Pāṇini", published in the 'Indian Review'.† I desire to give here a long alphabetical list of words in different languages having some original Sanskrit sound unchanged in them. As regards the changes of the sounds, these will be discussed thoroughly in other articles.

### PERSIAN

Sanskrit with English meaning.	Persian (including Avestan) with English meaning where it is changed.	Sanskrit with English meaning.	Persian (including Avestan) with English meaning, when it is changed.
(a अ)			
agham (evil)	... agem (Avestan)	asmai (to this man)	... ahmai ( " )
aṅguṣṭha (thumb)	... aṅguṣṭ (forefinger)	asya (his ; of this man)	... ahe ( " )
ataḥ (then)	... ada (Av.)	ayam (this man)	... aēm (Av.)
atha (thus)	... atha ( " )	artha (money)	... arz (earth), zar (money)
anāmikā (ring finger)	... anāmil (tip of finger)	avayāti (he goes down)	... avazāiti (Av.)
antar (in)	... andar	aham (I)	... azem (Av.)
andha (blind)	... ama	uta (also, even)	... uta (Av.)
anyau (two others)	... anyo (Av.)	upari (up)	... akbar
apsaras (fairy)	... pari	kakṣa (room)	... takyah
abhi (against)	... avi (Av.)	kaṭi (waist)	... kamar
abhra (cloud)	... abr	kalama (which)	... kadam
aśman (stone)	... asman (Av.)	kathayati (he quotes ; he speaks)	... gafat
aśva (horse)	... asv (or asb) ; asp.	kanisṭhā (little finger)	... kaniz (servant)
aṣṭa (eight)	... haṣṭ (Av.)	kamala (lotus)	kamil } (perfect)
asi (you are)	... ahi ( , , )		kamal }
asu (soul)	... ahu ( " )	karoti (he acts)	... kardan (to act)
asura (strong) (Vedic)	... ahura ( " )	kardama (mud)	... kardan (street)
asti (he exists)	asti ( , , )	karman (work)	... kar
astra (weapon)	salāh	kāṇa (blind)	... kur
asmāt (from this)	... ahmāt (Av.)	kuha (where)	... kuja
asmi (I am)	... ahmi ( , , )		

Sans. with Eng. meaning.	Persian (including Avestan) with Eng. meaning where it is changed.	Sans. with Eng. meaning.	Persian (including Avestan) with Eng. meaning when it is changed.
kranda (to cry)	farīyād, } (cry) kill }	prathama (first)	pīṣ-ras
khadga (sword)	.. kard (knife) } kaddārah (sword)	[pra] śamsā (praise)	sanā
		prastha (breadth)	pahnāi
		bhrātar [bhrātṛ]	birādar
		(brother)	
gavaya (wild cow)	.. gavazn	matta (mad)	majnūn
gau-nara (ox)	gau-nar	manuṣya (man)	mard
ghana (cloud ; thick)	ghamāmah (cloud) ghaliz (thick)	mama (my)	.. madan
		mastaka (head)	.. mabda
gharma (warm ; khway (sweat) sweat)		mātar [mātr] (mother)	.. mādar
		mukha (mouth)	madkhal
		mūlya (price)	...mablag [h]
		yakṛt (liver)	... jagar
cakṣus (eye)	... caṣm	rathyā (road)	... rah
cattār (four)	.. callar	lamba (long)	...(bu)land
[candra]-mas (the moon)	.. mah	vadana (face ; mouth)	...badan (body) dahan (,,)
carman (skin)	.. carm	vanitā (wife; woman)	.. banāt
tanu (body, thin)	.. tan (body) tang (thin)	vandh (to bind)	.. band [kardan]
tamah (darkness)	... tirah } (dark) tama (Av.) }	vanya (wild)	... vahṣi
		vartma (road)	... vatirah
trṇa (grass)	... nabāt	vasna (price)	... babā
dakṣa (expert)	... (cūk) dast	vahati (he carries)	... vafa [kardan]
daṇḍa (stick ; club)	... dam	vah (to carry)	... vaz
danta (tooth)	... dandān	vahu (many, much)	... baṣi ; bafi
daśa (ten)	... dam	vedanā (pain)	... dard
dhana (money)	... nakd	śaṣpa (new grass)	... sūbzah (grass)
nakra (crocodile)	... nahung	śvan (dog)	.. sharā ; sag
nadī (stream)	... nahar	śveta (white)	.. safidah
naraka (hell)	... darak	ṣaṣ (six)	.. shash [ṣaṣ]
nava (nine)	... nah	sangīta (song)	.. sarāidan
pakva (ripe)	... pukhtah	sapta (seven)	.. hapta
pañka (mud)	... band (bank)	samāna (same)	... hamān
pacati (he cooks)	.. paz (to cook)	samudra (-ea)	... dariyā
		sarati (he travels)	.. safar (to travel)
pañca (five)	.. panj	sarpa (serpent)	... afū
paṭa (cloth)	.. paṭṭu	skandha (shoulder)	.. sanāh
patati (he falls)	.. part (to fall)	svāsthya (health)	.. sihbat
patra (leaf, letter)	.. varak (leaf) parvānah (letter)	harmya (mansion)	.. manjil (house)
pada (foot)	... dam		
pitar [pitṛ] (father)	pidar		
pustaka (book)	dastak (i-hisab)		

Sans. with Eng. meaning.	Persian (including Avestan) with Eng. meaning when it is changed.	Sans. with Eng. meaning.	Persian (including Avestan) with Eng. meaning when it is changed.
<b>ā (आ)</b>		sāgara (sea, lake)	... sāhir
		sāyam (evening)	... shām
anāmikā	... anāmil	<b>i (इ)</b>	
ājñā (order)	... āyīn	anāmikā	... anāmil
āditya (the sun)	... aftāb	api (also)	... vi (Av.)
upahāra (presentation)	... ihzār	asti	... asti (Av.)
kathā (story, story ... kitab (book)	book)	asmi	... ahmi (Av.)
kā (who. f.)	... kā (Av.)	āsis (benediction)	... āshis (Av.)
caitār	... callār	ittham (thus)	... itha (Av.)
	cathvāro (Av.)	iṣṭi (worship)	... istis (Av.)
jānu (knee)	... zānu (or Jānu)	ihi (you go)	... idi
jāmātā	... dāmād	kim (which)	... kih
(son-in-law)		kirāṇa (ray)	... kirān
jyotsnā (moon light)	... jiyā		(star)
tathā (so)	... tathā (Av.)	giri (hill)	... girivah
tārā (star)	... sitārah	tiṣṭhāmi (I stay)	... histāmi
tvā (to you)	... tvā (Av.)	tri (three)	... thri (Av.)
dadāti (he donates)	... dādani	dvidhā (hesitation)	... jidā
dūrāt (far away)	... dūrāt (Av.)	nediṣṭha (nearest)	... nazdistā
dvidhā (in two parts)	... jidā		(Av.)
	(different)	paritah (all round)	... pairiga
nānā ( of various	... nizā		(Av.)
kinds)	(difference)	pāpin	... kāfir
nābhi (navel)	... nāf	pitṛ	... pidar
nāman (name)	... nām	vāri	... vārid
nāmakarāṇa (naming)	nāmīdan	vālīśa	... bālīsh
palāyate (he flees)	... firār (fugitive)	vistṛta (wide)	... basit
pāpin (sinner)	... fājir	visve (all)	... vispe
(pra) śamsā	... sanā		(Av.)
bhāra (burden)	... bār, bārgīr	mihira (the sun)	... mihr
bhrātr	... birādar	sabitā (the sun)	... sābita
mātr	... mādar		(star)
mām (me)	... mām (Av.)	sindhu (sea ; river)	... hindu
māsa (month)	... māh	siñcati (he	... hincati
yathā (as)	... yathā (Av.)	sprinkles)	(Av.)
yāc (to pray)	... (ni) yāz		
yācñā (solicitation)	... yāsnā (Av.)		
yāyāvata	... āvārah	<b>i (ई)</b>	
(wandering)		tira (arrow)	... tir (axle)
varāha (boar)	... gurāj	vīra (hero)	... viro (Av.)
vāta (wind)	... vād	vairī (enemy)	... vairīm (Av.)
vāri (water)	... bārīd	śarīra (body)	... sarīr (bed)
vālīśa (fool)	... bālīs	sīv (to sew)	... ābsī (sewer)
	(pillow)	sundarī (pretty	... taurī (pretty)
saṁāsa	... hamān ;	woman)	
	māmuli		

Sana. with Eng.  
meaningPersian (including  
Avestan) with Eng.  
meaning when it is  
changed.Sana. with Eng.  
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changed.

## u (उ)

aṅguṣṭha	... angust
asu (soul)	... ahu (Av.)
a-ura	... ahura
uru (thigh)	... ustakh
uṣṭra (camel)	... ushtur[ushtur]
kusuma (flower)	... khulāsāh
kuha (where)	... ku ; kuja
jānu	... zānu (or jāru)
dugdha (milk)	... dug [h]
duhitṛ (daughter)	... dukhtar
paśu (animal)	... washuk
putra (son)	... puthra (Av.)
prati (against)	... paiti (Av.)
muhūrta	... muhammi
(Moment)	
śebh (shine)	... shudan
śuṣka (dry)	... shukht (fuel)
sindhu	... hindu
sundaram	... huradom
(beautiful)	(Av.)

## u (ऊ)

dūta (messenger)	... dūta (Av.)
dūrāt	... dūrāt (Av.)
bhūmim (land)	... būmin
	(Av.)
yūnām (of the young)	... yūnām
	(Av.)
yūyam (you ; pl.)	... yūham (Av.)
śūra (hero)	... sūra (Av.)

## e (ए)

eka (one)	... ek
te (your)	... te (Av.)
pate (protector. voc.)	... paitē
	(Av.)

## ai (ऐ)

asmai (to this man)	... ahmāi
	(Av.)
aiśvarya (wealth)	... śai (thing)
kasmai (to whom)	... kahmai
vātaih (by the wind)	... vātāis (Av.)

## o (ओ)

no (no)	... no
---------	--------

## au (औ)

gau-nara (ox)	... gau-nar
gau (cow)	... gāus
	(cattle)(Av.)

## k (क)

anika (army)	... ainika (Av.)
andhakāra (darkness)	... tārīk
eka	... ek
{kaḥ (who)	... ko (Av.)
{ko (vedic)	
kaṭi (waist)	... kamar
katama (which)	... kudām
kathā (story; story book)	... kitāb
	(book)
kaṇiṣṭhā	... kaniz
(little finger)	
kanyā (bride)	... kaininō (Av.)
kamala (lotus)	... kāmil ; } (per-
	... kamāl { feet)
karna (ear)	... kush
karoti	... kardan
kardama	... kardan
karmakara	... naukār
kasmai	... kahmāi
kā (who, fem.)	... kā (Av.)
kāka (crow)	... kālāg
kāmya (desirable)	... kāmya (Av.)
kāṇa (blind)	... kur
kukkuṭa (cock)	... katunab
	(hen)
kutra (where)	... kuthra (Av.)
kuha ( , , )	... ku ; kuza
kulara (cave)	... kahf
kṛṇyāt	... ker. nuyāt
(he should do)	(Av.)
kṛt (to cut)	... kat[kardan]
churikā (knife)	... chāku
naraka	... darak
pākāśaya (stomach)	... shikm(belly)
pustaka	... dastak
	(i-hisab)

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vāhaka (bearer)	... bār-kash
mastaka (head)	... kallāh
mūka (mute)	... bakim
śuṣka (dry)	... shauk (grass ; straw)

## ch ( च )

chāga	... guch
churikā	... chākkū

## j ( ज )

khādyā (food)	... khwud
nakha (nail)	... nākhun
bhūkhaṇḍa	... kl'ushki
(a piece of land)	(land)
munika (mouth)	... khur ; kbaur ; madkhal

aja (goat)	... buj (or buz)
ojah (strength)	... aojah (Av.)
jātānām (of the ... zātānām (Av.) born)	(or jātānām)
jānu (knee)	... zānu (or jānu)
jīvati (he live-)	... jindah
jīvantām (et ... jvāntām (Av.) th m live)	
jīvanti (they ... jva'nti (Av.) live)	

## g ( ग )

gatah (gone)	... gato (Av.)
gadāvīra	... gadavarō
(hero in fighting ... (Av.) with a club)	
garjana (roar)	... gurrish
garā (hole)	... gaud
garba (pride)	... gurur
gambhīra (grave)	... gūr
gala (throat)	... golū
gām (earth ; acc... gām (Av.) sing )	
giri (hill)	... { girivah (hill) gauhar ( tone)
gau (cow)	... gāv
gau-nara	... gau-nar
grasati (he ... giyāh (grass) swallows)	
chāga (goat)	... guch
niyoga (employ- ... nigah ment)	
svarga	... gardūn

jyo'snā (moon- ... jiyā light)	
vajra (thunder)	... jabanah (flame)
yaj (to pray ; to ... yāj, niyāz. worship)	

## t ( ट )

aṣṭa (eight)	... ha-ht (or haṣṭ)
iṣṭih (sacrifice)	... istis (Av.)
uṣṭra	... uṣhtur (or uṣtur)
kukkuṭa	... katunah
paṭa	... paṭṭu
veṣṭana	... bostos
yaṣṭih (club)	... yacstis (Av.)

## t ( त )

atah (thereupon)	āt (Av.)
asti (he exists)	... asti (Av.)
astu (be it so)	... ustu (Av.)
āste (he sits)	... istirāhat (to sit)
kathayati (he ... gafat, guftan speaks)	(to speak)
kṛt	... kat ; ku'ām
jātānām (of ... zātānām (Av.) the born)	
tat (that)	... tat (Av.)
tanu (body)	... tan (Av.)

## c ( च )

ca (and)	... ca (Av.)
cakṣus	... cashm
catvār	... callār
carman	... carm
paścāt	... pasca (Av.)



Sanskrit with English meaning.	Persian (including Avestan) with English meaning where it is changed.	Sanskrit with English meaning.	Persian (including Avestan) with English meaning where it is changed.
kaniṣṭhā ...	kaniḡ	putra ...	{ puthra (Av.) pūr , pisar
tanu ...	tan	pūrṇa (full) ...	pur .
tanūnām (of the bodies) ...	tanūnām (Av.)	pūrva (fore, first)	{ paurvō (Av.) pish , pishin
danta (tooth) ...	dandān	pr̥ṣṭha (back, ... behind)	pist , past
nakra ...	nahang	prati (against)	pust
nakha ...	nākhun	prathama (first)	paiti
nava (new) ...	nau	prastara (stone)	pīshras
nānā (various) ...	nanā (Av.)	prastha (breadth)	pishtah
nībhi (navel) ...	nāf		pahn
niyoga ...	nigah		
pāpin (profane) ...	bidin		
nānā (man) ...	nās		
vaḍana ...	vaḍan , dahan		
vānara (monkey) ...	buzinah		
veṣṭana ...	boston		
yuvan ...	javān		
yoni (source) ...	yins		
sandhāna ...	(pa-pay) sudan		
	(search)		
samāna ...	hamān		
sindhu ...	hindu		

## p ( प )

apacat (he cooked)	pacata (Av.)
apsaras (fairy) ...	pari
pakva (ripe) ...	pukhtah
pañka (mud) ...	puṣṭah
	(bank)
pacati (he cooks)	(ash) paz
	(cook)
pañca ...	pañj
patati ...	part
pate (protector, ..)	paite (Av.)
	voc)
pada (foot) ...	pā , pi, pay
pari (all round) ...	pāiri (Av.)
pavana (wind) ...	{ picānidan (to wind)
	{ picandin (wind)
pavitra (pure) ...	pālas
paścāt (behind) ...	pasca (Av.)
pārśva (side) ...	pāhlu
pitar (pitṛ) ...	pidar
pīḍa ...	past (kardan) (to beat)

## ph ( फ )

śapharī ...	kisiph (fish)
	(a kind of fish)
śāphalya ...	pha!āh
	(success)

## b ( ब )

[In Sanskrit generally the letter 'V' is used]

aśba (horse) ...	asb
ḍimba (egg) ...	baizah
daiba (divine) ...	rabbāni
dbāra (door) ...	darb
pārābata (pigeon) ...	kabutar
raba (roar ; sound) ...	bang
lamba (long) ...	buland
sib (to sew) ...	ābshi
	(sewer)

## m ( म )

anāmikā ...	anāmil
asmāt (from this man) ...	ahmāt (Av.)
asmai (to this man) ...	ahmāi (Av.)
aham (I) ...	mañ
imam (him) ...	imem
ūrmī (wave) ...	mauj
katana ...	kudām
katama ...	kāmal ;
	kāmil
kāmya ...	kāmya (Av.)





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karoti	... kardan	martya	... mirtalam
kardama	... kardan	mātar	... mādar
karmakara	... naukar	mihira	.. mīhr
kranda	... farīyād	yāyāvara	... āvārah
gau-nara	... gau-nar	rakta	... ritin
gambhīra	... gur	ratha	... [ar]rādah
garjana	... gurīsh	rathyā	... rah ;
gata (hole)	... gaud		rah ; rash
garba (pride)	... gurur	rasa (juice)	... ārak
garbha	... gār	rāsa (dance	... raka
giri	... girīvali	in a circle)	(dance)
grāvan (stone)	... graud	ripu (foe)	... [ha]-rif
gharma (hot)	... karīm ;	varāha	... garāj
	garm	varṇu (river)	... rud
cakra (wheel)	... charkh	vartma (road, way)	... vatīrah
catvār	... callār	varṣana (rain)	... bāridan
carma	... carm	varṣā (rainy season)	... bārish
cāru (charming)	... kari-	vastra (cloth)	... parcah
	ftan	vāri (water)	... burd ;
chātra (disciple)	... shāgird		burid
churikā	... satur	virāra (stop)	... birun
taru (tree)	... dār	śarīra (body)	... surat
tārā	... sitārā	śikhara (peak)	... sar ;
tīra (arrow)	... tir		sarkub ; suru.
	(axle)	śiras (head)	...shar ; ras
dāra	... dār	slokakāra (poet)	... shair
dvāra	... dār ;	sangīta (song)	...sarā-īdan
	dārb		(to sing)
naraka	... darak	samudra	... daryā
nara-gau (bull)	...nar-gau	sarati (he walks)	... safar
nirmātā	mukāvvir		(walking)
patra (leaf)	parvānah	sundarī	... taurī
„ (letter)	...farmān	sūrya (the sun)	... hur
parāgata (gone ;	faramush	svarga	... gardūn
(deceased)	(fugitive)		
pārābata	...kabutar		
pitar	... pidar		
putra	{ puthra (Av.)	kamala	... kamal ,
	{ pur ; pisar		kāmil
pūrṇa	.. pūr	gala	... gulu
prathama	...pishras	cālayati (he	... kuhl
preṣaṇa	.. firistādan	causes to lead)	(to lead)
(sending)	(to send)	nikhila (all)	... kull
preṣya	... firistā	mūlya	... mablag
(messenger)		lagati (he lags)	... lab
bhāra (burden)	... bār		(to lag)
bhrātar	... birādar	lamba	...[bu]-land
mayūra	... murg	lāti (he gives)	...[dalā] lat

1 (ल)



## GREEK

Sanskrit with Eng. meaning.	Greek with Eng. if the meaning is changed.	Sanskrit with Eng. meaning.	Greek with Eng. if the meaning is changed.
	a ( )	nāman (name) ...	onoma
akṣa (axle) ...	axōn ; axoni	paṇi (expert) ...	platus (wide ; large)
agra (edge ; top)...	athera (edge) akra (top)	patnī (wife) ...	patria (race, tribe, family)
anas (cart) ...	anō (above : on high)	pātra (pot) ...	khutra
abhaṇa (mute ; ... silent)	ophalos (middle, centre)	prathama (first)	prōtos
	... ophelos (ga'n : benefit)	pra-stara (stone)...	petra
Aśva (horse) ...	alogo	prastha ...	p'atos ; phardos
upapīḍa ...	upapherō (to suffer)	bharanti (they ... fill)	pharangi (ravine)
ulūka (owl) ...	glauka	maya (name ... of an expert technician)	maya (witch)
kaṅkāla ...	kakkarōnō (perishing from cold ; freezing)	mahānasa ...	magrika (restaurant)
kathora (hard) ...	kathorō (to notice)	mūyika ...	magicos (magic ; magical)
kapāla (skull) ...	kapellon (hot)	māsa (month) ...	menas
karṣaṇa ...	kalliergō	miśrita ...	miktas (mixed)
(cultivation)		rājan (king) ...	regas
kirana (ray) ...	rina	lavaṇa (salt) ...	alas ; alati
kukkuṭa (cock) ...	kota ; kotta	loṣṭra (stone) ...	lithas
cakra (wheel, ... circle)	kuklos	varbara ...	barbaros (barbarous)
dakṣa (expert) ...	doxa (glory ; renown)	valavat (strong)...	basis
dama (tame) ...	damazō	śapharī (a kind ... of fish)	psari (fish)
daṁśana (bite ; ... biting)	dogkanō	śarkarā (sugar) ...	sakkharon
dūta ...	doula (maid servant)	śūnya (void, ... vacuum)	kenos
"(messenger)		saraṇi (road) ...	sālage (noise ; out cry)
daiva (divine ; ... divinity)	theios (divin ... thion (divinity)	soma (the ... moon ; a kind of wine used in vedic rituals)	sōma (body)
dvandva (pair ; ... dual)	dittas	stoma (praise ; ... a hymn)	stoma (mouth)
dvāra (door) ...	thura	kaṅkāla ...	kakkārōnō
dhūma (smoke) ...	thuma (victim) thumos (anger)	chāyā (shadow) ...	skiā
nakra ...	krokodeilos	jihvā (tongue) ...	glossā
(crocodile)			
nabhas (sky) ...	nephos (cloud)		

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## BENGAL (1750-1800)

HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSH

### CHAPTER VII

#### *Social Condition*

Society in Bengal during the second half of the eighteenth century is to be divided into two parts—The European and the Indian. The Indian society again must be divided into the society in Calcutta and that in the mofussil.

The European society really meant the society of the English practically centered in Calcutta—though the English had business centres scattered all over the Province.

#### *Social Life of the English*

The social life of the English was thus described by Hamilton :—  
“ Most gentlemen and ladies in Bengal live both splendidly and pleasantly, the forenoons being dedicated to business, and after dinner to rest, and the evening to recreate themselves in chaises and palankins in the fields, or to gardens, or by water in their budgeroes which is a convenient boat that goes swiftly with the force of oars. On the rivers sometimes there is the diversion of fishing or fowling, or both; and before night they make friendly visits to one another when pride and contention do not spoil society, which too often they do among the ladies, as discord and faction do among the men. And although the ‘Conscript Fathers’ of the colony disagree in many points among themselves, yet they all agree in oppressing strangers who are consigned to them, not suffering them to buy or sell their goods at the most advantageous market, but of the Governor and his Council, who fix



their own prices, high or low, as seemeth best to their wisdom and discretion; and it is a crime hardly pardonable for a private merchant to go to Hughly, to inform himself of the current prices of goods, although the liberty of buying and selling is entirely taken from him before."

The English in Bengal were prone to eat too freely even during the summer months. Mrs. Eliza Fay wrote from Calcutta on the 29th August, 1780 :—

"We were very frequently told in England, you know, that the heat in Bengal destroyed appetite. I must own that I never yet saw any proof of that; on the contrary, I cannot help thinking that I never saw an equal quantity of victuals consumed. We dine too at two o'clock in the very heat of the day. At this moment Mr. Fay is looking out with a hawk's eye for his dinner: and, though still much of an invalid, I have no doubt of being able to pick a bit myself. I will give you our bill of fare and the general prices of things. A soup, a roast fowl, curry and rice, a mutton pie, a fore-quarter of lamb, a rice pudding, tarts, very good cheese, fresh churned butter, fine bread, excellent Madeira (that is expensive, but eatables are very cheap). A whole sheep costs but 2 rupees, a lamb one rupee, six good fowls or ducks ditto, twelve pigeons ditto, twelve pounds of bread ditto, two pounds of butter ditto, and a joint of veal ditto."<sup>1</sup>

It was customary to keep *Mussalchees* on torch-bearers to accompany the palankins after nightfall. The custom had not died out when Valentia visited Calcutta in 1803. In his account of Calcutta we find :—

"The usual mode of travelling is by palanquins but most gentlemen have carriages adapted to the climate, and horses, of which the breed is much improved in late years. It is universally the custom to drive out between sun-set and dinner. The *mussalchees*, when it grows dark, go out to meet their masters on their return, and run before them, at the rate of full eight miles an hour, and the numerous lights moving along the Esplanade produce a singular and pleasing effect."<sup>2</sup>

Then Valentia mentioned facts about the dress worn by and the houses occupied by his countrymen in Calcutta :—

"It was formerly the fashion for gentlemen to dress in white jackets on all occasions, which were well suited to the country; but being thought too much an undress for public occasions, they are now laid aside for English cloth. The architecture of all the houses is

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Fay's, *Letters from India* (a new edition, 1908).

<sup>2</sup> George, Viscount Valentia—*Voyages and Travels*, Vol. I.

Grecian, which I think by no means the best adapted to the country, as the pillars which are generally used in the verandahs, require too great an elevation to keep out the sun, during the greater part of the morning and evening, although the heat is excessive at both those periods. In the rainy season it is still worse, as the wet beats in, and renders them totally useless. The more confined Hindoo or Gothic architecture would surely be preferable.”

In the midst of pleasure, pomp and eagerness to become rich religion was at a low ebb and morality uncared for.

Forbes wrote thus :—

“ These people (the Indians) in their own artless expressive style often asked me this important question—*Master, when an Englishman dies, does he think that he shall go to his God?* My answer in the affirmative generally produced a reply to this effect—Your countrymen, master, seem to take very little trouble about that business; they choose a smooth path and scatter roses on every side. Other nations are guided by strict rules and solemn injunctions, in those serious engagements, where the English seem thoughtless and unconcerned. The Hindoos constantly perform the ceremonies and sacrifices at the Dwai; the Mahamedans go through their stated prayers and ablution, at the mosques; the Parsees suffer not the sacred fires to be extinguished, nor neglect to worship in their temple. You call yourselves Christians, so do the Roman Catholics who abound in India. They daily frequent their churches, fast and pray and do many penances; the English alone appear unconcerned about an event of the greatest importance.”

In 1772 Mr. Shore (Lord Teignmouth) wrote from Calcutta to his mother—“I believe I before mentioned to you the too great prevalence of immorality in this settlement.” In 1775 he observed, in another letter, “Dancing, riding, hunting, shooting are now our employments. In proportion as the inhabitants of this settlement have increased, we are become much less sociable and hospitable than formerly.” To this list of amusements he might have added gambling and horse-racing, drinking and fighting duels.

A society which boasted of men like Clive and Hastings as its shining lights could not but be ill-equipped for decency and morality. In his elaborate article on the English in India Sir John Kaye wrote as follows :—

“ It would indeed be difficult to imagine anything much worse than the state of Society, during the administration of Warren Hastings. The earlier adventurers may have committed more heinous

\* Ibid.

4 Forbes—*Oriental Memoirs*.

crime, and been participators in scenes of more offensive debauchery; but in those more remote times, the English in India were too few and too scattered—their habits were too migratory a character—to admit of the formation of anything worthy to be spoken of as Society. At a later period, affairs were so much in a transition-state; there was so much of the turmoil and excitement of war, that the English might be properly described as living in a great encampment; their manners were more the manners of the camp, than of the drawing-room and of the boudoir; and some time necessarily elapsed before affairs settled themselves down permanently into a state of social quiescence; if that can be called settlement, where the days appear, with nauseous obtrusiveness, on the surface. There was certainly Society in the chief presidency, during the administration of Warren Hastings; but in candour we must acknowledge it to have been most offensively bad Society. Hastings himself, whatever may have been his character as a political ruler, had no title to our admiration as a moral man. He was living, for years, with the wife of another, who lacking the spirit of a cock-chaffer, connived with all imaginable *sang-froid* at the transfer of his wife's person to the possession of the Nabob; and when the convenient laws of a foreign land, deriving no sanction from Christianity, formally severed the bond, which had long been practically disregarded, the Governor-General had the execrably bad taste to celebrate his marriage with the elegant adulteress in a style of the utmost magnificence, attended with open display and festival rejoicing. What was to be expected from the body of Society, when the head was thus morally diseased? Francis was a hundred-fold worse than Hastings. The latter was weak under a pressure of temptation; he was not disposed to 'pay homage to virtue', by throwing a cloak over his vice; and did not sufficiently consider the bad influence which his conduct was calculated to exercise over Society at large. In him, it is true there was a sad want of principle; but in Francis an evil principle was ever at work. His vices were all active vices—deliberate, ingenious, laborious. His lust was like his malice, un-impulsive, studious, given to subtle contrivances, demanding the exercise of high intellectual ability. When he addressed himself to the deliberate seduction of Madame Grand, he brought all the mental energy and subtlety of matured manhood to bear upon the unsuspecting virtue of an unexperienced girl of sixteen. Here indeed were leaders of Society not only corrupting the morals, but disturbing the peace of the presidency. The very members of the Supreme Council, in those days, could not refrain from shooting at each other. Barwell and Clivering went out. The latter had accused the former of dishonesty;

and the former in return had called his associate a 'liar'. They met; but the contest was a bloodless one.\* Not so that between Hastings and Francis. The Governor-General shot the Councillor through the body, and thus wound up, in this country, to be renewed in another, the long struggle between the two antagonists. Such was the Council. The Supreme Court exercised no more benign influence over the morals of Society. Sir Elijah Impey, the Chief Justice, *was a model of rapacity and injustice*—corrupt as he was cruel—and others not far below him in rank were equally near him in infamy. Viewing the whole picture, with an unprejudiced eye, it is assuredly a most disheartening one. In 1780 was published the first Indian newspaper—*Hickey's Gazette*. If any one desire to satisfy himself, beyond the reach of all inward questionings, that what we have stated in general terms of the low moral tone of Society, at that period, is unexaggerated truth, let him turn over the pages of that same *Hickey's Gazette*. Society must have been very bad to have tolerated such a paper. It is full of infamous scandal—in some places, so disguised as to be almost unintelligible to the reader of the present day, but in others set forth broadly and unmistakably; and with a relish not to be concealed. We find it difficult to bring forward illustrative extracts . . . . The most significant passages are too coarse for quotation . . . . .”†

In the English society of Calcutta of the time we are confronted either by perilous and importunate courtesans with an expression either vile or coarse, incapable of shame or of remorse or by another set “skilled in artifices and whimpering, voluptuous and coquette, with neither the nobleness of virtue nor the greatness of crime.”‡

The history of the career of Mrs. Hastings is well known. Yet because she had become the Governor's wife she was treated with respect. In 1780 Mrs. Fay wrote in a letter:—

“I have delivered my letter of introduction to Mrs. Hastings . . . . . She resides at Belvedere house, about, I believe, five miles

\* M. Grand tells us that Barwell would not return Clivering's fire . . . . “His antagonist suspecting this delicacy arose from a growing attachment which he observed to prevail between Mr. Barwell and Miss Chavering (Lady Napier) called out loudly to him to take the chance of hitting him, for, in whatever manner their contest might terminate, the General added, Mr. Barwell could rest impressed that he had no chance of ever being allied to his family.” Mr. Barwell, however, was resolute, and the seconds interfered.

† Hunter in his *The Thackerays in India* describes the contents of the paper as “nauseous mixtures of dullness and indecency” and comments—“Scurrility and servility, indeed, long seemed the only two notes known to Calcutta journalism: Who could have foreseen that those cat-callings of bugle-boys, practising their prentice wind-pipes in some out-of-the-way angle of the ramparts, were destined to grow into clear trumpet notes which should arouse sleeping camps to great constitutional struggles, and sound the charge of political parties in battle?”

‡ *The Calcutta Review*, 1844.

\* Taine—*History of English Literature*.

from Calcutta . . . . . The lady was fortunately at home, and had three of her most intimate friends with her on a visit . . . . . Mrs. Hastings herself, it is easy to perceive at the first glance, is far superior to the generality of her sex, though her appearance is rather eccentric, owing to the circumstance of her beautiful auburn hair being disposed in ringlets throwing an air of elegance, nay almost infantine simplicity, over the countenance, most admirably adapted to heighten the effect intended to be produced. Her whole dress too, though studiously becoming, being at variance with our present modes, which are certainly not so, perhaps, for that reason, she has chosen to depart from them. As a foreigner, you know she may be excused for not strictly conforming to our fashions; besides her rank in the settlement sets her above the necessity of studying anything but the whim of the moment. It is easy to perceive how fully sensible she is of her own consequence. She is indeed raised to a 'giddy height' and expects to be treated with the most profound respect and deference."<sup>9</sup>.

The romance of M. Grand "the fair daughter of the Capitaine du Port at Chandernagar, whose seduction cost Sir Philip Francis fifty thousands rupees in 1779, and who ended her chequered career in 1835 as Princesse de Talleyrand" exhibits the sordidness of the Society. It reminds one of the remark of Taine—"When we scratch the covering of an Englishman's morality, the brute appears in its violence and its deformity. One of the English statesmen said that with the French an unchained mob could be led by words of humanity and honour, but that in England it was necessary, in order to appease them, to throw to them raw flesh."<sup>10</sup>

Coel Catherine Werlee was brought to Chandernagar by her father. Her bewitching beauty—even when she was a girl, attracted attention. Mr. George Francois Grand arrived at Calcutta and was kindly received by Warren Hastings. Hastings was in the habit of paying visits to Sukhsagar, the sugar-cane plantation of his friend, Mr. Crofts, and to Chandernagar where he used to stay with the French Governor. It was at the latter place that Grand met Miss Werlee and became enamoured of her. They were married in July, 1777 when the bride was "about three months short of fifteen years of age, having been born in the Danish Settlement of Tranquabar on the Coromandel Coast, on November 21, 1761."<sup>11</sup>

The Grands removed to Calcutta. The course of events went smoothly for some time. On the 23rd November, 1778 there was a ball

<sup>9</sup> Mrs. Pay's *Letters from India*.

<sup>10</sup> Taine—*History of English Literature*.

<sup>11</sup> Busteed—*Echoes from Old Calcutta*.

in the house of Philip Francis, a member of the Council. Here Mrs. Grand attracted the attention of the host, to whom nature had been prodigal in her gifts. "In addition to his rare mental endowments he was remarkable for an exterior described as 'strikingly handsome'. His contemporaries speak of his tall, erect, well-proportioned figure; his classical features; his small delicately moulded ears and shapely hands etc."<sup>12</sup>

He had come to Calcutta alone—leaving his wife in England. He tried every means to gain Mrs. Grand's heart; but found it difficult to get access to her. The Garden House in which the Grands lived was well guarded. At last an opportunity presented itself on the 8th December, 1778 when there was a gathering at Barwell's house at which it was absolutely necessary that Mr. Grand should be present. So he left for Barwell's house at about 9 P.M. What happened is thus narrated by Mr. Grand himself<sup>13</sup> :—

"On the 8th of December, 1778, I went out of my house, about 9 o'clock, the happiest, as I thought myself, of men, and between 11 and 12 o'clock returned the same night to it, as miserable as any being could well feel. I left it, prepossessed with a sense that I was blessed with the most beautiful as well as the most virtuous of wives, ourselves honoured and respected, moving in the first circles, and having every prospect of speedy advancement. Scarcely had I sat down to supper at my benefactor, Mr. Barwell's society, . . . . . I was suddenly struck with the deepest anguish and pain. A servant who was in the habit of attending Mrs. Grand came and whispered to me that Mr. Francis was caught in my house and secured by my *jemmader* (an upper servant exercising a certain authority over other servants). I rose up from table, ran to the terrace, where grief, by a flood of tears, relieved itself for a moment. I then sent for a friend out, whom I requested to accompany me, but the rank of the party, and the known attachment which I was well aware, he held to him however, he execrated his guilty action, pleaded his excuse with me. I collected myself, so much as circumstances would admit, and dispatched the servant to acquaint the *jemmader* I was coming. In my way I thought proper to call on my friend Major Palmer and, request the use of his sword, and to attend me as a friend, the purpose which I had in view being to have released Mr. Francis, and seeing him out of my premises, compelled him to have measured himself with me, until one of us fell. Palmer approved of my determination, and we repaired to the spot. The porter hearing my voice, opened the gate, and in my lower apart-

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> Grand—*Narrative of the Life of a Gentleman Long Resident in India.*

ments my friend and I beheld with astonishment the present Sir George Shee, bound to a chair and endeavouring to obtain from my servants his release, with Mr. Shore, now Lord Teignmouth, and the late Mr. Archdekin, companions to him, joining in the same prayer, and entreaty. He complained of having been cruelly treated by them. My *jemmader*, on the contrary, told a plain tale. It was, that he had secured Mr. Francis to meet the vengeance of his master, until Mr. Shee, assisted by the other gentlemen, upon a loud whistle, sounded by Mr. Francis, had scaled the walls of my compound, rushed furiously on him, and in the scuffle, occasioned Mr. Francis to escape."

Mr. Grand then sought "the satisfaction which the laws of honour prescribe, as a poor relief to the injury committed"—wrote to Mr. Francis to meet him for a duel. But when Francis would not take up the gauntlet thrown down by him Mr. Grand sought redress in the Supreme Court which ordered that Francis should pay as damages fifty thousand Sicca Rupees—with costs of suit.

Later events and the metamorphosis of Mrs. Grand into Princess Talleyrand need not detain us.

The incident as stated above shows the depth of degradation to which the leaders of the English Society of Calcutta of the time had sunk. It appears that even Lord Teignmouth who had deplored "the too great prevalence of immorality in this settlement" helped Francis in his nefarious attempt to corrupt another man's wedded wife! The work of the greatest among its members was, in most cases, tarnished by greed and crime. No wonder "in the fierce struggles of the pent-up stifling settlement, no reputation was too high, no fate too tragic to escape the revenging tusk of slander."<sup>14</sup> Even on the tombs the reptiles of the time did not fear to spill their slaver. They had no scruples.

(To be continued).

<sup>14</sup> Hunter—*The Thackerays in India*.

# RESEARCH ON PERSONALITY AND THE PROBLEMS OF ASSESSMENT

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It is perhaps the experience of many, engaged in the field of education, that difference in attainments is not only due to intelligence factor. The majority of the population possessing almost the same average level, shows wide divergence in their attainments in examinations.

But why? The scope of the present thesis lies within the field of query mentioned above. The writer here has started with few assumptions for carrying on the investigation :—

1. Personality factors—*viz.*, interests, are effective determinants to success.
2. That some interest patterns are formed at a certain age level inspite of the possibility of interfusion.
3. That other factors of personality—*viz.*, persistence, etc., are also connected with attainments.
4. That there is a factor of general persistence besides their specific manifestations.

The aim of the present investigation is, therefore, being limited to the study of interrelation between interest, persistence and attainments.

With the hope that the said investigation will throw much light on the procedure for educational guidance, the following programme has been drawn up :—

1. To classify interest into six general patterns, in the first instance, for convenience of investigation : (i) Academic, (ii) Scientific (iii) Technical, (iv) Commercial, (v) Artistic, (vi) Agricultural.
2. To establish certain criteria for the validation of the test materials.
3. To construct suitable tests and techniques for the assessment of interests and persistence.
4. To compare the test results with the actual attainments in different examinations.
5. To find out the correlation between the different sets of scores derived.



## SCOPE FOR THE INVESTIGATION

Time is changing and the need for assessment of individual differences is being felt more and more. It is also the experience of many that attainments differ mostly owing to the difference in interests, i.e., one's preference for one's activity or subject.

In the present investigation, the writer is more concerned with the expressed interests than in the potential ones. Because of too much overlapping of aptitude with other emotional factors—ability, training, etc., the investigation has been confined within the mentioned area.

The scope for such an investigation lies in the field of education as well as psychology because of the mutual relationships with one another.

Besides, how far the guidance programme should be influenced by the research finding partly falls within the scope of the present enquiry.

## THE EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN

For the practical execution of the experiment, it is perhaps wise to design the same in the following ways :—

(a) Population. (b) Techniques and Tests. (c) Scoring and Administration.

*Population :—*

The population will mainly consist of the students reading in different educational institutions. The age range of the population being 14 to 17 bears a significance in the field of guidance.

Six types of institutions have been selected for the administration of the tests designed to measure six types of interests—academic, technical, scientific, commercial, artistic and agricultural. The population will, in the first instance, be handy, for making the enquiry thorough and intensive and be drawn from different socio-economic levels.

*Techniques and Tests :—*

As the proposed study demands a knowledge of interest, persistence, and attainments and as there is hardly any instrument for assessing these qualities in this country, effective techniques for the assessment of the qualities have been evolved in the first instance.

*Tests and Techniques for the assessment of interests—A brief outline :*

*Questionnaire No. 1.* The writer was fully conscious of the limitations of the inventory or questionnaire as techniques for assess-

ment of what refers to "inner states of the individual" his likes or dislikes, interests and preferences. The greatest limitation of this technique lies in the scope for subjectivity and dishonesty of the testees. But while on the one hand the questionnaire is not free from subjectivity, it is also observed that the questionnaires measure something quite consistently.

*Questionnaire No. 1*—has been designed to assess the six types of interests and it includes 84 items.

*Questionnaire No. 2*—has been designed to assess the general persistence and it includes—18 items. In this connection, it may be mentioned that this is a Bengali adaptation of the English Questionnaire which has been validated on school students in England.

*Questionnaire 3.* Another disguised questionnaire, in story form, has been constructed for assessing persistence as it was felt that this technique might minimise test consciousness, facilitate projection through identification of the self with the characters depicted in the story.

*Questionnaires 4 & 5* :—(for the assessment of confidence)—are similar to questionnaire Nos. 2 and 3.

*Other Techniques* :—The writer, while trying to attack the problems of interest assessment from all sides, has evolved certain other techniques as follows :—

1. Information Test.
2. Three situation tests (I and II).

Similarly, for the assessment of persistence, situation tests have been evolved :—

1. The same situation test I with a different direction and scoring principle.
2. Another situation test for assessing general persistence in particular.

Besides the above, ratings of the teachers and parents, interviews will be taken for a thorough enquiry, where necessary.

1. *Information Test* :—With a view to comparing the test results and making different approaches, this technique was devised with the assumption that a person, specially instructed in a particular field, naturally keeps more information about that than others.

With this fundamental hypothesis, the test was constructed including 36 items, to measure the six types of interest. In other words, there are six items for measuring each type of interest. The items demanded specific information about specific field and are therefore expected to have high discriminating values.

*Situation Tests* :—(for interest assessment).

There are two situation tests devised for the assessment of interest, viz., S.T. No. I and S.T. No. II.

*Situation Test No. 1*—This is a deviation from the common inventory type as it tries to draw out one relevant interest by means of presentation of certain pictures and diagrams. The subjects are required to choose the activity he likes and perform them. There is a series of such diagrams with necessary directions. There are, on the whole, 36 such diagrams—6 for measuring each type of interest.

The test demands activity, not so much dependent on intelligence. On the contrary, they demand specific information and knowledge of specific fields of interest.

*Situation Test No. 2*—This forms a new technique consisting of a number of news-items of varied interests. The items are designed so as to cater to the varied interests and one may choose going through the lines in which he is interested. The interest of a person will, therefore, be revealed by the choice of items which one makes for perusal, and deriving information.

*Situation Test No. 3 (Flash Cards)*—A number of Cards containing different pictures pertaining to different fields of interest will be presented for a short time and scoring will be guided by the nature and number of the objects retained.

*Situation Test No. 4* (for the assessment of persistence).

This is the same Test S.T. No. I but with different direction. Among the series of activities, the subjects may continue to perform one type of activity according to his choice or change from one to others. There will be a definite direction that one can stick to one type of activity if he likes and this will not effect his attainment in any way. In other words, the test was designed to find out his normal persistence in intelligent activities, involving the question of motivation.

*Situation Test No. 5* : (for the assessment of general persistence).

The test is rather boring because there is little scope for activity demanding intelligence.

Roughly speaking, the test provides scope for different types of activities.

1. Dotting with pencil and pricking with pins.
2. Writing numerical and making circles round odd and squares round even numbers.
3. Dotting the i's and cutting the t's, etc.

# POWER AND CULTURE

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## *Power as a value*

Power is one of the key issues of politics. It is a goal in itself for those obsessed by the will to power, but only a means for idealists; it is a supreme good for some, but an extreme evil for others. As a value it always remains a key issue, a touchstone of politics and political personalities. As a value-attitude or an urge, it is paramount in the social psychology of politics. It is a fundamental problem of political ideologies and political movements.<sup>1</sup>

The problem of power is also a problem of freedom. The relationship between freedom and power is a basic dilemma of a democratic constitution. Does the increase of the power of the state necessarily imply limitations on personal freedom? Or does increase of individual freedom impose restraints and limitations on the power of the state? These two are among the perennial questions that have been debated for centuries, questions which are not merely academic.

The concept, the philosophy, of power and force is a part of the whole culture, a part of the historical development. It is a result of social, economic, and political conditions quite as much as it is a result of personality factors. Within every nation, every culture, we may find a number of political ideologies but every one of these ideologies is in some way or another influenced by the culture of the nation. An Englishman may choose among conservatism, liberalism, and socialism yet each will have a common tinge of British culture. British, French, or Spanish socialists have many values, ideas and views in common but certain elements of their ideology are different as a result of differences in national culture and in social, economic, and political conditions.

In consequence the concepts of power, force and violence are different values in different nations. Different attitudes toward force, violence, and power are developed through different political and social experiences.

A different philosophy of power developed among the Americans, British, and Swiss than that which obtained in Russia, Germany, and some other continental states.

*Philosophy of force and power*

In Russia political theory developed in fascinating extremes : power and the use of force came to be considered as either the supreme good or the supreme evil. For the tsar, as well as for Lenin and Stalin, power and force were supremely "good". Konstantin P. Pobiedonostsev was a defender and philosopher of the 19th century Russian theocratic autocracy<sup>2</sup> for whom autocracy, orthodoxy, and dogmatism were positive values. Contrariwise, he considered parliament, democracy, and liberalism to be "the great lie of our age." When political reforms were intended at the beginning of this century, Pobiedonostsev, in the name of religion, argued that the tsar had no right to limit his own powers which were given to him by the deity.<sup>3</sup>

In contrast to Pobiedonostsev, Tolstoi argued power, force, and violence were evils :

But however power has been gained, those who possess it are in no way different from other men, and therefore no more disposed than others to subordinate their own interests to those of society. On the contrary, having the power to do so at their disposal, they are more disposed than others to subordinate the public interests to their own.

On the otherhand, the true of Christian doctrine, making of the law of love a rule without exceptions, in the same way abolishes the possibility of any violence, and cannot, in consequence, help but condemn every state founded on violence.<sup>4</sup>

Pobiedonostsev was on the extreme right. At the extreme left were the anarchists (Berdiaieff called anarchism a Russian ideology) who considered power to be the father and mother of all social evils. The state as a focus of power was their chief villain and mortal foe. The goal was a stateless society, a federation of communes, without any instruments of compulsion, without police or army. Michael Bakunin, the Karl Marx of anarchism, said :

If there is a devil in history, it is this power principle. It is this principle, together with the stupidity and ignorance of the masses, upon which it is ever based and without which it never could exist, it is this principle alone that has produced all the misfortunes, all the crimes and the most shameful facts of history. And inevitably this cursed element is to be found, as a natural instinct, in every man, the best of them not excepted. Everyone carries within himself the germs of this lust for power.<sup>5</sup>

Every logical and sincere theory of the State is essentially founded on the principle of *authority*—that is to say on the eminently theological, metaphysical and political idea that the masses, *always* incapable of governing themselves, must submit at all times to the

benevolent yoke of a wisdom and a justice, which in one way or another, is imposed on them from above.<sup>6</sup>

Bakunin was here facing the age-old dilemma of means and ends. Power and the state were evils, so he justified force and violence as means for destroying the state. Consequently, the use of force and power as means were good and useful.

Even a more profound contradiction was entertained by the Russian populists, "narodniks", under the last tsars. The populist movement dated from the second half of the century and it is not easy to digest in a few sentences the political ends of the various groups which were identified with the populists. In certain periods anarchists were among them, but generally they were closest to democratic socialists. Their goal was the transformation of Russia into a democratic and socialist republic.

However, Russian autocracy provided no instrumentality for a legitimate and legal struggle in behalf of democracy and social change. Force in the form of revolution was left as the sole alternative of such a struggle. In consequence violence and terror were used as means to achieve democracy. In this connection it is helpful to distinguish value-goals from attitudes. Populist democracy was a value-goal; however the every day revolutionary struggle shaped their attitudes toward power and violence. A faction of the populists applied violence, in spite of the fact that the desired goal was limitation of power and abolition of violence.

In sharp contrast Lenin, Stalin, and the other communists were no Hamlets caught by an ethical dilemma. They approved of unlimited power and violence as a way to seize, to consolidate, and to maintain power. Freedom was shifted to the very end of the millenium to those happy days when the state would disappear. For the coming generation the promise was dictatorship. The populists and later social revolutionaries approved the use of force in the absence of democracy, but once democracy were achieved, they argued, violence must be abolished and power limited. Lenin and Stalin took the opposed position, holding that at precisely this moment unrestrained power should rule.<sup>7</sup>

The fascist and nazi ideologies presented the idea of unlimited power in the hands of a dictator, a "leader" who personified the state, as the desired value. Force and violence were approved and were an essential part of the program, while terror was a method of government. In short, force in the hands of the privileged to be used against the non-privileged was elevated to a guiding principle.<sup>8</sup>

Gandhi personified more than anybody the political philosophy of a substantial part of India. Contrary to the authoritarians, force and power in his philosophy is an evil—not a value-goal, not a “good”. He rejected force as a means of struggle. The result of his philosophy was the strategy of non-violence. Gandhi’s approach to problems of power and politics was essentially moral. Strong influence of Tolstoi and Thoreau gave universality to his ideas.

I must not deceive the country. For me, there is no politics without religion . . . not the religion of the superstitious and the blind, the religion that hates and fights, but the universal religion of toleration. Politics without morality is a thing to be avoided.<sup>9</sup>

There is then a state of enlightened anarchy. In such a state every one is his own ruler. He rules himself in such a manner that he is never a hindrance to his neighbour . . . . . But the ideal is never fully realized in life. Hence the classical statement of Thoreau that that Government is best which governs the least.<sup>10</sup>

Turning now to the Anglo-Americans we find yet a third set of values and attitudes toward power. In the philosophy of Locke, Mills, Jefferson, Madison, Adams and Acton, power is evil but an evil that man has to use since living in a society and in a state requires enforcement of laws and defense of country. A progressive change requires power—so does the exercise of civil rights. Tyranny was abolished by force. But power, being an evil, should be used with restraint and should be limited once democracy is established.

Leaders and ideologists of the American Revolution have made philosophical and practical contributions in their study of power. Since they believed power to be a dangerous proposition, they held it should be checked and balanced. Their approach to the problem of power was rationalistic and empirical. Their efforts represented a kind of engineering in that they tried to solve the problem of a complex mechanism. Their emotions were controlled. There is little in them of Gandhi, Bakunin, Lenin, or Machiavelli. The Continental theoreticians—and their contribution was of course fundamental—were interested in ideas of freedom. The Continental Europeans liked and knew how to develop ideas, and were less interested in the problems of their application. The hiatus between promise and reality was the eternal weakness of European political visions. The American political philosophers were above all interested in methods of application, so that the general principles could pass from the realm of ideas to that of reality. Since power was force, the problem was to create a mechanism which would control and humanize this dangerous energy.

The problems of limitations of power and of the relation between freedom and authority were essential in British political philosophy. As in the case of the Americans (who were British revolutionaries), approach to freedom was through the limitation of power. Such was the view of John Stuart Mill in his essay *On Liberty*. Similarly, Lord Acton's discussion of freedom is an exposition of the danger of power rather than of the blessings of freedom. Harold Laski, one time leader of the British Labor Party and a noted political scientist, also recognized the need of a coercive quality of power in an empirical, pragmatic way.<sup>11</sup>

In the last analysis, says Laski, the State "is built upon the ability of its government to operate successfully its supreme coercive power".<sup>12</sup>

The writings of Lenin and Stalin are largely devoted to the problem of how to get power—unlimited power—as the means to establish a state, founded on violence and terror. Jefferson, Adams, Madison, Acton, and Mills had an entirely different interest. Their concern was how to limit power, how to protect an individual against the power of the state—against the potentialities such a power might contain. Gandhi faced a dilemma—how to reconcile non-violence with the need to use power. With him, non-violence became a technique for seizing power without the use of force. Once India was free, however, the same problem emerged again—how to administer power without force. And force was used by Indian government, the same, which won independence by non-violence. A statesman who used unlimited power was a political villain to Acton; the same man was an astute politician for Hitler. A statesman who hesitated to use force to attain power was a political fool in the eyes of Lenin and Mussolini. This suggests that the same symbol—power—was a different concept for each of them. It held different meanings, mirrored different personalities, and reflected different social, economic conditions.

#### *The individual and society*

The explanation of this fact cannot be given in terms of one single cause. National values obviously are an important element in shaping attitudes toward power but those attitudes may change with changing social, economic conditions. In like fashion attitudes toward power also vary with ideologies and personality types. Such attitudes, like all attitudes, are a result both of the impact of society on an individual, and of the impact of individuals on society. Within the framework provided by this broad concept of interaction between individuals and society, we shall undertake to analyze the causes of varying attitude toward power in terms of differences in the : (1) values of national



culture; (2) political ideologies; (3) dynamic social, economic and political relations; and (4) personalities. These variables are important because power is not only a part of the spectrum of politics; it is also a part of man's personality and ethics. A man's attitude toward power, toward the use of violence, toward the use of force, provide the basis for understanding his ethics, his moral judgements, and his value system.

Similar to natural sciences, in social sciences the distance between an observer and the observed facts has its influence on perception and inference. Various levels of magnifications and distance unravel different configurations of details, different aspects of integration and also lead to various levels of abstraction.

The power concepts of an individual give us a picture of his 'political personality', i.e., his relation to society and to other individuals. From this vantage point we can see in detail his authoritarian personality, although we may lose the picture of the whole phenomenon. We may see an evident psychopath like Hitler, who probably had strong psychopathological tendencies. From other vantage points from a farther distance, we might see less detail but more of the context, more of the interactions of various forces, interaction between individual and society. We might see, for example, how the inborn potentialities of future dictators in Germany and Russia were shaped by national values and society, or a rebellion against those values and society. We might see how authoritarian individuals act, and under what definite social, economic, and political conditions they are successful. We might see how they influenced ideologies and were influenced by them in the use of power.

#### *Power and national values*

The problem of national culture, especially of national values, is of long and controversial standing. It is not easy to pin down the national characteristics and similarities. An opponent of the hypothesis of common national values will always find a group of people with different values than those identified as typically national. However, with all its limitations the concept of a national cultural pattern cannot be disposed of. There is ample evidence that it corresponds to social reality in spite of all difficulties of definitions, due to the phenomena of national multivalence. The concept is certainly important in the analysis of attitudes toward power. The prophet of fascist autocracy never gained such mass support in Great Britain as they did in Germany. They never rallied really strong cohorts. The screams of the few British blackshirts at Oxford Circle and Trafalgar Square never changed into a roaring, regimented, uniformed mass, marching through

the streets in heavy-booted rhythmic response to the command of her "führer". British tradition, national values, and education in the democratic process might be a part of any explanation of the difference. The German nation had strong emphasis on the values of discipline, of strong government, of attitudes of submission to "*befehl*", and of patterns of behavior which had developed in Germany during the long years of strong rule by the emperors, Iron Chancellors, and the military caste. Those traditions favored acceptance of a more authoritarian system of power.

Tolstoi's ideas of non-violence did not change the course of Russian history. He had a great many admirers in Russia but his concepts changed neither the conduct of the autocracy nor the tactics of revolution. Tolstoi-Gandhi, however, were successful in India. Here the idea of non-violence had an appeal to the national values of the masses and was effective against a non-autocratic colonial authority. It is important to note that the British in India were much more reluctant to use violence than were their Russian counterparts. Neither the tsar nor Stalin spared cartridges in their dealings with their "subjects".

These examples, true as they are, present a simplified picture. The national values are not solid, unyielding. There are differences and contradictions within every culture precisely because there are opposed groups in every society.

Perhaps Professor Allport's<sup>13</sup> concept of the J curve might help in this connection. In his discussion of ethnic-cultural differences, recognition of behavior typical of different ethnic groups is paramount. At the same time differences within the ethnic group are also recognized. For instance, he points out that the generally used language in America is English; however, a certain percentage of the immigrant population keeps to the language of the "old country". Again the Catholics are supposed to attend Sunday mass but some do not. Yet again, in the United States theatres commence on time and trains run on schedule; the emphasis on punctuality is strong, yet some people are not punctual. On these grounds Allport suggests that ethnic patterns could be plotted in a J shaped histogram. The long arm of the histogram J indicates those who conform while the short arm, or the curve, indicates those who do not.

The J curve may be illuminating when applied to the values shared by people in the same nation-culture. For example the concept of the value of freedom in Great Britain has the form of a histogram. The Labor, Conservative, and Liberal parties agree in principle on certain but not all, limits of power. They share this value, while a tiny

minority of totalitarians still forms a rather short left arm of the J curve.

We may, however, extend Allport's concept to other shapes of histograms, the J curve might be complemented by a U curve or a V curve. Germany after the first World War, was a Germany of divergent and often extreme views. The value of power, and the attitude toward power of the democratic parties from the Social-Democrats Democrats, Catholic-Center was different from that of the monarchistic and nationalistic *Stahlhelm*, the Nazis, or the Communists. It was a U or V curve rather than a J curve, with the partisans of authoritarianism balancing those of democracy. Can we speak about characteristically national attitudes toward power where such a division obtains? Of course we can. The concept of democratic power in Germany was forged into a pragmatic tool in an actual experience. The democrats had to face totalitarians. They applied power in a society torn by those contradictions, and their concept of power was tested against the opposition of German, not French, Nazis. The totalitarians and democrats were tied together by their contradictions. The Nazis, in their struggle for totalitarian power, precipitated the development of methods of defense by the democratic German government which, unfortunately, were destined to fail. The methods were related to German conditions. The abstract values of power were thus translated into the patterns of behaviour, and the patterns of behaviour were expressed in conflicts. This social inter-action shaped the concepts of power held by both the friends and foes of democracy and, in consequence, the dialectical opposition of those two opposed values of power were a result of a German experience.

A tradition in favor of the resolution of differences through compromise is also influential in determining the quality of the struggle resulting from such contradictions. For example, in certain periods the Democrats in America may favor an increase of federal power while the Republicans favor stronger state governments to counterbalance federal power. But, such difference in views cannot be compared with the contradiction between the Nazis and Democrats on the issue of power. The Democrats and Republicans agree on Civil Rights, on the fundamental notion of limitations on power. The disagreement does not destroy the basic political values, while a compromise with fascism does.

Through political power is not the only type of power, the dominant national values usually find expression in other social institutions—in the church, the school and the family. As for instance it may be pointed out that the German family is more autocratic,

while the American family tends to be more democratic and permissive. In consequence, in a German family the position of the father and his power are strong and his almost absolute authority over his children is widely accepted. Again, in an Italian family, hierarchy is significant, with the father holding power and privilege. Similarly the oldest son has more power and authority than the younger children. In this situation the position of the mother is specific—she supplies the element of warmth and love, thus serving to counterbalance the father's authority. In an American family, husband and wife share the family power. Children have power, too, and participate in making decisions through family conferences. The family is also permissive, younger children enjoying more privileges than the older ones. However, once they mature, their position is equal. Thus do the concepts of power found in any given culture pervade the entire society and find expression in all the basic institutions. It is noteworthy that within these institutions the distribution of power corresponds to the J curve—*e.g.*, in not all German families is the father in a strong position. Nor are all American families equalitarian and permissive.

The values under discussion are not mere abstract concepts. They are expressed in social actions and form overt patterns of behaviour. They are to be seen, for example, in a policy of a government or in a father's disciplinary and educational actions. Such actions can be observed, and hypothesis about them can be verified. Nor are national values the only values. There are some values that are shared by larger cultural aggregates, such as the countries of the Western tradition, for example. Moreover, some values appear to be universal. Herbert Spencer in his "Ethics" argued that altruism, expressed in a mother's attitude toward children, is universal. But universal values are expressed in a variety of ways in various cultures. Thus both the universality and the variability of culture are reflected in the values of any given culture.

Freedom is an especially good example of a general, universal value, although this urge is expressed in a variety of ways, both within and as between societies. No one desires chains on his hands; no one likes to be a victim of exploitation and abuse. Even the drive for autocratic power is only an urge for unlimited freedom for one man, the autocrat, at the expense of the freedom of the others. It is a selfish, anti-social, and egoistic expression of this urge. In such a way, the contest of power and freedom, both concepts being universal phenomena, are expressed as different types of attitudes and values in different nationalities and personalities. Those values are variations of the universal urges.

### *Ideologies and social, economic conditions*

The nationally held conceptions of power under discussion—including whatever contradictions there may be—find expression in political ideologies. However, the appeal of these ideologies depends on the dynamic economic, political, and social conditions of those to whom they are addressed. Change in these conditions may produce change in views on power, as well as changes in other values. This is so because all these elements are not separate blocs but are interrelated and in continuous interaction. They cannot be separated and any attempt to analyze their complex interrelations is beyond the scope of this book.

This section must not be closed without a word of warning against any tendency to assume that the concept of national values is a sufficient answer to the whole problem of cultural influence. Such an error would overlook the fact that religion plays a very significant role in shaping our attitudes and values toward power and violence. Religion also influences the social, economic, and political conditions, and in turn, is influenced by them. For example, national concepts of power influence the concepts of power held by religious leadership and such influence is reflected in the differing power structure of catholicism and Protestantism.

Another word of caution is in order. The significant role of the irrational element in political behavior must not be overlooked. The Nazi movement in Germany and the adoration of unlimited power by many educated Germans cannot be explained solely in terms of the factors we have just mentioned. Human reactions are not rarely unexpected and the emotional tensions which sometimes appear in history are not easily traced to their origins.

### *Personality*

Different ideologies of power attract different types of persons. For example, a philosophy of non-violence, attracted Gandhi, but repelled Lenin. It would seem that such differences, at least in part, stem from differences in personality structure. Such an assumption could explain why Tolstoi and Bakunin—the former a Christian anarchist and prophet of non-violence, the latter an anarchist and a partisan of violence (as means toward his stateless ideal), living through similar social upheavals, members of the same aristocratic class, nurtured in the same orthodox religion—responded to divergent ideologies.

Terror and non-violence attract and require different personalities, different skills, and different values. A change in the ideology of power of a political movement, even a change in tactics may have its impact on the process by which members are drawn into the movement.

When in 1878 the populists in Russia changed their tactics because their hopes of a change through mass movement were frustrated, the new tactics of individual terror attracted and required different personalities. Peter Larov, one of the leading spirits of the populist movement wrote about this change as follows:—

..... The year 1878 introduced into the Revolutionary movement a crisis that led to a complete change, both in the division of the party into various sections and in their respective relations. The modes of action were changed; the revolutionary type was changed. The defects and the virtues so characteristic of the most prominent persons in the movement a few years ago gave place to totally different defects and virtues which characterize the Russian Revolutionary movement of modern days.<sup>14</sup>

Change in attitude toward violence and force was reflected in change of a revolutionary type, in changes of concepts and values.

A quiet, democratic leader in France, however, might have joined an underground and changed his values of non-violence to force against the German conquerors. If France would have remained free, he would live the whole life of a quiet, peaceful citizen, afraid of any violent action. Change of political conditions may produce such strong impact on personality that he would change attitudes and values and, in consequence, his personality. Precisely this happened during World War II under the impact of the occupation. For instance, Rataj, the speaker of the Polish Parliament, was one of the organizers of the Polish democratic armed resistance. More frequently, however, new types of struggle attract and require different personalities. Under these circumstances not all change their values. Some retire, some wear down, others die as martyrs, and still others are imprisoned. Ethics must not be overlooked; it remains a strong social force and guide of decision. The struggle against oppression was mostly a revolutionary struggle. The feudal system yielded to force and revolutionary forces and similarly with colonial rule. Many of those who undertook this struggle belonged to the privileged classes—to the nobility. Ethical motivation rather than economic interest promoted their choices. Force in history so often serves to break the walls of oppressive and exploitative systems.

Psychological theory suggests that childhood experiences may have something to do with these different responses in terms of verification. It is difficult, if at all possible, to prove that a given experience was one of the causes of an attitude to power. Peter Kropotkin was an anarchist who opposed any authority, especially the authority of the state. He strongly believed that man by nature is good and that

institutions destroy his good nature. As a child Kropotkin loved his mother who was warm and affectionate. In contrast he opposed his father's authority and had rather a dislike for him. His mother died when Kropotkin was quite young (still in formative years), and his father's remarriage resulted in the severance of ties with many of Peter's relatives. These facts—quoted from Kropotkin's memoirs—suggest that the traumatic experiences of Peter Kropotkin's early childhood may have shaped his attitudes and his views on human nature. Similarly, his rebellion against his father served to shape the potentialities reflected later in his rebellion against the tsar and autocracy. Lenin's childhood experiences provide another case in point. His brother, a revolutionary populist, was executed in Lenin's early youth and young Lenin knew that he had been hanged in a tsarist prison. This traumatic experience might have been a factor in the development of his unmerciful and revengeful attitude toward all he regarded as "ruling class". Both suggestions are plausible hypotheses as far as the inference is concerned. The facts of Kropotkin's and Lenin's infancy and youth are true—but can we prove that they influenced personality formation? It might have been another traumatic experience, or none at all. An hypothesis of this kind is useful so long as we remember that at present it must be used very tentatively.<sup>15</sup>

Though some personality characteristics are inborn, personality is largely shaped by early childhood experiences. The family, the play group, and unique experiences (such as witnessing a battle, a strike, or an accident) may have paramount significance in personality formation. Some of the potentialities thus developed may never be activated unless they are released by the impact of social realities, by the social environment. May be potential Hitlers and Stalins were born in America only to have their potentialities diverted into other channels by the peaceful political and economic conditions of American society. May be they became frustrated neurotics, or directed their desire for power into different avenues. Perhaps driving an automobile of 350 horsepower—one of those you use below 10% of power while driving 50 miles per hour—gave them the feeling of power over the machine, over the road, over speed which they craved.

#### *Multivalence*

Though personality has to adjust to changing conditions, this adjustment to changing realities is not the only problem. Many men and women are inconsistent; they operate not on one, but on many, often contradictory value systems. Multivalence is characteristic of many personalities. Many oscillate among a number of contradicting

value systems and yield easily to the value system of the group. They may belong to a number of groups. For example, we may imagine a German who was a member of a trade union and of a veteran's organization. The trade union was based on different values than the German imperial veteran's organization. In consequence our imaginary German played one social role in the union and a different one again among the former imperial soldiers. Sometimes he followed one and sometimes another value system and pattern of political behavior. To begin with, he had inconsistent values, and faced difficulty in reconciling both systems. Under pressure, our imaginary German would be likely to swing toward the authoritarian, Nazi pattern. Only strong personalities have the ability to cope courageously with such differences, deciding for themselves what is right, and choosing from among different values and patterns of behavior which are often a result of the different and conflicting roles one has to play in contemporary society.

Nations, like individuals, are ambivalent because they are composed of individuals, many of whom are also ambivalent. The Germans were far more ambivalent, as a nation, than the British. Therefore, even a Germany under a democratic majority is still feared by its neighbours because it may reverse itself. However, Britain under a socialist majority may swing to the conservatives, but this change does not involve any change in basic concepts of freedom and power.

The position of an individual within a class may also influence his attitudes toward power. A member of the nobility in a medieval society, or a member of the bureaucracy in a Prussian state had an interest in the increase of power by virtue of the groups to which he belonged. In a German officer's caste there was a caste interest in the power of the Army in the German state. These examples show how social and economic relations influence individual attitudes and values toward power.<sup>16</sup>

### *Interrelations*

In spite of all the difficulties involved in the study of the interrelations of the individual and society, such an analysis does help us to understand the difference in attitudes toward power. In the Great Britain of 1917, Lenin at best would have played a role of an hysterical crank in the British House of Commons. In the America of 1918 Trotsky would have been listened to by a select crowd of mavericks in a Greenwich Village cold-water flat. In the United States of 1850, Tolstoi would have been another Thoreau, but in 1950 he would have been listened to only by small Quaker groups and other pacifists. In India, however, he would have been another Gandhi. There were



Lenins and Hitlers before these men emerged. But only in certain historical moments, in certain societies, could they play the roles they did. If Lenin had been born fifty years before he would have played a minor role as a subordinate to Bakunin, may be he would have been a Tkachev or a Nechayev. By the same token there were great revolutionary moments in the history of Europe, as in 1945, the moment of European liberation, when there was no great European leader to capture the imagination of masses with the idea of European union.

Only certain types of men, only certain personalities are manipulators of a military coup or leaders of an historic revolution. The seizure of power does not happen everywhere—there must be a personality in a society where attitudes toward power and violence favor such actions, in a critical moment of social change—in a moment of political, social and economic tensions. Oppressive and exploitative political and economic systems tend to create conditions in which violence is a sole alternative of change. Under such conditions of oppression and tensions, the attitude to violence may change, and violence may be approved by an individual or a people who previously had abhorred it.

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## EAST INDIA COMPANY'S CONCERN FOR RECORDS

PROFULLA CHANDRA ROY, M.A.

"As style is the man, so government are the Records"—Says Galbraith in his 'Introduction to the use of the Public Records'<sup>1</sup>. Even those, who have scant regard for this maxim, must have viewed with dismay the photo in the Statesman of July 25, 1954 with the following caption :

"Part of the burnt legal records at the High Court building of Indore, which was set on fire by a crowd, which stoned the building last week. Damage to the records is stated to be likely to impede the judicial investigation of many pending cases".<sup>2</sup>

It does not, of course, require calamities like fire, flood or war to emphasize the value of records as indispensable tools of administration. Equally understandable is the utilitarian motive, which actuates the administrator to win back what has been lost. Yet every attempt to salvage from wreck, tend the damaged and preserve the sanctity of evidence must be regarded as a heroic endeavour. The reason, though not far to seek, may best be given in the words of Waldo Gifford Leland :

"The ultimate purpose of the preservation and efficient administration of Public records goes far beyond the improvement of administrative processes and the facilitation of public business. The ultimate purpose is to make possible for our present generation to have enduring and dependable knowledge of their past and for future generations to have such knowledge of their past, of which our present is a part".<sup>3</sup>

Truly speaking, growing years bring about a revolutionary transformation in the character of records. With passage of time their intrinsic value begins to increase, whatever may be the dismal mark of age on the fragile body. The gradual accretion of qualities, far surpassing the exclusive needs of the administration at the currency stage, makes the body of records more attractive, productive and fruit-bearing to the discerning eyes of the researcher, who make most profitable use of it at the stage of non-currency. The records of the East India Company's government in India, described by James Grant Duff in his 'History of the Marhattas' as 'probably the best

historical materials in the world ' ' offer a case in point. Inspite at a rift in the late William Foster has the same complimentary ring :

" ..... had the archives of the East India House survived in their entirety, we should now be in possession of full information regarding the transactions both at home and abroad. But during the greater part of the Company's existence little heed was paid to the value of its records for historical purposes and the preservation of any particular series depended chiefly in its practical utility in relation to current work. Fortunately, in most cases this was sufficiently great to ensure the retention of those on which the student is likely to set chief store".<sup>5</sup>

Whatever charge may be laid at the door of the East India Company for its unawareness of the possible use of the records for research purposes, this Company, trading in the East from its distant, headquarter in London, came to own a rich accumulation of records through its desire to control effectively the action of its servants in India. The sudden turns, swift changes and unforeseen developments in the relations with country powers might have left the initiative entirely into the hands on the men of the spot. But this was purely temporary. The grip of the Court of Directors always remained firm, even when the sceptre was wielded by towering personalities like Wellesley or Dalhousie. The distance separating the Directors from their servants who were not readily available for consultation, placed the supreme control necessarily at the record level. It was, indeed, a government of records par excellence. The Court watched the march of events in India with jealous care, regularly sent instructions on every matter of moment, studied the despatches from India to see how far the directives from London had been faithfully implemented and chalked out new lines of advance in the light of communications received. As a result the flow of correspondences was both continuous and voluminous. The Court insisted on having the detailed account of the proceedings of the Government of India in various departments. Foster writes :

"In its final development, proposals were largely made in written minutes, which often, in controverted questions, provoked equally argumentative minutes of dissent : and these were entered at full length upon the records of the Council meeting (termed "Consultations" or "Proceedings"), transcripts of which were regularly sent home. In early days these were accompanied by separate volumes, containing copies of all letters received or sent; in later times such

correspondence was either entered on the Consultation, or in cases of special importance, transmitted as enclosures to dispatches.”

This method of sending lengthy transcripts in handwriting of the minutest administrative detail was expensive and time-consuming, occasionally made worse by the additional duty of supplying extra copies to the Directors. The Public letter to the Court of April 5, 1783 carries the groan of a piteous appeal from the Governor-General and Council at Fort William in Bengal :

“As we already transmit copies of our proceedings to you in triplicate and the additional duty of supplying the place of any which may be lost as well as of preparing the particular copies of our advices to you for the use of his Majesty’s Ministers cannot be performed but at a very considerable expense to the Company, the salaries of clerks being much higher in his country than in Europe and as so much increase of their duty amidst the hurry of a despatch tends to throw the business of the Public Offices into confusion, we humbly submit to you the propriety and advantage of having such copies prepared in England.”

This appeal to get rid of the onerous task of supplying extra copies of official transaction in India, when this could be done in England at a less expense without throwing the normal public business out of gear, loses, of course, much of its force when pitted against the Court’s desire to have transcripts of official proceedings, which were lost on their way to England as a result of enemy action. When surrender to superior might of the enemy was inevitable, the Captain of the English vessel, carrying the packets of records, usually considered it wise to throw them in the watery grave of the blue or destroy on board the valuable load instead of allowing the enemy to possess the covetable booty. This could neither be recovered nor could it be transcribed by the London addresses in the absence of any copy for the same. A few documents are reproduced below to show a record deal between the Directors and the Government at Fort William, Calcutta, which took place after the loss of packet of records as a result of the capture of vessel called the Admiral Hughes on March 6, 1782 by a French Frigate, Egretton.

(1) LETTER FROM COURT OF APRIL 30, 1782

“ . . . . . we have been informed by Captain Greenway the Commander of the vessel called the Admiral Hughes and Mr. Oakes late a passenger thereon charged with the dispatches from Madras

that the said vessel was taken by a French Frigate named the Egretton the 6th March last near the Western Islands and that several of the packets were thrown overboard and if the Captain's declaration is to be confided in the act were destroyed on board "."

(2) LETTER FROM COURT OF JUNE 18, 1782

" We have already advised you in our before mentioned letter, of the unfortunate capture on the 6th March last, near the Western Islands, of the Admiral Hughes Pocket, commanded by Captain Greenway, and of the loss of all her packets. We therefore hereby direct, that you send us by the first conveyance, Duplicates of such letters, consultations and other papers as were on Board that vessel from your Presidency "."

(3) LETTER TO COURT OF APRIL 5, 1783

" We have ordered copies of all the papers lost in our packet by the Admiral Hughes to be prepared and they shall be transmitted you as soon as ready, but from their bulk it will require a considerable time to make transcripts of them notwithstanding the additional number of clerks who will be employed for that purpose. ""

(4) LETTER TO COURT OF OCTOBER 23, 1783

" Captain Alexander Wynch of the Madras establishment being desirous of returning to Europe by the Nurbudda and having solicited to be entrusted with the charge of our dispatches, which he is willing to take upon him without any expense to the Company. We have agreed to place them under his care and he will have the honour of delivering this letter to you."

BOARD OF ORDNANCE

Conformable to your desire conveyed to us by the Governor-General and Council directing that you be furnished with Duplicates of all Letters, Consultations, Accounts and other Papers, transmitted from hence by the ship Neptune in May, 1781 and by the Rockford in September of that year, whose packets were forwarded from Madras in the Admiral Hughes's packet, that was unfortunately captured by the enemy near the Western Islands. We have the honour of furnishing you with copies of such of those papers as you have not acknowledged to have received, viz.

Copy of our proceedings from the 1st September, 1780 to the 1st April, 1781 with Index.

General Ledger Ordnance Department for 1779-80.

General return of Ordnance and Stoves remaining at this Presidency and its subordinates the 30th April, 1780.

Indent of articles wanted for the Powder works, dated the 27th November, 1780.

Indent of Military Stoves for the garrison of Fort William, dated the 28th March, 1781 " "

One more document in the Public Department deserves special mention in this connection. It gives the name of the writers, who were specially employed to make copies of the records lost on their way to England. Both Europeans and Country men were employed on a purely temporary basis, though discrimination was made in wage rates between the two. To quote the statement as embodied in the documents :

"The following are casual and will be discharged when the occasion is over.

Europeans employed in copying the proceedings ordered by the Court of Directors to replace those lost in the Admiral Hughes Packet and paid at 1 gold Mohur per section

I. Stapleton

G. Watts

W. Brant

Natives.

Paid at 15 Sa' Rs. pr. Section

A. Morse

L. de Corta

L. Argotty

I. Faria

L. Peirara

H. Pinnetz." "

The entire transaction bears eloquent testimony to the eagerness of the Company to replace what was lost so that it might have a faithful record of the official business in India in its totality. The question of time, labour, expenditure or any other administrative difficulty did not matter in the least to the Court of Directors so long as their records remained in unbroken continuity. It is easy to

criticize them for having looked at the record problem from purely administrative or utilitarian point of view. But criticism is silence into admiration by a little reflection that they were unconsciously laying the massive foundation for the archival dictum, so ably expounded by Solon J. Buck.

"A record group is something more than the sum of its own parts. It has an integrity, a meaning in itself. No part can be lost or neglected without affecting other parts and the group as a whole".<sup>13</sup>

The meticulous care taken by the East India Company for retention of records also produced beneficial results both at home and abroad. The servants in the East could not be indifferent to the records when they knew that they will largely be judged by their actions, as reflected on the body of the records. Separated by an unending mass of water, the only means of communication between them and the Directors was the records which alone could offer them a good defence, when their actions in the official capacity were subjected to unwarranted criticism and their good faith was called into question. The net result on either side was a rich accumulation of records which gives within a reasonable compass a rapid and effective survey of the records in each class, generally distinguishing each volume and giving idea of the date it covers.

The rule of the Company now belongs to the past, but the unique legacy of records, which it has bequeathed to posterity, remains living and operative in the repositories of National Archives of India and the Commonwealth Relations Office Library (former India Office Library). This will continue to offer to the unceasing stream of researchers "the subtle delight of working with manuscripts—that delight which is a compound of many simples: the faint slightly acrid scent of old papers parchment and leather, the poignant appeal of the faded brown ink, the realisation that the little bundle of paper or parchment before is a symbol of hopes and fears, the ambitions and disillusion, the loyalties and hatreds of the actors, who once played a passionate part on what is now a deserted and forlorn stage; the reflection at once inspiring and sobering that to advance thus far is to lay oneself open to challenge to recreate the past, to restore the vanished scene, to reveal to a world, that has long forgotten them, the actors in the long vanished drama and to set before the readers of to-day a coherent and convincing account of the ambitions and the activities of those who played the leading part in a great movement that was widening out far beyond our conventional conceptions".<sup>14</sup>



## List of References

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- <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*
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- <sup>8</sup> Para 7--Public Letter from Court of April 30, 1782.
- <sup>9</sup> Para 2--Public Letter from Court of June 18, 1782.
- <sup>10</sup> Para 69--Public Letter to Court of April 5, 1783.
- <sup>11</sup> Paras 198-199--Public Letter to Court of October 23, 1783.
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# ENGLISH IN INDIAN UNIVERSITIES

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Four simple considerations will show that English must continue to have a place of importance in university courses in India. First : if we have to stand in the modern world as a nation worth the name, we cannot afford to lose touch with western knowledge. Of the three European languages that hold the key to western knowledge, viz. English, French & German, the first is the easiest for us to learn since it is being learnt in India for the last hundred and fifty years. Moreover, the world-importance of English is still greater than that of the other two languages or, indeed, than that of any other language. Second : English is bound to remain one of the official languages of the Republic of India and of most, if not all, of its constituent states, far longer than the period prescribed in the Constitution. However it may hurt our national pride, sheer necessity will have it so. Third : English is bound to remain for years to come the chief medium of intercourse between the different parts of India, especially between the north and the south. Fourth : English has long served and will long serve yet as a unifying force in India too precious to be thrown away.

It is no use, however, merely asserting what the place of English in university courses in India ought to be. It is far more important to ensure, if it is to be of any value, that English is studied on the right lines; otherwise, it had better not be studied at all. The lines on which English is studied at present in Indian universities are far from being the right ones.

## B.A. & B.Sc. PASS COURSES : ENGLISH AS A COMPULSORY SUBJECT

English is at present a compulsory subject for the B.A. Pass degree in all Indian universities, and in many of them, for the B.Sc. Pass degree as well. The considerations enumerated above prove beyond doubt that this is just what it should be, and that those Indian universities which do not have English as a compulsory subject for the B.Sc. Pass degree should make it so at the earliest possible moment. But it is one thing saying that English should be

compulsory subject; another, if by English is meant English literature. The latter is what Indian universities mean by compulsory English at present, and that is exactly where they have been going wrong for years. All that may be urged regarding the importance of English for India does not necessarily call for a course consisting of Shakespeare or Shelley, Milton or T. S. Eliot. It is time that we gave up our conventional ideas in this matter, which are so hide-bound that as soon as it is said that English should be a compulsory subject for the Bachelor's degree, we begin to think of a course in literary terms. The result is that the average graduate of an Indian university, though he has been made to read Shakespeare and Shelley, is unable to write an ordinary letter in correct English. We must get out of this fantastic situation. It is time that it was clearly recognised that, so far as the average student is concerned, the educative value of literature should be made available for him entirely through his mother-tongue. Indian universities should accordingly take early steps to enlarge and enhance the standards of their courses in Indian languages and literatures. As for a foreign language (which English is, after all, for Indians), if it is learnt of choice, its literary application may come uppermost. If, however, it is learnt of necessity because it happens to be a State language or the medium of intercommunication between different parts of a country or among different sections of its population, it is the language and not the literature, its practical application and not the literary, that is of more immediate concern for the learner. The compulsory course in English for the Bachelor's degree of Indian universities must therefore be predominantly a language course with a pronounced practical bias. The suggested practical bias is justified by the further consideration that a language is not really mastered so long as it remains a remote, bookish entity (as English unfortunately does for most learners in this country). Real mastery of a language comes only when it grows to be a living reality for the learner, and it becomes a living reality only when the learner is able to apply it with ease to the varied needs and affairs of practical life. It is surely a strange lop-sided education that makes one write learnedly on Shakespeare and flounder when it comes to the writing of an ordinary letter in English.

Accordingly I propose the following syllabus for Compulsory English for the B.A. & B.Sc. (Pass) Examinations :—(i) Practical English: 100 marks; (ii) Précis-writing: 50 marks; (iii) Prescribed Texts for Rapid Reading: 100 marks.

In (i), the questions will all be concerned with the application of the English language to topics of practical life. A wide variety of such questions is possible (e.g., letter-writing on topics of practical life, dialogue-writing in conversational English on matters of workaday life, etc. etc. Room may also be found in this paper for passages relating to workaday life being set for translation from the candidate's mother-tongue into English, alternative questions being provided for those whose mother-tongue is not any of the Indian languages recognised by the university concerned).

In (iii), not less than ten texts should be prescribed for rapid reading. It is important, however, to lay down in the examination regulations what kind of questions should be set on these texts. If the questions are designed merely to test generally the candidate's acquaintance with the contents of the prescribed texts, they may be easily answered by cramming 'note-books' instead of reading the texts themselves. As it is not possible to ban 'note-books' by legislation or otherwise, such an eventuality will have to be reckoned with and guarded against. Since this compulsory course in English is primarily a language course, I suggest that questions on the texts prescribed for rapid reading should consist *entirely* of passages taken from them and set for translation into the candidate's mother-tongue, the object being to test his understanding of the English language. (Alternative arrangements will of course have to be made for those whose mother-tongue is not any of the Indian languages recognised by the university concerned).

The selection of the texts prescribed for rapid reading should be made on the following principles (all of which should be duly incorporated into the examination regulations) :—

(a) Since, from the point of view of practical life, it is extremely important that students should acquire some knowledge of conversational English, at least one of the texts shall be a modern prose drama (but not in dialect) and at least one, a modern novel containing plenty of dialogue (but not in dialect).

(b) One of the texts, but not more than one, shall be an anthology of English verse.

(c) At least two of the prose texts prescribed for B.A. students shall deal with serious non-literary topics in good prose (e.g., Allen's *Democracy & the Individual*, Fred Hoyle's *The Nature of the Universe*), etc..

(d) At least one of the prose texts prescribed for B.Sc. students shall deal with some topic of literary interest in good prose (e.g., C. Day Lewis's *Poetry For You*).

(e) Since it is important that young learners should not be misled into taking archaic, semi-archaic or old-fashioned English for the norm of the language as spoken and written today, none of the prose texts prescribed for rapid reading should be earlier than the twentieth century.

#### B.A. PASS COURSE : ENGLISH AS A SUBSIDIARY SUBJECT

There should also be an optional course in English as a subsidiary subject for the B.A. (Pass) Examination. This would be more or less a literary course meant for those who have acquired sufficient proficiency in the English language to be able to undertake with profit a study of English literature. I propose the following syllabus for this course :—(i) Poetry and Verse Drama : selected texts; (ii) Prose and Prose Drama : selected texts; (iii) Composition, Rhetoric, and Prosody.

It is important, however, that there should be provision in the University Regulations for an admission test of proficiency in the English language for students who want to take English as a subsidiary subject for the B.A. (Pass) Examination (as well as for those who want to go in for the Honours course in English proposed below). This is important, for we must do all that we can to avoid the grievous waste resulting from students with insufficient knowledge of English doing or being made to do English literature—a common and distressing phenomenon now-a-days in colleges and universities all over India.

#### HONOURS COURSE IN ENGLISH

Not all Indian universities have got Honours courses at present. Every Indian university should have a three-year Honours course in a variety of subjects including at least one foreign language and literature. So far as a foreign language and literature is concerned, English would of course be the first choice for the same reason as stated earlier, viz. that it is being cultivated in India for the last 150 years (not to speak of the intrinsic merits and importance of the English language and literature). The Honours Examination in English should consist of not less than eight papers, each of four hours' duration, and the syllabus and questions should be so framed as to compel first-hand study of original texts and discourage second-hand study.

through criticisms and histories of literature. This last is a great evil spoiling English studies in universities all over India, and we must do all that we can to put it down if we mean business and desire to give English studies an honoured place in our universities.

The Honours course in English must include both literature and philology (including phonetics), and there should be room for rhetoric and prosody in one of the eight papers. Needless to say, standards of teaching, study and examination in Honours courses must be pitched fairly high; an Honours course must be worth its name. At present we would come across in our country hundreds of young men and women flaunting Honours and M.A. degrees in English of Indian universities and yet unable to write ten correct English sentences together. English studies in Indian universities are bound to come to a dead end if we allow this sorry state of things to continue. Let there be a rule that answers written in bad English at the Honours Examination in English would be summarily rejected.

Only two classes should be awarded in Honours examinations: first and second. The written examination should be followed by a *viva voce* test. In order that it might not be misused as a lever for moving up candidates from a lower to a higher class, only negative awards should be made at the *viva* for gross deficiencies, if any, of knowledge, understanding and equipment shown by candidates. In the case of candidates for the Honours degree in English, glaring defects of pronunciation should be regarded as a gross deficiency of equipment.

#### M.A. COURSE IN ENGLISH

For the same reasons as stated under 'Honours Course in English', all Indian universities should attempt to provide for an M.A. course in English. Needless to say, standards of teaching, study and examination in M.A./M.Sc. courses should be high enough to be fully worthy of their name: mark the word *Master*. The standards should be such that whenever and wherever we come across a person possessing a Master's degree of an Indian university, we may without hesitation take it for granted that he or she really knows something. Unfortunately, as things go now, this is far from being the case. It is imperative that Indian universities should, at the earliest possible moment, enhance the standards of their Master's degree. Let there be at least one examination-degree of Indian universities that carries with it the hall-mark of unquestioned distinction. I would accordingly suggest as follows:—

(1) The M.A./M.Sc. course should be a *two-year* course following a three-year Honours course. Certain Indian universities have a one-year M.A./M.Sc. course following a three-year Honours course. This is hardly a sound practice. Even if we have a well-organised Honours course of high standards, how much of post-graduate study worth the name is possible in one year? A possible objection to my proposal may be that its adoption will unduly prolong the academic career of our youths. This objection, however, has no real validity. An M.A./M.Sc. degree is by no means a *sine qua non* for entry even into the higher branches of Government service (barring a certain number of specialised posts), nor is it indispensable for entry into any of the higher professions (excepting the higher levels of the teaching profession) or for admission into foreign universities. Students who want to go out to earn or to go abroad for further studies may easily do so after obtaining their B.A./B.Sc. degrees with or without Honours. The M.A./M.Sc. course is primarily meant for those who would be college or university teachers and those who want to pursue knowledge and research for their own sake. There is, therefore, no reason why we should shorten the duration of the M.A./M.Sc. course, even for those who have done a three-year Honours course.

(2) Admission to the M.A./M.Sc. course in any subject should be restricted to those who have obtained an Honours degree in that or an analogous subject. The Regulations of Indian Universities should explicitly prescribe an Honours degree as an essential prerequisite for the M.A./M.Sc. degree.

(3) Only two classes should be awarded in the M.A./M.Sc. Examination: first and second. The Examination should consist of not less than ten papers (each of four hours' duration) *plus* a dissertation *plus* a *viva*. For reasons already stated, only negative awards should be made at the *viva*. It should be permissible for candidates to submit their dissertations in the same year as they take the written papers or earlier or later. There need be no insistence that the dissertation must embody the results of out-and-out original research or thinking. All that the dissertation should be meant to test would be the candidate's ability to organise the results of detailed first-hand investigation into a selected subject, on which he would be expected to say one or two new things.

The M.A. course in English should cover the entire range of English Literature from the beginnings to the twentieth century. Old and Middle English must be compulsory; there is no point in

obtaining an M.A. degree in English without any knowledge of Old and Middle English. In addition to compulsory papers, the syllabus should also find room for a few optional papers on the following among other subjects :—(i) English and Germanic Philology; (ii) English Metrics; (iii) English Critical Theory; (iv) Detailed study of a prescribed period of English Literature in relation to the social, political, and intellectual history of that period. Syllabus and questions must be framed in such a way as to compel first-hand study of original texts. Glaring defects of pronunciation on the part of candidates should be punishable by negative awards at the *viva*. Bad English in the written papers should lead to a summary rejection of the answers concerned. All this should be expressly provided for in the University Regulations.

The M.A./M.Sc. degree of Indian Universities (particularly in English) is regarded even in this country itself as inferior to the Honours degree of western universities, and for good reasons too. For instance, in making a teaching appointment, an Indian University would ordinarily prefer a candidate possessing a first or even second-class Honours degree of, say, London to one possessing a first-class M.A. degree awarded by itself. This is a strange commentary indeed on the worth of our M.A./M.Sc. degrees. We cannot get out of this shameful state of affairs and remove the stigma of inferiority from our M.A./M.Sc. degree unless we raise the standards on the lines I have suggested. The matter, I should think, is serious enough to engage the immediate attention of all Indian Universities and other bodies concerned with higher education in India.

#### ENGLISH AS A SUBJECT FOR RESEARCH DEGREES

English is certainly an important and worthy subject of research for Indian Universities. But the way research in English is being carried on at present in Indian Universities calls for drastic amendment. Research in English in Indian Universities, whether done by persons holding research scholarships or by candidates for research degrees, is usually of the nature of critical and historical studies that break but little new ground, and the theses produced are glorified essays rather than research-work properly so called. On analysis these theses are mostly found to be rehashes of or embroideries on things already known and stated, and the authors appear to be ill-informed about the work already done on or around the subjects concerned in England and America. Such repetitive work passing for research can only be regarded as a deplorable waste of intelligence.



tual energy, and serves only to bring English studies in Indian Universities into ridicule and contempt. If they cannot get out of this morass of fruitless re-iteration, Indian Universities had better not encourage research in English.

The fact of the matter is that the field of English Literature has been so thoroughly ploughed by English, American and German scholars in course of the last hundred years that little scope is now left for original work unless one is prepared to delve into the minutiae of a period or movement. Research work in English in Indian Universities, if it means to be research in the proper sense of the term, must turn its attention to these minutiae. But how can a research worker delve into these unless his University provides him with the necessary appliances for doing so? If, then, an Indian University desires that fruitful research in English should be done under its auspices (and there is every reason that it should so desire), it must have its library well-stocked with the following :—

(1) Micro-films of as many issues as possible of old defunct periodicals like, say, *The Gentleman's Magazine* (a veritable store-house of research material). There are organizations now-a-days in England and America which undertake the supply of such micro-films on request (see *Unesco Library Bulletin*).

(2) Photostats or micro-films of a large number of early manuscripts and early printed texts, and *all* modern reprints or facsimiles of these that have been published so far.

(3) *All* definitive modern editions that have been published so far of English texts, major and minor, of all periods (the minor ones being as important for research purposes as the major ones). (For out-of-print items, contact should be made with suppliers like Messrs. Blackwell of Oxford).

(4) Current numbers of at least a dozen of the learned journals, English and American, that specialise in English studies (e.g., *Modern Language Review*, *Review of English Studies*, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, *Modern Philology*, *Studies in Philology*, *Philological Quarterly*, *Modern Language Notes*, *Shakespeare Quarterly*, *PMLA*, etc. *Notes and Queries* must also be subscribed to). These are indispensable for research workers in English.

(5) Micro-films of back-numbers (as many as possible) of such learned journals.

(6) Essays and studies published from time to time by the English Departments of Western Universities, particularly American Universities (recent as well as earlier issues).

(7) Correspondence, autobiographies, diaries, journals, memoirs, reminiscences, and the like of English writers, major and minor, of all periods, and of their friends and associates. (These contain valuable research material).

In addition, a University must be prepared to supply at its own cost micro-films of any manuscript, rare book, periodical or document that may be required by a research-worker in English.

To avoid useless duplication, a research-worker must keep himself well-posted with information concerning the work already done on or around his subject. His University should, therefore, subscribe to and collect back-numbers of at least these five publications:—*The Year's Work in English Studies* (English Assocn., London), *Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature* (Modern Humanities Research Association, Cambridge), *Work in Progress* (id.), *Shakespeare Survey* (Cambridge University Press), and *Subject-Index to Periodicals* (Library Association, London). It should also have a complete stock of such valuable modern bibliographies as the *Cambridge Bibliography of English Language and Literature*, Landa's bibliography of Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Literature (compiled for the *Philological Quarterly*), etc., along with all bibliographies published so far of individual writers and texts, e.g., Ebisch and Schücking's *Shakespeare Bibliography* (with Supplement), Raven's *Hamlet Bibliography*, Stevens's *Reference Guide to Milton*, Keynes's bibliography of Donne, and the like. Such bibliographies are indispensable for research-workers in English.

Fundamental research in English Literature—e.g., determining the canon of an early writer, preparing definitive editions (complete with *apparatus criticus*) of hitherto unedited writers and texts, dating or deciphering old manuscripts and early printed texts, and the like—is practically unknown in India. This is where Indian Universities that desire to promote genuine research in English Literature, should turn their attention. It will be necessary for this purpose to depute a member of the university teaching staff to either the U.K. or the U.S.A. to learn English palaeography and bibliography, which it will be his duty on return to teach to all research-workers in English at his university. The latter should provide him with all materials that may be needed by him to do this duty, and should make it

obligatory for all research-scholars and candidates for research degrees in English, whatever their subject, to take a course of training at the university in English palaeography and bibliography. It should also be made obligatory for them to acquire, if they do not have it already, a working knowledge of a major European language (ancient or modern) other than English.

Unless Indian universities are prepared to do and provide all these, they had better stop awarding research scholarships and research degrees in English.

Those who guide research-work in English at Indian universities have a special responsibility in the matter. They must not allow those working under them to choose such themes for their research as would lead merely to large-scale essay-writing around things already known and understood. Mere secretaryship to existing knowledge, dotting its i's and crossing its t's, is hardly a profitable occupation for the human mind.

#### ENGLISH AS A MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION IN OTHER SUBJECTS

Whatever has been said or implied above about the value of English as a subject in university courses in India does not necessarily prove its suitability as a medium of teaching and study in subjects other than English—not even in the highest stages of university education in India. Whatever the merits and advantages of English as a language, we in India must now prepare ourselves for a gradual replacement of English by regional languages as medium of instruction in subjects other than English in all stages of university education. This is not merely a matter of national sentiment—it is a question of sound educational practice. The reasons why a foreign language ought not to be the medium of instruction are well summed up in a memorable remark made by the late Dr. Stresemann, famous Chancellor of the Weimar Republic, at a meeting of the League of Nations: "The mother-tongue is the innermost sanctuary of the soul". Once the implications of the remark are clearly grasped, there can be no question that in subjects other than itself English must by easy stages give place to regional languages as medium of university education in India. The necessity of this change is further proved by the stagnation of thought in medieval Europe, which no less an authority than Dr. Coulton attributes to, among other things, the universal use of Latin (*i.e.*, a language other than the mother-tongue) in scholastic circles.

The only difficulty in the way of the proposed change is lack of suitable text-books in the regional languages of India. This, however, is not an insuperable difficulty, and there is no reason why it cannot be removed, in, say, ten years if Indian Universities set about the task of removing it in earnest. As for technical terms we need not wait till Indian equivalents have been found for all of them; whatever the purist might say, most of these should be taken over bodily in transliteration into the various regional languages. Meanwhile, as a preparation for the change-over, candidates for all university examinations in subjects other than English may be given the option of writing their answers in the regional language of the area concerned; with permission to use technical and semi-technical terms in transliteration or in Roman script. The existence of such an option will gradually create a demand for suitable text-books in the regional languages, and the demand in its turn will call forth the first supplies. This particular experiment has succeeded in West Bengal where the Calcutta University has been for the last few years allowing this option to candidates for the Intermediate and B.A./B.Sc. (Pass) Examinations in subjects other than English. This has gradually brought into existence a considerable number of books in Bengali on different subjects for the two examinations (including a number of science subjects). Although most of the books smack too much of examination requirements, they have none the less made a beginning by way of filling in a void in the language, and have evolved a suitable terminology in Bengali for each of the subjects concerned. Personally I am in favour of this option being extended right up to the M.A./M.Sc. examinations as an interim measure pending the final replacement of English by the regional languages of India as the medium of university education in all its stages in all subjects other than English.

A suggestion has been made in recent years that the regional language should be the medium of instruction and examination in English as well. On principle there is not much to object to in the proposal. Western universities teach and hold examinations in foreign languages and literatures through the medium not of those languages but of the native language of the country or area concerned, and they are none the worse for that. I have found from personal experience that English Literature can be taught with great success in Bengali even in M.A. classes provided one is allowed the occasional use of English expressions not susceptible of a happy translation. I should have found the proposal not altogether unacceptable.

but for one horrible possibility. It is well known that one can obtain an Honours or M.A. degree of an Indian university in language-subjects like, say, Sanskrit or French without knowing very much of those languages, simply because answers can be given mostly in English. It is the frightful prospect of English coming to share the same fate if the medium of instruction and examination is a language other than English that reconciles me to the existing practice in respect of that subject in university courses in India; and I would conclude by re-emphasizing a particular suggestion I have made above; viz. that in the English papers in Honours and M.A. examinations answers written in bad English should be summarily rejected.

# THE INDIAN PROBLEM IN SOUTH AFRICA: CAPE TOWN—SUCCESS (1927-46)

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## II

The Pegging Act was put into operation before long. The Minister of the Interior refused to grant permits to Indians in many cases to occupy properties they had already purchased in the predominantly European areas of Durban. The 'Illegal' occupiers of Stands were hauled up before the Court for the contravention of the Act. Local authorities all over South Africa were "inspired to inaugurate housing schemes for the segregation of Indians and other races". A section of the Indian population in Natal began to be steadily ousted from its economic footholds by the penetration of Europeans into Indian areas. That was the real problem in Durban. The penetration by Indians into European areas was no problem at all. The Indian market-gardeners began to be turned out of their little holdings by Europeans, who wanted sites for house-building or by industrialists, who were spreading along the coast. It was apprehended that Indians thus dispossessed would be driven into Durban's unskilled labour market.

The Natal Indian Congress met at Durban in February, 1944. The Congress expressed its indignation at the Pegging Act, which in its opinion was "the negation of the most elementary human right and a violation of the principles of democracy and (also) those underlying the Cape Town Agreement of 1927". The Congress resolved to oppose the Act, and

(i) to organise mass meeting of protest against the Act all over Natal ;

(ii) to sponsor the signing of a mass petition to be presented to the Union Government ;

(iii) to seek the co-operation of Indian and other organisations in the Transvaal and the Cape Province ;

(iv) to awaken world opinion in general and opinion in India and Great Britain in particular against the Act.

The Government of India was requested by the Congress to recall the Indian High Commissioner in South Africa as a protest

against the passing of the Pegging Act. Copies of the above resolutions were to be forwarded to the Government of India, the Indian High Commissioner in South Africa and the national leaders of India, among others.<sup>19</sup>

Prime Minister Smuts had suggested in his message to the 1944 session of the Congress the appointment of a commission to investigate the important issues affecting the Indian community. The latter was asked to participate in the commission's work. The Congress after a heated discussion, gave its verdict in favour of co-operation with the proposed commission with certain reservations. Senator Clarkson, the Minister of the Interior, announced the appointment of the Third Broome Commission a fortnight later. It was composed of Mr. Justice F. N. Broome (Chairman), Mr. W. M. Power, Senator D. G. Shepstone, Mr. S. R. Naidoo, Mr. A. I. Kajee and Mr. I. A. de Gruchy (Secretary).

The Commission was "to inquire into and to report upon matters affecting the Indian community of the Province of Natal, with special reference to housing and health needs, civic amenities, civic status and provision of adequate residential, educational, religious and recreational facilities and to make recommendations generally as to what steps are necessary further to implement the uplift clauses of the Cape Town Agreement of 1927 and as to all matters affecting the well-being and advancement of the permanent Indian population of Natal"<sup>20</sup>

The appointment of the Third Broome Commission was followed by the Pretoria Agreement (April 19, 1944). The Agreement was the

<sup>19</sup> That this Conference expresses its strong indignation at the passing of Act 35 of 1943, commonly known as the Pegging Act which it considers to be the negation of the most elementary human right and a violation of the principles of democracy and those underlying the Cape Town Agreement of 1927.

"The Pegging Act has been sponsored by Anti-Asiatics with a view to strangling the Indian community economically, and this Conference is firmly of the opinion that there existed no justifiable ground for the Union Government to pass this most obnoxious legislation and hence demands the immediate repeal of the Pegging Act, and to give effect to this demand, resolves to carry on a mass campaign on the following lines, namely:—

"(a) Hold mass meetings of protest in every part of Natal,

"(b) Sponsor the signing of a mass petition and present the same to the Union Government.

"(c) Seek the Co-operation of Indian and other organisations in the Transvaal and the Cape Province.

"(d) Awaken world opinion particularly in India and Great Britain against the Act."

This Conference resolves to request the Government of India to recall the High Commissioner in South Africa as a protest against the passing and the perpetuation of the Pegging Act of 1943 and that copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Government of India, the High Commissioner, national leaders in India and to other quarters.

<sup>20</sup> Review of Important Events Relating to or Affecting Indians in different parts of the British Empire during the year 1943-44, p. I.

outcome of negotiations between the Government of South Africa and the Natal Indian Congress. Under the Agreement, the Pegging Act was to be allowed to lapse on the expiry of its original term on March 31, 1946, and an Ordinance of the Natal Provincial Government was to take the place thereof. The Ordinance was to provide for the establishment of a Licensing Board of five—three Europeans and two Indians—to control the occupation of dwellings by licensing. Of the three European members of the Board one was to act as the Chairman.<sup>21</sup>

The Pretoria Agreement recognised the right of Indians to own and occupy property anywhere in Natal—a right denied by the Pegging Act.—“ save and except in the case of occupation of dwellings for residential purposes in urban areas which was likely to engender racial bickering due to juxtapositional living ”.<sup>22</sup>

The control of the occupation of dwellings by Indians contemplated in the Pretoria Agreement was in respect of residential occupation only. Mr. G. Heaton Nicholls, the Administrator of Natal, told a correspondent of the Star (Johannesburg) after the signature of the Agreement, “ Areas will be set up in which one race may not take the place of another in any dwellings. The Board will determine these areas and will issue occupation licenses ”. The spirit behind the agreement was that Indians would accept statutory-voluntary—not statutory-segregation in Durban provided civic amenities of the same standard and on the same scale were available in Indian as well as European quarters. The acceptance was not to jeopardise in any way the inherent right to the ownership and occupation of property throughout the rest of Natal.

New Delhi re-acted favourably to the Pretoria Agreement as it accepted the principle of “ *no statutory segregation of Indians* ”, The Government of India pointed out at the same time that something more positive than the mere withdrawal of a threat was necessary for the improvement of the position of the Indians in the Union of South Africa.

Not a few in South Africa—Indians and Europeans alike—condemned the Pretoria Agreement with vehemence. It was condemned

<sup>21</sup> “ It was agreed that the situation would best be met by the introduction of an ordinance into the Natal Provincial Council. This Ordinance would provide for the creation of a board consisting of two Europeans and two Indian members under the chairmanship of a third European, who will be a man of legal training. The object of the legislation will be to create machinery for the board to control occupation by the licensing of dwellings in certain areas; and the application of the Pegging Act in Durban is to be withdrawn by a proclamation on the passing of this ordinance.” Official statement issued on April 19, 1944 by Government of South Africa.

<sup>22</sup> *Indians Overseas*, 1938-40, by C. Kondapi, p. 259.



as an "unpardonable crime", a "shameful betrayal of the Indian people" and a "virtual sell-out of the Indian community". The Colonial Born and Settlers' Indian Association, the Nationalist Group of the Transvaal Indian Congress, the Liberal Study Group, the Communist Party, the Anti-Segregation Council and some Trade Unions branded the Agreement as a stigma on India's national honour. On the European side, the Durban City Council, among others, expressed its disapproval of the Agreement on the ground that it was hostile to the best interests of the city of Durban and the country as a whole.

The Provincial Government of Natal took steps for the implementation of the Pretoria Agreement before long and published the Draft Occupation Control Ordinance on June 2, 1944, to replace the Pegging Act. The Ordinance, generally acceptable to the Natal Indian Congress, was not so to the Natal Europeans. It was the hostile attitude of the latter that forced the Administrator to refer the Ordinance after the first reading to a Select Committee, though according to the South African Constitution, an Ordinance can be referred to a Select Committee only after the second reading.

The Select Committee modified the Ordinance radically and submitted the same to the Provincial Council as the Residential Property Regulation Ordinance together with its report on the original Ordinance. The modifications were all against Indian interests. While the Pretoria Agreement was concerned only with the occupation of individual dwellings, the new Ordinance provided for the control of acquisition as well occupation of residential properties. The agreement envisaged the control of occupation in the city of Durban alone in the first instance and in other boroughs and townships only after an enquiry by the board to be set up according to the terms of the Agreement and the provisions of the Draft Occupation Control Ordinance. The Residential Property Regulation Ordinance, on the other hand, envisaged the immediate control of occupation in boroughs and townships all over Natal. The Pretoria Agreement proposed to set up a machinery of a temporary nature to control the occupation of properties, whereas the new Ordinance provided for the establishment of a machinery of a permanent character.

The Natal Post-war Re-construction Commission—an all European body—had in the meanwhile recommended racial zoning in Durban. The Natal Provincial Council accepted the recommendation and promulgated the Natal Housing Board Ordinance and the Provincial and Local Authorities Expropriation Ordinance along with

the Residential Property Regulation Ordinance (November 3, 1944). The first provided for the establishment of a Housing Board with powers to acquire and sell property and the second empowered the Local authorities to expropriate land. These Ordinances violated the Pretoria Agreement in more respects than one. They sought to impose racial segregation. The Indians raised their voice of protest against them. Prime Minister Smuts was approached by the Indians with a request to veto the Residential Property Regulation Ordinance as it did not conform to the Pretoria Agreement. The Government of India too shook off their indifference and imposed reciprocal restrictions on South African nationals in India in terms of Sec. 2 of the (Indian) Reciprocity Act, 1943. The restrictions were to be effective on and from November 3, 1944, i.e., the day on which the Natal Housing Board Ordinance, the Provincial and Local Authorities Expropriation Ordinance and the Residential Property Regulation Ordinance were promulgated. The Indian legislature demanded at the same time the imposition of economic sanctions on South Africa and the recall of the Indian High Commissioner therefrom.

Prime Minister Smuts admitted in his reply to Indian representations that the Residential Property Regulation Ordinance violated the Pretoria Agreement. He however thought that it (The Pretoria Agreement) had already lapsed "as the Agreement specifically provided for proceeding by way of an Ordinance and made no further provision for its implementation"<sup>23</sup> He said further that the Pegging Act stood unrepealed and was in force and that he would advise the Natal Provincial Government to reserve the Residential Property Regulation Ordinance for his Majesty's approval. The Natal Housing Board Ordinance and the Local Authorities Expropriation Ordinance were however to become laws straight-way.

The passing of the Residential Property Regulation Ordinance before the Third Broome Commission completed its labours was irregular. It meant in reality the prejudging of matters which were subjudice to all intents and purposes. The Indian members of the Commission Mr. S. R. Naidoo and Mr. A. I. Kaje, therefore resigned from the Commission on December 7, 1944.

The Natal Housing Board Ordinance, the Provincial and Local Authorities Expropriation Ordinance and the Residential Property Regulation Ordinance were finally declared *ultra vires* of the powers of the Natal Provincial Council. The situation created by the declara-

• 23 Indians Overseas, 1938-1949, by C. Kondapi, p. 270.

tion was met by the South African Housing (Emergency Powers) Act passed by the Union Parliament in 1945 (June 11). The Act conferred on the Natal Provincial Administration practically all the powers they had sought to assume by the Ordinances under reference. It empowered the Governor-General to issue regulations in respect of the powers of the Natal Housing Board to be set up by the Provincial Council. Local bodies were authorised at the same time to construct dwellings, expropriate property and "carry out other incidental purposes". The regulations, which were to be limited to a period of three years in the first instance, might be renewed by a resolution of both Houses of the Union Parliament. The Minister of the Interior retained the powers of expropriation. Section 4 of the Act empowered the Natal Provincial Council to set up a Housing Board by Ordinance.

The Government of India and the Natal Indian Congress were assured on behalf of the Union Government that they would be consulted at the time the Governor-General framed regulations under the South African (Emergency Powers) Housing Act. The Union Government said further that they had no knowledge of Natal's policy of racial zoning and that they did not contemplate introducing such a policy. The Natal Provincial Administration, they assured, could not inaugurate a policy of racial zoning without their (The Union Government's) approval, and that the Natal Indian Congress would be consulted before the enforcement of the same. The congress was satisfied by these assurances.

The Natal Housing Ordinance was passed by the Natal Provincial Council in September, 1945. The Natal Housing Board, to be set up under the Ordinance, could appropriate land and prescribe conditions limiting ownership or occupation of land appropriated to persons of a specified class and prohibiting ownership or occupation of the same by persons of any other class. The Indians rightly feared that the expropriatory powers conferred on the Government by the Natal Housing Ordinance might be used for purposes of racial discrimination and protested against the Ordinance. Prime Minister Smuts however sought to allay the fears of the Indians. Explaining the policy of the Government, he "pointed to" the safeguards provided in the form of stipulation for prior ministerial consent and for the same ministerial approval, in accordance with the regulation promulgated under the South African Housing (Emergency Powers) Act, 1945, for prescription by the Board

of any conditions referred to above.<sup>24</sup> The Prime Minister assured further that these safeguards would be used to ensure "a reasonable and equitable exercise of the powers and protection to every section of the community."

The Interim Report of the Third Broome Commission had been published in the meanwhile on June 11, 1945. The Commission had made one, and only one, recommendation . . . . . "the only way out of the present impasse lies in the direction of a full and frank exchange of views between the Government of the Union and the Government of India and that the Union Government should invite the Government of India to send to the Union a delegation composed substantially of Indians, for the purpose of discussion with the Union Government and with such representatives as the Union Government may appoint, with such other persons as the delegation may invite, (of) all matters affecting Indians in South Africa."

The Union Government had been thinking at this time of enfranchising the Indian Community. The Minister of the Interior, Mr. Clarkson, made a very important policy statement in the Union Parliament in 1944. He emphasized the need of Indian representations in the Parliament and said . . . "the first Indians came to Natal at the request of the Natal Government and the people of Natal, and the great bulk of the present Indian population are their descendants. They are South Africans: this is their home. They are not foreigners; they are Union nationals. We have an obligation to play the game. As Minister, I intend to see that justice shall prevail. If we could only get the small opposing minorities of both sections to agree, I am sure this question could be settled to the satisfaction of the Indians and the Europeans without any loss of self-respect for either."

Mr. Clarkson's speech infuriated many. There was a flutter in the South African dovecote. The champions of racialism and 'baaskap' went into Tantrums by Mr. Clarkson was bitterly attacked in the Parliament by Mr. F. H. Acutt, among others . . . "Since the passing of the Pegging Act a new Minister had taken over Indian affairs and had been making speeches that had disturbed the minds of the European population. He had tried at Maritzburg, on December 3, last year, to persuade municipalities to grant the vote to Indians. The history of the Indian question in South Africa,

\* <sup>24</sup> Indians overseas, 1938-1949, by C. Kondaki, p. 272.

was one long list of concessions to the Indians from the day they were introduced into the country. If things developed as they were, it will only be a question of time, before the Indians swallow up the whole of South Africa." More lies have hardly been said in fewer words. Brazenfacedness could not perhaps go farther.

The Third Broome Commission, as noted above, recommended a Round Table Conference between the Governments of India and the Union of South Africa. The recommendation was ignored. Prime Minister Smuts declared on January 21, 1946, that his Government would introduce a Bill with the object of prohibiting the acquisition and occupation of immovable property by Indians in Natal except in certain exempted areas. The Government of India and the Indian Community in Natal were not a little surprised as they had been given to understand that the Natal Housing Ordinance passed in September, 1945, was a solution of the Indian problem and that the Pegging Act would not be renewed on the expiry of its term on March 31, 1946. The Government of India instructed their High Commissioner in South Africa to request the Union Government to postpone the introduction of the proposed Bill and to arrange a Round Table Conference between the two Governments as recommended by the Third Broome Commission to find out an alternative solution. The request was turned down by Prime Minister Smuts on the ground that "it was a matter of essentially domestic policy for the Union".

The South African House of Assembly (Lower House) passed the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of June 3, 1946. The Act better known as the Ghetto Act, replaced the Pegging Act of 1943 and divided Natal into two zones—(a) Controlled Areas and (b) Exempted Areas. The former were reserved exclusively for acquisition and occupation by the European Community. Any one—European, Indian or Malay—could, on the other hand, purchase and occupy land in the exempted areas. Only 350 acres of land were allotted to Indians and other non-Europeans in the Old Borough of Durban, though the Indians alone numbered 25,000 in the district. The 65,000 strong European Community of the Old Borough, on the other hand, already occupied 2,940 acres of land in the district. The provisions of the Pegging Act, which were of a temporary nature, were extended to the whole of Natal on a permanent basis. The Ghetto Act in fact did a greater mischief. The provision for separate areas envisaged in the Act introduced the principle of racial segregation in Natal for the first time. Fixed property in the Exempted

Areas could be freely transferred by non-Asians to Asians and vice versa. In other areas, any such transfer—both for acquisition and occupation—could take place only if the Minister of the Interior granted a permit to the effect. The Act further provided for a Joint Land Tenure Advisory Board of two Indian and two European members. A third European was to act as the Chairman of the Board. The Board was authorised to grant permits in certain controlled areas. The Orange Free State and the Cape Province were excluded from the operation of Ghetto Act. But in 1946 there were barely a dozen Indians in the Orange Free State and Indians are barred by immigration laws from entering and living therein. The exclusion of the Orange Free State from the operation of the Act therefore meant nothing. As to the Cape Province, it may be noted that it has a comparatively small Indian population<sup>25</sup> and immigration prohibition against their entry into the Province keeps down their number effectively.

The Act granted communal franchise to Indians. Indians, who—

- (a) were Union nationals and over 21 years,
- (b) had passed the sixth standard or its equivalent and
- (c) had an annual income of £84 or more or owned immovable property of the minimum value of £250

were to elect two European members to the Senate (Upper House) and three European members to the House of Assembly of the Union Parliament. Indians in Natal, who fulfilled the above conditions, were to return two Indian members to the Natal Provincial Council. The Indians were, however, given no representation in the Transvaal Provincial Council.

The Ghetto Act marked "the culmination of the discriminatory policy of the Union of South Africa against Indians and other Asians which has been practised over the last half a century or so. It (gave) permanent recognition to the principle of segregation of Asians, which has been opposed by the Indian Community and the Indian Government"<sup>26</sup> for more than a quarter of a century.

The Ghetto Act was in many respects more objectionable than the Pegging Act (1943) which it replaced. Let us illustrate. In the first place, the Pegging Act was applicable only to Durban,

<sup>25</sup> There were 233,532 Indians in South Africa in 1946. They were distributed as follows—(a) Natal—228,119, (b) The Transvaal—37,505. (c) The Cape Province—15,000 and (d) The Orange Free State—14.

<sup>26</sup> Spotlight on South Africa (published by the Government of India), p. 14.

whereas the Ghetto Act was to apply not only to the whole of Natal, but to the Transvaal as well. Secondly, the Pegging Act was applicable only to residential land in urban areas; but the Ghetto Act was to apply to all kinds of land including agricultural land in rural as well as urban areas. Legislation before 1946 had aimed at controlling occupation of land by Indians; but the Ghetto Act went farther and sought to regulate acquisition as well as occupation of land by the Indians. Kondapi sums up the effects of the Ghetto Act in the following words: "By thus laying the axe on the elementary right of Indians to inherit, acquire and occupy property anywhere they like, the Act annihilated the basic rights enjoyed by Indians for over 80 years and condemned them to economic servitude. As regards the franchise provisions, the Act offered communal franchise after infliction on them (Indians) a statutory racial stigma (Indians to be represented by Europeans in both houses of the Union Parliament) which no franchise could alter" <sup>27</sup>.

The land tenure provisions of the Ghetto Act laid down that all transfers of land between Asians and non-Asians except in the 'Exempted Areas' of Natal and the Transvaal were illegal. No Asian could borrow on his property in a 'Controlled Area' more than 50 per cent of its value. Mortgage bonds in force at the time of the passing of the Act were however not to be affected by this provision. It was apprehended—and the apprehension was only natural—that in the long run Asians would have to sell their properties in the "Controlled Areas" to Europeans.

The Cape Town Agreements of 1927 and 1932 were treated as mere scraps of paper by the authors of the Ghetto Act, which was a negation of the basic principles of the Agreements. It was, in short, "the culmination of the South African European racial aggression against Indians and Asians."

Feelings ran high on both shores of the Indian ocean. Events moved fast. The Government of India terminated the Indo-South African Trade Agreement. Trade relations between the two countries were severed. The Indian High Commissioner in South Africa was recalled. On June 13, 1946, Indians in South Africa began passive resistance against the Ghetto Act and a batch of Indian women from the Transvaal entered Natal without permits. The Indian objection to the Ghetto Act was based on the following grounds, among others—

<sup>27</sup> Indian Overseas, 1938-1949, p. 274.

(i) It abrogated the Cape Town Agreement of 1927 arbitrarily and unilaterally.

(ii) It extended anti-Asian segregation laws for the first time throughout Natal and the Old Transvaal Republic.

(iii) It threatened to reduce the Indian community to economic serfdom.

(iv) It would destroy "whatever incentive there might have been in Natal to improve the living conditions of Indians, especially in Urban areas" as it had already done in the Transvaal; because of the neglect of non-European interests by municipal authorities.

(v) It reduced the Indians to a position of racial inferiority and subordination to the Europeans in all respects and for all time to come. India was on the verge of independence in 1946. Hence the Act was regarded as "a humiliation and a cause of provocation to India".

(vi) It closed to the Indians all avenues of advancement that had been gradually opening to them and was, therefore, sure to deprive the younger generation of Indians of all hopes for the future.

(vii) The limited and small communal franchise representation granted to the Indians under the Act would serve no useful purpose whatever.

(viii) The Act was self-contradictory—it did not recognise the right of India to intervene formally on behalf of Indians in the Union of South Africa; but the right of equal citizenship was denied to them on the ground that they were Indians.

(ix) The Act emphasized the colour bar, intensified race hatred, threatened internal security and endangered world-peace "by aligning peoples in terms of white and non white—the one differentiation that can never be altered".<sup>28</sup>

The Government of India lodged a formal complaint to the United Nations against the Ghetto Act on the ground that it (the Act) was the "culmination of racial discrimination against Indians in South Africa". The situation created by the Act, the Government of India contended, was likely to impair friendly relations between two members—India and the Union of South Africa—of the United Nations. The Secretary-General of the United Nations was requested to place the complaint of India before the General Assembly, which was scheduled to meet on October 23, 1946.

<sup>28</sup> *Vide* Spotlight on South Africa (published by the Govt. of India), pp. 15-17.



Passive resistance by the Indians, launched in June, continued in the mean while. The movement took the form of peaceful occupation of land in non-Exempted areas by Indians in violation of the Ghetto Act. The resisters were arrested under the Riotous Assembly Act. In all, nearly 2,300 Indians—men and women—Europeans and Africans, courted imprisonment. Eminent Indians like Dr. Yusuf Mahomed Dadoo, President of the Transvaal Indian Congress, Dr. G. M. Naicker, President of the Natal Indian Congress, Shorabjee Rustonjee, an ex-President of the South African Indian Congress, Dr. Kaisal Gooman, a leader of the Indian Women's Association, among others, were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. The Europeans had recourse to hooliganism to crush the movement. The camps of the 'Satyagrahis' were raided during the night, ropes of tents were cut and tents removed or set fire to, camps were pulled down, blankets, taken away and women 'satyagrahis', kicked. An Indian Police Constable of Durban Krishnaswamy Pillay was brutally assaulted in the public street by a gang of European hooligans. Pillay was removed to the hospital where he succumbed to his injuries<sup>29</sup>. Repression and hooliganism notwithstanding, the Indians remained firm in their resolve to resist the Ghetto Act.

The Europeans were furious. They thought of breaking the morale of Indians with economic weapons. An organised campaign to boycott Indian traders and to refuse employment to Indians in European firms was launched by the Europeans. Confined in the beginning to the Transvaal in the main, the movement spread before long to certain areas of Natal as well. Boycott Committees were formed in many places. A meeting of the Europeans at *Petersburg* on February 10th, 1947, resolved to boycott Indian traders. European customers of Indian stores and European girls working in Indian establishments were to be "tarred and feathered." Similar meetings were organised in other places. The First Indian Boycott Congress met at Vereeniging in March, 1947. A boycott meeting of Europeans in Ermelo (Transvaal) Town Hall issued an appeal to European parents to deem it a personal duty "to instil anti-Asiatic sentiments into (their) children and to emphasize to them that it is a downright disgrace to trade with, or to be seen in or near an Indian Store". A systematic boycott of Indian trade in the Western Transvaal began at the same time. European patrons of Indian stores were waylaid, 'fined' and intimidated. Two months later, in May, 1947, a Congress of the

<sup>29</sup> Satyagraha in South Africa—Article by Swami Bhawani Dayal in the *Modern Review* (Calcutta), September, 1946.

- South African Protection Movement (Indian Boycott Movement) adopted a Constitution, which aimed at :
  - (a) Protecting "Western Civilization in South Africa against Oriental undermining and domination";
  - (b) ending "all Indian immigration into South Africa" and
  - (c) elimination of "Indians from the economic life of South Africa".

Retaliatory action was proposed against the European customers and employees of Indian Stores. Many contributed liberally to the funds collected for conducting the boycott campaign. The boycott proved very effective at one stage. Intimidation, blackmail and coercion were freely resorted to to make the boycott a success. A European farmer, who had voted in a meeting against the boycott, was waylaid and manhandled.

Some responsible commercial and political organisations and individual Europeans condemned the anti-Indian boycott movement in strong terms. They requested the Government to take counter-measures. The boycotters took the law in their own hands in not a few cases. The Government, however, remained a passive, if not sympathetic, spectator. In reply to a question in the Union Parliament, the Minister of Economic Development said that the boycott of Indian traders in South Africa was not a matter with which the Government was concerned<sup>30</sup>. Mr. H. G. Lawrence, Minister of the Interior, characterised "the (Indian) passive resisters as dupes and pawns and their leaders as foreign ideologists"<sup>31</sup>.

Heavy odds notwithstanding, the Indian resistance campaign continued till June, 1948, when the Joint Passive Resistance Council of the Natal and the Transvaal Indian Congresses decided to suspend passive resistance temporarily pending an interview with Dr. D. F. Malan, who had just stepped into the shoes of Field-Marshal Smuts as the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa. P. S. Joshi observes that a new phase of the Passive Resistance Campaign had begun in January with the crossing of borders in violation of the 1913 Immigrants Regulation Act<sup>32</sup>. This however was no new development. The struggle had in fact begun with the violation of the said Act when on June 13, 1946, a batch of Indian women from the Transvaal had entered Natal without permits.

<sup>30</sup> Our Countrymen Abroad by Kumari Mukul Mukherjee, pp. 203-209.

<sup>31</sup> The Struggle for Equality by P. S. Joshi, pp. 292-293.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid*, p. 292.

The United Nations had in the mean while taken into consideration Indian complaint against the Union of South Africa and given its verdict thereon. The Joint Legal and Political Committee of the United Nations Assembly adopted by 24 votes to 19 a French-Mexican proposal asking the Governments concerned to report at the next session of the Assembly on the measures adopted by them to settle their dispute about the treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa. The General Assembly accepted the proposal by the requisite two thirds majority. 32 voted for and 15, against the proposal.

The Union Government have, however, refused to listen to the counsels of reason and moderation so far. Of this more anon.

*(Concluded)*

# A STUDY ON THE ETERNITY OF SOUND

GOPIKA MOHAN BHATTACHARYA

Speculation on the eternal nature or otherwise of words are highly important in view of the fact that they are directly related to the problem of God. The Mīmāṃsakas who are generally known to be atheists<sup>1</sup> have elaborately dealt with the eternal nature of words and sought to establish the intrinsic validity of the Vedas. The implication of the Mīmāṃsā theory of the eternality of sound leads to the denial of God as the author of the Vedas. The Naiyāyikas on the other hand have fully demonstrated the transient nature of words and the Vedas have been regarded by them as the creation of the Supreme Lord along with the creation of other ephemeral objects. The Grammarians have also declared in unequivocal terms that the words are of eternal nature<sup>2</sup>. Now all the philosophers agree on the point that the Vedas are nothing but the collection of words.<sup>3</sup> Acārya Udayana furnishes us with a logical and clear definition of the Vedas. He says that each and every word cannot be called 'Vedic' because words used by common people are not Vedic. So also Manusamhitā and Yajñavalkya-samhitās are not regarded as the Vedas though they point to transcendent objects and direct the path leading to virtue. Thus Udayana declares that the Vedas are the collection of words the source of which lies always beyond the range of valid cognition and which have been accepted as authority by the wise.<sup>4</sup> It is apparent, therefore, that all the contesting parties agree on the point that the Vedas partake of the nature of sound. It is; therefore, expected that the exact nature of a word should be first determined before we advert to the problem of the authorship of the Vedas.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. P. Śāstri in his Introduction to Pūrvamīmāṃsā refutes the popular belief.

*Vide also Prakaraṇapañcikā by Śālikanātha and Vaidikēśvaraḥ paramakāruṇikāḥ pūnarasmākam anuṣṭaṇa eva Mānasa-yodaya*, p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> It should be however noted that the position of the Mīmāṃsists is entirely different from that of the Grammarians. The former believe in the eternity of sound (varṇanītyatā-vādin) while the latter agree with the Naiyāyikas in regarding sound as an ephemeral entity. The Grammarians hold that Sphoṭa an eternal and transcendental entity must be postulated, since a word which consists of fleeting sounds can never convey its meaning. Hence the grammarian Patañjali in his Vyākaraṇasamhābhāṣya describes word as eternal and non-eternal (Śabda nītyaḥ Kāryasā-Paśpasā Abhika).

<sup>3</sup> Veda, śabdānā evādan śabdarāśir vivakṣitaḥ—Śaṅkara's Commentary on the Mūṇḍakopaniṣat.

<sup>4</sup> Kusumājali, Chap. II.

The Mīmāṃsakas emphatically refute the theory of Cosmic evolution. The Universe has no beginning in time, no origin can be traced of the currency of language. People have been acquainted with meanings of words through usage of senior experienced persons. Conversation and social intercourse strengthen one's knowledge about the meaning of a word. Carrying the process further backward the Mīmāṃsakas are led to conclude that these words are beginningless in time ever since the objects which are signified by words have come to light. Consequently words and their denotative potency cannot but be regarded as eternal entity.

Words reveal their meaning to us through conventions. A boy is ignorant of the meaning of the word 'Cow'. The senior person commands the junior one to fetch the cow and also to bind the horse. The boy notices the course of action of fetching and binding and thereby comes to understand the sense of the term. The Mīmāṃsakas think that unless words are eternal it would have disappeared and consequently could not communicate its meaning. A word consists of so many letters. If the first letter be transient, so also the second, the combination of the first word with the second would not have been possible and thus the ascertainment of meaning would have been an impossibility.

Moreover, the Mīmāṃsakas contend, words would cease to be a valid source of knowledge. Validity of knowledge consists in conative satisfaction (*pravṛttisāmarthyā*).<sup>1</sup> If the word would disappear immediately after its utterance it would have lost all pragmatic efficiency and rendered itself barren.

But a question may pertinently arise in this connexion. If the words are eternal why are not they always present to our consciousness? The question can be answered by an analysis of the Mīmāṃsā view of verbal cognition. To them, all words are eternally existent. But they need the help of certain auxiliary agency that presents them to our consciousness. This agency inheres in the person who puts forth the effort. Prabhākara says that the mental activity of the speaker stirs up the internal organs, air comes out and renders the manifestation of sound possible which is already existent. The Logicians would rather hold that this effort on the part of the

<sup>1</sup> The Bhāṭṭas define valid knowledge as "the knowledge of an unknown and real object" (*Pramāṇa ca ajñātataṭtvārthajñānam—Māṇameyodaya, p.2*). But the Prabhākaras take exception to the term "tattvārtha" and prefer to dispense with it. Since according to them there is no false cognition. The Bhāṭṭas however, include the term "tattvārtha" to exclude invalid cognition from the definition of *Pramāṇa*.

speaker is the cause of the word whereas the Mīmāṃsakas maintain that it is only manifestive agency of an ever existing word.

The Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṃsakas maintain that sounds are eternal since its locus is eternal. It is co-extensive with ākāśa and is thus ubiquitous. But sound is not apprehended everywhere, for the reason that its perceptibility depends upon the presence of an agent which serves the purpose of revealing the sound. Impact of two tangible bodies or wind on the vocal organ thrown by the internal organic pressure or sometimes disjunction serves as the condition of revealing of sound.<sup>1</sup>

The revealing theory of sound has not infrequently been illustrated from the facts of our daily life. Sudden flash of lightning reveals the object nearby which did not come under the ken of perception in the past nor would it come in future. The object remains merged in deep darkness so that it is not cognisable by the sense organ. The Mīmāṃsaka posits that sound also remains covered by the etheric plane. Like the lamp *dhvani* also disperses the obstacle and thereby reveals the sound and gives incentive to the sound receiving faculty of the ear-cavity. As soon as *dhvani* recedes perception of sound comes to a stand-still.<sup>2</sup>

The Mīmāṃsakas further urge that eternality of sound is established by presumption (arthapatti) which, according to them constitutes the instrument of valid cognition. Presumption is an independent source of knowledge. That rather should be assumed which does not hinder the smooth understanding of the meaning of a word or sentence.<sup>3</sup> The main objective to which a word is meant for, is the proper understanding of its meaning. But if the word is transitory it cannot yield any meaning. Proper understanding of the meaning follows from the cognition of syntactical relation between words and their meaning. But if they are regarded as momentary or vanish away after two moments then they fail to reveal the sense. And if even on hearing a word its meaning remains non-apprehended then the word loses its potency, why then any attempt for using the word would be made? It is thus proper to assume that all words are eternally existent.

<sup>1</sup> Śabdām bodhayitum vāyavyasamyoga-vibhāgāvarabhyate  
tayośca śrotasampekāradvārā śabdābhivyāñjakatā.  
Navaviveka, p. 285. (Madras University Publication).  
Vide also—Śabarabhāṣya on Mīmāṃsā Sūtra 1. 1. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Mīmāṃsā Sūtra 1. 1. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Sa dharmo' bhyupagantavya yah pradhanam na vadhate etc.  
Śloka-varttika—Śabdanityatādhikaraṇa, Śl. 240.

in a locus different from that of the revealed. It is no good saying that mutual contact in these cases, is not at all essential or in that case all sound of harp far and near would have been predominated by that of the drum. But such an assumption is opposed to the verdict of our experience. That sound of harp which has come to be closely associated with the sound of drum has the chance of being predominated and none else.<sup>1</sup> The Mīmāṃsakas may however contend that each sound is not co-existent with its revealer. Sound is an ubiquitous entity. So not a single instance of the absence of contact can be detected. But to this we may reply that then each and every sound is liable to be manifested by any and every agent. No hard and fast rule could be promulgated with regard to such agency.

We have already discussed the view that diversity in apprehension guarantees diversity in object. Acuteness and dullness of sound are not fortuitous, they are not accidental properties but constitute the real essence of the object.<sup>2</sup>

The Mīmāṃsakas, as we have already seen, hold that sound is eternal and is made manifested by the impact of at least two tangible bodies. Now the Mīmāṃsakas have to admit that sound occupies the space ever prior to its manifestation. But no such pre-existing sound is apprehended by means of an instrument of cognition. The opponent may reply that such non-perception results from the presence of the obstructing agent. But, in fact, we find no obstructing agent which renders the apprehension of sound impossible. Thus non-cognition informs us of the absence of that object. *Anupalabdhī* informs us the absence of a thing which if it were present, could be perceived. So the non-existence of sound prior to its manifestation could be proved by this negative judgment. Utterance serves as the manifesting agent and sound is heard only when it is uttered leads us to conclude that sound was non-existent prior to its utterance and also ceases to exist when it does not come under the ken of olfactory perception.<sup>3</sup>

Uddyotakara's dialectics remind us of the process adopted by the Neologicians. He puts his syllogistic arguments in the following way:—Sound is non-eternal since it is a quality and is perceived by our senses like cognition (*buddhivat*). Secondly non-pervasiveness and non-eternity are concomitant. Pleasure inheres in soul and is

<sup>1</sup> Nyāyavārttika, pp. 804-5.

<sup>2</sup> Tibramandita śabdātaveśa na bhaktikṛtā—N.V. on 2.2.17.

<sup>3</sup> Nyāya Bhāṣya on 2.2.18.

Vaiśeṣika Sūtra 2.2.28.

itself non-pervasive in character. Sound inheres in non-pervasive substance i.e. *ākāśa*.\*. Thus it is non-eternal. Pervasiveness is co-extensive with eternity. But no sane man can assert the pervasive character of sound<sup>1</sup>.

As regards the contention that no cause of the destruction of sound is seen to exist, it only betrays hasty assumption and slipshod thinking. Does the Mīmāṃsaka mean by such contention that non-perception informs us of the absence of any such cause of destruction? Or does he mean by *anupalabdhi* non-cognition in general? But the Bhāṭṭas mean by *anupalabdhi* non-cognition in general. We agree with the Mīmāṃsaka in holding that perception does not guarantee the existence of such cause but we fail to understand how the absence of inference can be posited.<sup>2</sup> Syllogistic reasoning becomes possible only when we assert the theory of sound series. The sound series is based upon a prior assumption that sound is an effect. The first sound produces the second, the second produces the third and so on, the last sound instance meets decay by its antecedent sound. A product is subject to destruction. Sound is such an entity. So it must have a destroyer.

The objection of the Mīmāṃsakas to the transient nature of sound as advocated by the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, the Sāṅkhya, the Jaina and the Buddhist, is that it does not satisfactorily explain the phenomenon of recognition (*pratyabhijñā*). Recognition would turn into a myth in a doctrine of non-eternity of sound. The Mīmāṃsakas have made capital out of this phenomenon. The Grammarian also seeks to prove the eternity of sound on the same principle.<sup>3</sup> Were it really the case Mīmāṃsaka's objection would be unanswerable. But Jayanta shows that recognition arises due to the sameness (*Sādṛśya*) of its objects†. Recognition does not always guarantee the identity of the object in question. Sometimes recognition arises erroneously and this error is due to the non-discrimination of diversity in their nature. We overlook the diversity and take into account the resemblance which appears vivid. The cognition of silver in a nacre pearl is a piece of erroneous knowledge. So also in the case of recognition

\* The Sāṅkhya, however, holds that sound inheres in its material cause i.e. bell and not in *ākāśa*.

<sup>1</sup> Nyāya Vārttika on 2 2.21.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps a section of thinkers of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika School did not subscribe to the view that the cause of the destruction of sound comes under the ken of our perception. Udayana in his *Kusumāñjali* (Chap. II) presents a smashing onslaught on the logic built by this section of Philosophers with his penetrating logical insight.

<sup>3</sup> Nāgārjuna—*Vaiyākaraṇasiddhānta māñjuśā*.

† The Jains also hold the same view. Vide *Akalanāka-Nyāyavinīśaya-Karika* 926.



of sound (e.g., this is that 'ga') we have a phenomenon of recognition entirely based on the non-discernment of the intrinsic diversity in real words. So doubt may arise as to the nature of this erroneous knowledge in the form whether it arises due to semblance or identity. Moreover, the Mīmāṃsakas in order to satisfy a critic must have to prove definitely that recognition unaccompanied by any means of knowledge is alone able to prove the eternality of sound. Criterion of truth consists in the capacity to bring to light the real nature of things (*arthaprakāśakatva*). The older Naiyāyika holds the pragmatic theory of truth. A valid cognition is that which leads to successful action.<sup>1</sup> Reasoning (*tarka*) can only remove doubt. The obstacle which stands in the way of manifestation of the object can only be removed with the help of reasoning. Reasoning facilitate the knowledge of the probandum. But the Mīmāṃsakas have not succeeded in adducing a reasoning in order to remove this doubt.

It is interesting to note that the neologicians observe that recognition does not come in conflict with eternal and identical nature of its object. Identity of the object and the appearance of recognition are not even diametrically opposed. One does not exclude other. They trace diversity of objects in the absence of knowledge of diversity in the object recognition to the identity of the object. But when both diversity and recognition are true, similarity serves as the object (*viśaya*) of recognition.<sup>2</sup> Uddyotakara and other old logicians assert the falsity of recognition in such cases. But do we find any sufficient ground to discard the validity of such instances of recognition? Perhaps Vardhamāna realises the weakness of his predecessors and therefore does not subscribe to the view, as he declares in an unmistakable language that recognition in such cases are not invalid.<sup>3</sup> Thus Gaṅgeśa and his illustrious son Vardhamāna carry the arguments of Uddyotakara and Jayanta to more logical precision.

The Mīmāṃsakas further contend that if semblance serves as the object of recognition, the recognition would have been in the form—"This word resembles that word". To this Gaṅgeśa replies that in common parlance we often make such identical statements though we have the knowledge of diversity.<sup>4</sup> But Dinakara Bhaṭṭa

<sup>1</sup> The Neo-logicians however, do not subscribe to the view. They posit the Theory of Accordance.

<sup>2</sup> evaṃca bhede bhāsamāne pratyabhijñāyāḥ sa-jātiyatvam viśayo na vyaktyabhedah—*Tattvacināmaṇi*, p. 447.

Pratyabhijñā on sa-jātiyatāviśayinī—*Sāṅkhyapravacanabhāṣya* on Sūtra, 5, VIII.

<sup>3</sup> Jāti-*viśayatākalpanat*—*Upakāra* on 2nd November, 1937

<sup>4</sup> na ca anyorekam bhrama etc.—*Ku-Prakāśa* p. 264.

<sup>5</sup> *Tattvacināmaṇi*, p. 447.

in his *Nyāyasiddhāntamuktāvalī-prakāśa* offers a more plausible solution. He avers that when the piece of knowledge in recognition is determined by the relating universal (*i.e.*, 'ga' qua 'ga'-ness) recognition arises out of semblance. But when no such universal flashes in our mind, we completely identify the two objects of cognition and recognition.<sup>1</sup>

Kanāda has pointed out that sound is characterised by an initial difference with eternal entity. When we have an auditory perception of sound but the speaker remains out of our sight, we infer the presence of the speaker from the speech-sound. But this inference becomes inexplicable on the *Mīmāṃsā* theory. Light serves as the manifesting agent of the agent of the jar. But the perception of jar does not guarantee the existence of light. The existence of jar is independent of manifesting agent *i.e.* the light. The jar is not concomitant with light. But the existence of the speaker logically follows from the perception of audible speech-sound. The *Mīmāṃsakas* fail to explain this phenomenon of logical association. The *Nyāya* theory transpires to be more logical and conforming to reason when he holds sound as the product of the contact of vocal organs.<sup>2</sup>

The *Mīmāṃsakas* have sought to justify the identity of the object by means of recognition. To them, the act of recognition involves the identity of the object. But when we say "These are those paddies" we are certainly aware of the fact that these paddies differ from those. In spite of this difference the act of recognition takes place. The logicians realized this situation and therefore posited that their nature of being under the same class serves as the condition of recognition.<sup>3</sup>

To sum up :— We have seen that Jayanta's arguments have been directed into the channels carved out by *Vātsāyana* and *Uddyotakara*. But *Udayana's* dissertation on the problem abounds in original reflections strictly logical and technical. In adjudging his contribution a restatement of the same arguments, we are afraid, may incur. So it seems better to refrain from adverting on those subtle technicalities.

#### THE SĀṆKHYA VIEW

The *Sāṅkhya* also does not subscribe to the view of eternality of sound and the manifestation theory. But the trend of argument

<sup>1</sup> *Dinakarī* pp. 100-101.

<sup>2</sup> *Valīśepika Sūtra* 2, 2 27.

<sup>3</sup> *Mathurānātha Tārakavāgīśa Maniphalakikā* p. 446  
Also, *Nyāyamanjari*, p. 205.

goes to show that they repudiate the theory on the ground of their prior assumption of the theory of Satkāryavāda. Thus Vijñan Vikṣu in his commentary on the S. Sūtra (S. P. Bh.) asserts that what the Mīmāṃsakas adverts to is nothing but the assumption of Satkāryavāda (theory of the pre existence of the effect-stuff in the cause-stuff) what the Mīmāṃsakas call 'manifestation' (abhivyakti) is nothing but a mere transformation which coincides with the Sāṅkhya theory of Parīṇāma. Thus the Mīmāṃsakas, the Sāṅkhya contends, does not add anything new.<sup>1</sup> The Sāṅkhya seems to have entirely missed the point when he charged the Mīmāṃsaka's conception with flagrant *Siddhasādhana* (establishment of that which has been already established). What the Mīmāṃsaka is seeking to impress upon is based on their own metaphysics. He never advocates the theory of Satkāryavāda. To him every object is not a transformation of its prior stage. So the charge of the Sāṅkhya, so far as this point is concerned, does not necessarily relate to the Mīmāṃsaka's position. Such a taxation has got little or no bearing on the Mīmāṃsakas. Again Sāṅkhya theory of Satkāryavāda proposes to establish the pre-existence of the effect in the cause and the cause is transformed into the state of effect. Thus the propounders of the theory of Parīṇāmavāda believe in evolution as the substantial mutation. Jar is the transformation of clay. But when the Mīmāṃsakas declare sound which comes in contact with our ear-cavity to be manifested, he does not necessarily mean that effect-sound is the substantial mutated form of its causes. Ether (*ākāśa*) and other factors is the cause of sound, certainly they are not the cause transmuted. Thus the two views substantially differ. Thus it is probable that the Mīmāṃsā theory has run the risk of misrepresentation at the hands of the Sāṅkhya. We hesitate to ascribe the Sāṅkhya interpretation to the Mīmāṃsaka's theory of manifestation of sound. It is a great misfortune indeed that such a misrepresentation should originate from the pen of a great advocate of a school of thought with a view to imposing his own pet thesis on a great thinker like Śaṅkara or Kumārila. The Dialectic should always be kept free from any initial bias or preconceived opinion. Hence the arguments of the Mīmāṃsaka should be viewed from proper perspective. And we have shown that the Naiyāyikas have untiringly examined with the same outlook which befits a philosophic enquirer.

But the pet theory of the Mīmāṃsakas are not without any other adherents. This much-deliberated question has found favour with

<sup>1</sup> *tādṛśa nityatvam ca sarvakāryakāram evaṭi siddhasādhanaṃ, Bhāṭya on Sāṅkhya Sūtra 5, 60.*

the Grammarians also, whose contribution in the domain of philosophical speculation is no less worth-guarding. The Philosopher-Grammarian Bhartṛhari in his *Vākyapadīya* has made out that the world has evolved out of the eternal Logos<sup>1</sup> (*Śabdātattva*). But the Grammarians proceed in a different way from the *Mīmāṃsakas* and the *Vedāntins*. The *Vedāntins* are no less adherent of the eternality of sound. But the difference lies in the very root. The Grammarian boldly asserts that the phenomenal world has sprung out not from the articulate sound but from *Sphoṭa*, the eternal unit of speech. This transcendental sound is manifested by *Dhvani* or audible sound. *Śaṅkara*<sup>2</sup> and the *Sāṅkhya*<sup>3</sup> (though they do not uphold the eternality of sound) declare this *sphoṭa* of the Grammarians as unwarranted assumptions.

*Patañjali* the author of *Mahābhāṣya* has made a strong plea in favour of the eternality of sound (*nityāsca śabdāḥ*) and uses almost the same epithets which are used by the *Vedāntins* to signify Brahman e.g. *Kūṭastha* (Subtle), *avikāri* (without modification) etc. He justifies his position dialectically and from the facts of our every day life.<sup>4</sup>

*Puṇyārāja*<sup>5</sup> in his commentary on the *Vākyapadīya* observes that inability to trace the origin of sound forces one to come to the conclusion that non-eternality of sound is a creation of one's fancy.

Thus, in fine, it may be observed that we have shown how the problem of eternity of sound has provoked energetic discussions and how the ancient Indian thinkers were enthusiast in logical speculation and a proper evaluation of the problem is an indispensable propædæutic in setting up the firm citadel of *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* theism.

<sup>1</sup> *Vāk*—1. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Śaṅkarabhāṣya* on B.S. 1. 3. 28.

<sup>3</sup> *Sāṅkhya Sūtra* Chap. 6. Sūtra 57-58.

<sup>4</sup> See *Mahābhāṣya*—*Paśupati Abhīka*.

<sup>5</sup> *Com. on Vāk*. 1. 2. 3.

# KEATS' VIEW OF BEAUTY

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## 1. *Beauty and Truth* :

Instead of taking the rhetorical trope of Keats, "Beauty is Truth, Truth Beauty" at its face value and declaring it as a gem of wisdom we would do well if we enquired into the points of similarity between these two concepts which (points) impressed the poet so much that he fused them (the concepts) in his imagination and broke into that excellent equation much as Shakespeare's "Frailty, thy name is woman". The vision of things under the aspect of eternity is the principal motive of the poem (*Ode to the Grecian Urn*) ending with that moral. This vision is beautiful in the sense of appealing to the mind that resents and loves to escape the change and haste of ravaging time and to brood in quiet amongst the essential forms of things, of objects of perception and feelings, that do not change. It is only they that resist time and change and the portrayals on the Grecian Urn represent them. The urn is beautiful to Keats not because of the sensuous qualities, which only serve as signs for the essences they point to or mean, but because of the latter meanings. This quality of art to defy temporarility is a condition of its beauty as it is exquisitely restful to the mind that seeks quiescence in aesthetic contemplation. But here beauty is akin to truth for the latter also gives us the essences of things and quietens the mind. But they are not identical, for truth is conceptual or intellectual to be approached in a rational manner, even for Keats, as we shall presently see, while beauty is intuitive. What Keats really means by that rhetorical piece is, therefore, that beauty and truth have much that is common between them, so much so that beauty may be a criterion of truth. But a criterion for a thing is distinct from its essence. When Keats says on another occasion that "what imagination seizes as Beauty must be truth,"<sup>1</sup> or again, "I never can feel certain of any truth but from a clear perception of its beauty,"<sup>2</sup> he holds beauty to be a test of truth, not its meaning, seeing here in beauty its quality of seizing the imagination by its power of harmony and of giving it a feeling of certainty regarding the object. Truth also has this characteristic and it is only vicious or abstract intellectualism that denies this and that is implicitly criticised by Keats in these passages. But truth for that reason is not intuitive in

the sense that it comes as a flash and is self-evident. A true idea or principle is a concrete one, formed through observation and reasoning (the former yielding data and the latter relating them) and its perceptual and rational elements form its body making it a harmonious whole while we think of it clearly and adequately, and the mind naturally accepts it. It does not exist as an abstraction, nor as neutral with respect to our belief. But to grant this is not to allow that truth consists in harmony and self-evidence, for these are not the only or sufficient criteria of truth, and certainly truth does not mean this. The appearance of beauty in any ostensibly known object by virtue of its harmony is a sign of its truth but from this it does not follow that beauty is truth. When Keats wonders "how anything can be known for truth by consecutive reasoning" and yearns for "a life of sensations rather than of Thought", he merely wonders and does not positively assert that conceptual knowledge, that implies patient observation and reasoning, is false.<sup>4</sup>

That he had a notion of truth as intellectual and more valuable than the experience of beauty is seen from many of his utterances in prose and verse. He regrets that "the prize, high reason" will never be his award and consoles himself by the thought that beauty is simple and satisfying while philosophy "spoils the singing of the Nightingale".<sup>5</sup> and that though he has no knowledge "yet the evening listens".<sup>6</sup> Beauty for Keats was not so easy an affair later on when it was born of pain, as that of Moneta's face (in the second *Hyperion*)<sup>7</sup> and as a dying companion of melancholy (Ode to Melancholy).<sup>8</sup> Yet it was not beyond his powers of comprehension like philosophical truth. Again, poetry is "not so fine a thing as philosophy—for the same reason that an eagle is not as fine a thing as truth", poetry is instinctive and does not care either for truth or mortality. To a poet a street-fight, is appealing, so also are our reasonings, "though erroneous", to an angel.<sup>9</sup> No, Keats must not (he says) neglect philosophy though it is hard to master and though poetry is his principal love and vocation; he will ask Hazlitt: "in about a year's time the best metaphysical road" he can take;<sup>10</sup> he has been "hovering for some years between an exquisite sense of luxuriousness and a love for philosophy" and he must turn all his soul to the latter.<sup>11</sup> Of course, this philosophy, must not be dogmatic, "the only means of strengthening one's intellect as to make up one's mind about nothing, to let the mind be a thoroughfare of all thoughts".<sup>12</sup> And it must not be abstract and external but should be "proved upon our pulses"<sup>13</sup> for "nothing can become real till it is experienced".<sup>14</sup> These are but sound maxims, which a philosopher will neglect at his own cost, but this does not mean that

philosophy as a rational discipline should liquidate itself and reach truth, through visions and flashes, or through an unreflective submission of the mind to the heart like poetry as some people think.<sup>15</sup> Philosophy to be based on experience need not be wholly an apprehension as of the particular sense-qualities or of the visions in a mystical trance, neither of which apprehensions constitute, knowledge, where concepts unifying a mass of sensible data are involved. Philosophy to be experientially based requires that it must not be mere airy speculation but raised on the data of direct apprehension, and, so, its general concepts, instead of being abstract or empty, have a solid background of sensuous particulars represented and held together by them. The concepts of love and war, for instance, are adequately known so far as they bring before the mind all the experiences that they severally represent, and no concept, that does not have a referential basis in experience, is to be allowed in philosophy that means business. But philosophy cannot afford to do away with concepts or some abstraction and generalisation that they involve, and Keats never demands this. He gives a high status to poetic imagination yielding him poetic truth, his *Endymion* "was a regular stepping of the Imagination towards Truth"<sup>16</sup> and "Imagination may be compared to Adam's dream—he awoke and found it true",<sup>17</sup> yet, as we saw, philosophy and philosophical truth are finer things for him. He yearns for them, takes to hard study and thinking,<sup>18</sup> holds that an "extreme knowledge is needful to thinking people—it takes away the heat and fever."<sup>19</sup> This knowledge, again, is not poetic knowledge as Middleton-Murry would have us believe,<sup>20</sup> for it requires, besides, of course, direct experience and some suffering, hard thinking and, as Keats believed, some training in metaphysics.<sup>21</sup> So that there is no confusion in Keat's mind between knowledge proper, which is conceptual though based on experience, and poetic knowledge, that is but intuitive or visionary. Thus Truth<sup>22</sup> and Beauty are distinct for him though they have some common characteristics, such as harmony and, an immediate appeal to the mind and the power of convincing it, and though essentially a matter of thought, has its basis in experience which characterises beauty.

## 2. *Beauty and Goodness :*

Just as Keats appreciated the close kinship of beauty with truth while keeping them quite distinct as any clear thinking person would do, so did he with respect to the relation beauty and goodness. Disinterested contemplation of beauty is a good and Keats dedicated himself to it, nevertheless he felt that it is not the good or the highest good. He was convinced that "(excepting the human friend philosopher) a fine writer was the most genuine Being in the world,"<sup>23</sup>

"fine writing, next to fine doing, is the top thing in the world."<sup>24</sup> He believed he would do good by creating beauty through the poetic medium, but sometimes he would think of a different means; which consisted of giving true knowledge of things and of good and evil to his people and which required of him "application study and thought."<sup>25</sup> So he held goodness distinct from beauty and above it, the philosopher distinct from the poet and above the latter. Philosophy is a finer thing than poetry because the latter is neutral in its attitude to good and evil, it enjoys a street-fight, "a thing to be hated"<sup>26</sup> and "has as much delight in conceiving an Iago as an Imogen."<sup>27</sup> The poet has no self, no character, for this reason, which feature Keats, no doubt, appreciates, as he is a poet himself, but his mind is clear enough to place the philosopher above the "chameleon poet" in his esteem.

### 3. *Beauty of nature and of art :*

Keats held that beauty has two modes of existence, natural and artistic, and the latter is a higher one in excellence. He would write poetry to add to "that mass of beauty which is harvested from the grand materials, by the finest spirits and put into ethereal existence, for the relish of one's fellows".<sup>28</sup> These artistic things, by virtue of their ethereal mode of being, are greater things than their materials.<sup>29</sup> The reason for this is not stated by Keats though we can surmise his view. It is because the ideal mode of being is light and free and, so, finer than the material one which is comparatively rigid, and then there is scope here for heightening and sublimating one's natural experience, for the display of "intensity" and "fine excess" which Keats values so much in poetry.<sup>30</sup> The artist gathers the things of beauty round him in nature and life and lifts them into a rarefied atmosphere, so that we are more impressed by these artistic products than by their original materials. Now it is human nature, more than the outer (*i.e.*, vegetable, animal and physical) one, that provides the poet with rich materials for creating beauty. "Scenery is fine, but human nature finer",<sup>31</sup> and Keats must bid the joys of beautiful nature of flora and fauna farewell to meet "the agonies, the strife of human hearts".<sup>32</sup> He knows that the highest place of fame and immortality can be reached only by those "to whom the miseries of the world are miseries and will not let them rest."<sup>33</sup> Keats, in search of beauty, was steadily moving towards the centre of life itself, he was becoming more "at home amongst men and women" and "would rather read Chaucer than Ariosto" and write a few plays.<sup>34</sup> He was feeling his way to human poetry, this phase in his poetic career is characterised by Middleton-Murry as Keats' return to Shakespeare.<sup>35</sup> Thus Keats held



artistic beauty distinct from and finer than natural beauty which serves as the material for the former, the human nature much richer than the outer one in this respect.

#### 4. *Nature of artistic Beauty : Real or Illusory.*

If artistic beauty consists of lifting up our natural experiences into a sphere of ideality and greater intensity, does this process confer more reality to the experiences or takes away some of their reality? In other words, does transmutation of nature and life in art give a product more real than the original material or not? Keats speaks of artistic beauty as truth itself but he means here by truth, as we have seen, poetic truth and not truth proper which is intellectual. Now Keats recognises the value of each kind of truth, and, so, of reality for us in a sense. But he was not like Shelley who held the ideal forms created by imagination out of the given materials in nature to be more real than the latter, "forms more real than living men."<sup>36</sup> Though Keats too wrote of "the soul as a world in itself"<sup>37</sup> and that "any man may like the spider spin from his own inwards his own airy citadel,"<sup>38</sup> yet he was aware of the unsubstantial character of the ideal and its dependence on the material world of sense and understanding for its meaning and existence.<sup>39</sup> "Poetry itself", he says, is "a mere Jack O' lantern to amuse whoever may chance to be struck with its brilliance" and "every mental pursuit takes its reality and worth from the ardour of the pursuer—being in itself nothing."<sup>40</sup> Imagination is like Adam's dream giving us a truth which is but "a shadow of a reality to come."<sup>41</sup> However, when he says that philosophy is "a finer thing" than poetry he is only making a valuational judgment and we know he also spoke of the ethereal artistic objects as "greater things" than the natural ones. So that these statements prove nothing regarding Keats' view of the relative reality of artistic beauty and truth. But that he was no Shelleyan idealist is more or less clear from the previous statements and from the general movement of his thought towards an idea of a more concrete and serious poetry, that is more objective and nearer to life. Beauty, at least as poetry seizes it, has an ideal mode of existence that is parasitic on the actualities of human life and external nature and, so, its reality is derived from this actuality which is the standard of reality. Imagination builds up forms out of the materials found in nature and the former products afford us more exquisite aesthetic delight than the latter originals,<sup>42</sup> yet they are not more, but less, real than them. The world of physical, vegetable, animal and human nature which is idealised in art by imagination is what our thought, working upon the sensuous matter given to the senses, makes out of it and takes for reality. This is

what we ordinarily know as real and we judge the reality of other things by a comparison with it. This is the healthy realistic attitude of all commonsensical people and Keats was very human and commonsensical. And certainly he was incapable of the sophistication that suspects thought to be creative like imagination and, so, possibly making reality instead of discovering it. All that we can gather from his letters is that he took thought to be objective and necessary giving us truth or reality while constructive imagination gives us ideal objects, real only so far as they derive their materials from this reality of thought (and sensibility) and as they often are shadows of reality like prophetic dreams.

## REFERENCES

All citations in this essay from Keats' letters are from H. B. Forman's edition (1931) and those from Keats' verse from H. B. Forman's edition (1931).

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Baily, 22nd November, 1817.

<sup>2</sup> Letter to George and Georgiana Keats, November, 1818.

<sup>3</sup> Letter to Baily, 22nd November, 1817.

<sup>4</sup> He writes, "I have never yet been able to perceive how anything can be known for truth by consecutive reasoning and yet it must be. Can it be that even the greatest philosopher ever arrived at his goal without putting aside numerous objections? However it may be, O for a Life of sensations rather than of thought . . . ." Mark the expressions under italics which is ours.

<sup>5</sup> Verse letter to Reynolds, 25 March, 1818.

<sup>6</sup> Letter to Reynolds, 19 February, 1818.

<sup>7</sup> *The Fall of Hyperion: a dream*, ll. 256-63.

<sup>8</sup> "She dwells with Beauty, Beauty that must die."

<sup>9</sup> Letter to George and Georgiana Keats, 18 March, 1819.

Middle-Murry says of this passage that it means "that one kind of poetry is not so fine as another kind of poetry . . . ." that philosophy is for Keats "comprehension of the mystery of life" and it is poetic comprehension the truth of which is to be measured by its harmony (see his *Keats and Shakespeare*, 1st edition, p. 121, and p. 135). C. L. Finney also interprets this passage in a manner to save poetry against philosophy. (See his *Evolution of Keats' poetry*, Vol. II, p. 582). But all such moves appear uncalled for and otiose.

<sup>10</sup> Letter to Reynolds, 27 April, 1818.

<sup>11</sup> Letter to John Taylor, 24 April, 1818.

A. C. Bradley and Middleton-Murry take this exquisite sense of luxuriousness to mean a lower kind of beauty while philosophy to mean a higher and complex kind of beauty conquering all ugliness and pain. (See Bradley; *Oxford Lectures on Poetry* (1st edition), p. 235, and Murry: *Keats and Shakespeare* (1st edition), pp. 60-61). But this is artificial for though Keats was moving towards a more serious kind of poetry, more objective and concrete, depicting "the agonies, the strife of human hearts" yet there is no reason to believe that he would call this kind of poetry philosophy. Poetic realisation or beauty is always for him, as it is for us, a vision, though much thought and life's raw experience may go before it, while philosophy or truth is intellectual though it may have also an appeal to our intuition and sense of beauty. Poetry may be philosophical and philosophy poetical but they do not lose their identities. Keats, as his letters amply show, was against vicious intellectualism in philosophy but not against intellectualism or rational pursuit after truth. He was not as romantic a philosopher, reducing philosophy to poetry and truth to poetic vision, and his interpreters, e.g., A. C. Bradley and Middleton-Murry believe him to be. He was no Novalis or Bergson.

<sup>12</sup> Letter to George and Georgiana Keats, 21 September, 1819.

<sup>13</sup> Letter to Reynolds, 3 May, 1818.

<sup>14</sup> Letter to George and Georgiana Keats, 19 March, 1819.

<sup>15</sup> See, e.g., Middleton-Murry, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

<sup>16</sup> Letter to Taylor, 30 January, 1818.

<sup>17</sup> Letter to Baily, 22 November, 1817.

<sup>18</sup> Letter to Woodhouse, 21 September, 1819, and to Haydon. 8 March, 1819.

<sup>19</sup> Letter to Reynolds, 3 May, 1818.

<sup>20</sup> See Murry, *op. cit.*, p. . . .

- <sup>31</sup> See above and his letter to Reynolds, 27 April, 1818, referred to in note 10.
- <sup>32</sup> Keats means by truth true knowledge (or reality and not a character of knowledge distinct from the latter. Knowledge, in the strict sense, is true and false knowledge is a contradiction in terms and a loose expression for a mere belief or opinion.
- <sup>33</sup> Letter to Baily, 24 August, 1819.
- <sup>34</sup> Letter to Reynolds, 25 August, 1819.
- <sup>35</sup> Letter to Taylor, 24 April, 1818.
- <sup>36</sup> Letter to George and Georgiana Keats, 19 March, 1819, (already referred to before).
- <sup>37</sup> Letter to Woodhouse, 27 October, 1818.
- <sup>38</sup> Letter to Thomas Keats, 26 June, 1818.
- <sup>39</sup> Letter to Haydon, 11 May, 1817.
- <sup>40</sup> See letter to George and Georgiana Keats, 28 December, 1817, and to Taylor, 27 February, 1818.
- <sup>41</sup> Letter to Baily, 13 March, 1818.
- <sup>42</sup> *Sleep and Poetry*, ll. 122-25.
- <sup>43</sup> *Hyperion: a dream*, ll. 147-49.
- <sup>44</sup> Letter to Taylor, 17 November, 1819.
- <sup>45</sup> See Middleton-Murry, *op. cit.*, p. 200.
- <sup>46</sup> *Prometheus Unbound*, Act I, ll. 746-49.
- <sup>47</sup> Letter to Reynolds, 28 August, 1819.
- <sup>48</sup> Letter to Reynolds, 19 February, 1818.
- <sup>49</sup> He adds after comparing the soul to a spider, self-sufficiently a world of its own, "Now I am sensible all this is a mere sophistication (however it may neighbour to any truth) to excuse my indolence.
- <sup>50</sup> Letter to Baily, 13 March, 1818.
- <sup>51</sup> Letter to Baily, 22 November, 1817.
- <sup>52</sup> It may be noted that this distinction between natural and artistic beauty does not exist for many thinkers for whom beauty is an experience and always involves projection and construction on the part of the mind no matter whether the materials are there in nature before it or imagined. That is to say, beauty is ideal for these thinkers, be it of nature or art. However, for Keats, as for commonsense, beauty of nature is a natural characteristic more or less like shape or colour while that of art is ideal in mode of being though resembling natural beauty inasmuch as the former is distilled from the latter by imagination.

# THE PHILOSOPHY OF SPINOZA

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## CHAPTER II

### PANTHEISM AND THEISM

**Pantheism :** Pan=all, and theos=God, i.e., all is God. This doctrine states that the world is God and God is the world. It is a reaction against deism which states an absolute separation between God and the world. Spinoza is the famous author of pantheistic doctrine in modern philosophy. His pantheism asserts true identification of God with the world. It further holds that the nature of the absolute is completely exhausted by the course of the world. According to it all finite things are merely modifications of the infinite substance. All particular minds and material objects are necessarily derived from a single infinite principle. It has no faith in a transcendental absolute Being, because it conceives that God completely manifests Himself in the form of the universe. It identifies God with the sum total of all finite things and denies His transcendence. Spinoza's aim is to show that "all things live and move and have their being in the all-comprehensive reality, that may indifferently be named either God or nature". Spinoza was an ardent religious believer to whom God is all in all, because he holds that "whatever is, is in God" and "only through God," everything, "can be conceived". He assigns no independent existence to the particular finite things (the world of material objects). At one time he speaks of supressing the finite things by infinite substance; at another he teaches in the language of science the universality of natural law. When as a result of the first tendency in him, he supresses the finite, the finite, which is neither self-active nor self-explanatory in his system, thus becomes illusory and vague.

According to Spinoza individual finite things are merely creations of false imagination. But when he maintains the universality of natural law he either consciously or unconsciously assigns independent reality to every individual finite thing. In nature everything is real and everything is the part of the one real organised whole. In the Spinozistic system Nature is "resolved upwards into the universal Power". Thus it is very difficult to assert whether Spinoza is a

pantheist or a theist. The conflict begins with the pantheistic negative interpretation that "beyond the natural order of things and prior to it no divine life or agency can be". This statement indicates the limitation of the supreme existence and denies a supramundane cause with which alone the theists are concerned. But Spinoza's pantheism has some special merit also. "Pantheism whose watch-word is the vindication of the reality of things and minds, of personality and freedom of the individual, has made pantheism an easy target of its criticism. But apart from the metaphysical, ethical and epistemological difficulties which are generally thought to vitiate pantheism, it at least has the unique merit of bringing God into an intimate relation with man and of giving to his religious consciousness that spirit of resignation and self-surrender which man in his deepest communion with the Divine necessarily feels, even when the whole world is flung into destruction (H. M. Bhattacharjee: Principles of Philosophy, p. 335.)

"Theism undertakes to formulate a view of God and the world which is between the extremes of deism and pantheism. The theist is not willing to go the whole way with either the pantheist or the deist. With the deist he denies that God can without remainder be identified with the space-time order; and with the pantheist he denies that God can be wholly external to that order. He agrees that the deist is right in his insistence that God is in some sense more than the world; and on the other hand, he agrees that the pantheist is right in his insistence that God is found within the world-order or nowhere. In short, he holds that God is both immanent within the world and transcendent to it" (G. Watts Cunningham: Problems of Philosophy, p. 404-5.

Theism asserts two distinct lines of thought—the principle of causality and the absolute transcendental reality or God. The natural world is derived as an effect under the "guidance of one wise and mighty personality. The natural world is created by God who is prior to His creation. God as a cause of the universe exists from eternity without the world in Him. Everything which has a beginning is perishable. The world has a beginning, because it is created, therefore, it is perishable. But the Divine cause of the world will exist even after its (world's) destruction for ever. The creator is perfect and imperishable while His creation is imperfect and perishable. According to theism, the world comes into existence by the will of God but God does not evolve into or manifest Himself in the form of the universe.

Some theists assert that the Creator willed, created and set into motion, this world once for all, and has not cared for it after that. The created things blindly follow the wish of the Creator spontaneously, but the creator himself does not feel the necessity of his looking to it again. Once the duty is done, it is done for ever. The world goes on of itself, though the creator is as if asleep. Thus we see that some kind of theism holds the arbitrary will and design in God.

The creation of the Divine is finite while the Divine itself is infinite. The Divine is looked upon as an author or a maker. Theism asserts that the author is perfect but the creation which comes out of the hand of the author is imperfect. The relationship between the author and his work is not from eternity. The author suddenly wills and the work is created. These statements of theism either knowingly or unknowingly hold that there is some imperfection in God, otherwise how can His creation, which He made by His free will, be full of imperfections? Theism includes polytheism, pantheism, and monotheism, and so on. The complete opposite of theism is atheism, which denies the existence of the Divine. Monotheism maintains one absolute infinite transcendental reality whereas pantheism does away with the conception of transcendence.

Whether Spinoza is a pantheist or a theist is a matter of great dispute. Some critics even go so far as to declare him an atheist. His philosophy is the amalgamation of all religious doctrines. The philosophy of Spinoza incorporates every religious doctrine in the development of its own system. It can be safely said that Spinoza wants to reconcile every religion but he fails to make sure of his own religion. The conflicting tendencies of Spinozistic philosophy will be more and more clear to us as we try to realise the relation of substance to finite modes. "There is, however, a curious conflict of tendencies in Spinoza's philosophy. Though he maintains that we must view things in the concrete setting of their constitutive relations, he was yet himself driven to deny the existence of the finite, the knowledge of which he thus sought to complete; and though he denounces any attempt to explain the concrete through general and abstract, he himself in the end hypostatizes, as the sole reality, a few merely abstract conceptions".<sup>1</sup> The strange contradiction between the results at which he aims and the conclusion at which he arrives, lies in his Latin culture and in the rationalistic principles of Cartesian philosophy.

<sup>1</sup> Norman Smith: *The Cartesian Philosophy*, p. 142.

knowledge of the finite, because without the true conception of the latter, the former, which even denies any kind of description, cannot be known in the least. Spinoza's definition of the finite is this: "That thing is called finite in its own kind which can be limited by another thing of the same nature. For example, a body is called finite, because we can always conceive of another body which is greater. So a thought is limited by another thought; but a body is not limited by a thought, nor a thought by a body" (Def. II). Everything that suffers description is finite in its own kind because without reference to that particular class which contains and limits it, it cannot be described. "A finite is thus something that is similar in some respect to something else of its own kind with which it may be compared and be found greater or smaller, longer or shorter, more important or less important".<sup>1</sup> It comes to this, that to be finite is to be limited and comparable, and further it asserts that to be finite is to be included under a class of like things. The infinite is absolute negation of the finite.

Spinoza's substance or God is necessarily infinite and absolutely infinite. Infinite means that which surpasses all other things of the same kind. But "absolutely infinite" means an absolute negation of finitude, determination and description. The infinite is unique, incomparable and it does not belong to any class. It is *sui generis*. The number of its attributes is also infinite. So Spinoza says: "But to the essence of that which is absolutely infinite pertains whatever expresses essence and involves no negation" (Def. VI Expl.).

In Spinozistic philosophy the term "infinite" stands for the following terms: "unique" "incomparable," "indeterminate," "indefinable," "incomprehensible" and "unknowable", etc. Aristotle says that "the infinite so far as it is infinite is unknown".<sup>2</sup> And a similar meaning can be found in Spinoza who repeats in connection with his argument, that by an infinite number of methods "we can never arrive at any knowledge whatever".<sup>3</sup> The world is finite and God is absolute infinite; therefore, there can be no relation and comparison between the infinite substance and the finite world. The above statement holds good in the case of Spinoza who says: "This I know, that between the finite and the infinite there is no comparison (*proportionem*); so that the difference between the greatest and most excellent creature and God is the same as the difference between

<sup>1</sup> Wolffson "The Philosophy of Spinoza," Vol. I, p. 136.

<sup>2</sup> Physics, I, 4, 187b, 7.

<sup>3</sup> Tractatus de Intellectus Emendatione, 18, (Opera II, pp. 18, 11, 17-23).

God and the lowest creature".<sup>1</sup> Thus we can conclude that here Spinoza accepts the theistic position and definitely holds that God who is necessarily infinite is a transcendental reality. The pantheistic fortification of Spinoza falls down by his acceptance of this theistic position. It seems that at the beginning Spinoza was a pantheist but at the end he was driven to accept the theistic view which maintains that God is transcendental, absolute and infinite Being. The necessarily infinite substance of Spinoza is not exhausted by the course of the production of the finite world because his God or substance is necessarily indivisible and indeterminate. The determinate finite world cannot say anything about the indeterminate infinite substance. The 'absolutely infinite' substance or God excludes all forms of the universe of finitude from it. Though Spinoza's God is indeterminate and unknowable yet Spinoza never says that he is wanting in essence and perfection. Spinoza's God is the essence or indwelling cause of the universe and He is the most perfect Being. According to Spinoza, everything can be vague and illusory but there cannot be any question about the validity of the most perfect Being. Thus regarding the infinitude of God Spinoza was led to accept the theistic conception of God. The conflict of Spinoza's philosophy lies in the opposition between 'All-immanency and some-transcendence'. Immanency is the notion that the intelligent and creative principle of the universe pervades the universe itself. Immanency is a fundamental conception of pantheism. Though Spinoza tries his best to do away with the conception of transcendence yet he is forced to accept some transcendence when the question of 'infinitude of God' comes before him. According to the pantheist God manifests himself in the form of the universe and God is nothing but the sum total of the universe.

But the theists are found possessed by the conception of an indwelling God whose living spirit moves in the unsleeping order of nature to act and behave. When "a pantheist-like Spinoza has to go beyond the *natura naturata*, and concede a *natura naturans* related to it as cause to effect, it is in vain for him to set them forth as identical by covering them together with the label '*causa sui*', and pretend that he has not trespassed upon any 'transcendent' ground"<sup>2</sup> Now it is quite clear that it becomes very difficult for Spinoza to escape from the transcendent idea of God. The conflict between pantheism and theism ends in the theistic interpretation of God or substance.

<sup>1</sup> Epistola 54.

<sup>2</sup> Martineau : A Study of Religion, p. 143.